

J. S. Johnson

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST,
Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the
Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,
Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction
of the Temple of SOLOMON.

THE THIRD,
From the destruction of JERUSALEM to the time of PHILIP
of MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,
From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establish-
ing of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,
From the settled Rule of ALEXANDER's Successours in the
East, until the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Con-
quest of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

Whereunto is added in this EDITION, the
LIFE and TRYAL of the AUTHOR.

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The P R E F A C E.

HOW vain, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my self, to undertake a Work of this mixture, mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolv'd me. For had it been begotten then, with my first dawn of day; when the light of common knowledge began to open itself to my younger years; and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkness of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lustily, purposed (some few fallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned Island of *Great Britain*. I confess that it had better sort'd with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travels, to have set together (as I could) the unjointed and scattered frame of our *English* affairs; than of the Universal: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost and soul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the desire to satisfy those few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adversity; the former enforcing, the latter perswading; have caus'd me to make my thoughts legible, and my self the subject of every Opinion, wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) sped much better in any Age. For Prosperity and Adversity have evermore tyed and untied vulgar affections. And as we see it in Experience, That Dogs do always bark at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude, who, wanting that Virtue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especial gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereto by uncertain Report only; which *His Majesty* truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. *Blame no man* (saith *Siracides*) *before thou have enquired the matter: understand first, and then reform righteously.* Rumor, res fine Teste, sine Judice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witness, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave *S. Augustine* Argument to affirm, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the evil. And herein no man hath given a better Rule, than this of *Seneca*; *Conscientia satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, sequatur vel mala, dum bene mereris; Let us satisfy our own Consciences, and not trouble our selves with fame, be it never so ill, it is to be despised, so we deserve well.*

For my self, if I have in any thing served my Countrey, and prized it before my private: the general acceptance can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-shine day to a Sea man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outrageous tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her whom I must still honour in the dust; though further than the defence of Her excellent Person, I never persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the World, hath taken the accompt: so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with *Seneca*, *Mala opinio, bene parva, delectat.*

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them; I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own misapp in that kind; but content my self to say with *Virgil*, *Sic vos non vobis*, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzic, not of hope, seeing it is not Truth; but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then some possibility to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying, and extensive virtue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath cast upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear; and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations: so many natural and unnatural; wise, foolish, manly, and childish affections and passions in mortal men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of Plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleased God to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himself; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the Worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compas it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, *Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest: Noman can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissimble their own natures.* Neither can any man (saith *Plutarch*) to change himself, but that his heart may be sometimes seen at his tongues end.

Enslit, cap. 12.
Nihil facilius
quam reprehendere alium.

In this great discord, and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selves to the Multitude; *Omnis honesti rei malus Iudex est vulgus: The common People are evil Judges of honest things, and whose wisdom (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised:* if to the better sort; every understanding hath a peculiar judgement, by which it both censurcth other men, and valetueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seem strange, though I find these my worthless Papers torn with Rats; seeing the stollful Censurers of all Ages have not spared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition: the severest men to themselves, with Hypocritie; and the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and those of the truest Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of these natures, which lye in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing *Solomon* complained long since; and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the Professors to their easie ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approved custome of those, who have left the memories of Time-past to after-Ages; to give, as near as I can, the same right to History which they have done. Yet, seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledge, that it hath given us life in our understanding, since the World it self had life and beginning, even to this day; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, *Magni Dei sapiens opus, The wist work (saith Hermes) of a great God,* as it was then, when but new to it self. By it (I say) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have flourished and fallen, and for what virtue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill-deservings. But it is neither of Examples the most lively instruction, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupid minds, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wisdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Justice of God doth require none other accuser, than our own consciences; which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the Opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen Wisdom confess, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God: If any (saith *Euripides*) having in his life committed wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks much too well.

To repeat GODS Judgements in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume apart: for the Sea of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the Earth; and their fortunes written only in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeeded, and have not seen the fall of

of others, do not fear their own faults. GODS Judgements upon the greater and greatest have been left to Posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their virtue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point far off, and to speak of the conversion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawn the grafs of the earth with Beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wile working of *Pharaoh*, when he flew the Infants of *Israel*, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of *Jezabel*, in covering the murder of *Naboth* by a trial of the Elders, according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeless proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the same far-off Respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practice, peril, blood-thed; and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their Issues Masters of the World? And yet hath *Babylon*, *Perseus*, *Egyptus*, *Syria*, *Macedon*, *Carthage*, *Rome*, and the rest, no fruit, no flower, grafs, nor leaf, springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain. *Omnia que manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando durando deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by standing and continuing consumed.* The reasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their Opinions on second causes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and foreign force, or by inward negligence and dissention, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk down under their own weight; of which *Livie* hath a touch: *eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret sua:* Others, That the divine Providence (which *Cratippus* objected to *Pompey*) hath set down the date and period of every Estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my self a day over to resolve.

For seeing the first Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Discourse of the first Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface to travel after, and overtake far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the success of infidelity, injustice, and cruelty; have (notwithstanding) planted after the same pattern.

True it is, that the judgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most with that which most nearly seemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwise best suited with his apprehension. But the judgements of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his blessing in one Age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in Ages removed far from the present, as in those of later times. And that we may see appear by evident proof, than by affirmation, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill success; I will here, by way of Preface, run over some examples, which the Work ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the *Norman Race*, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the *Norman Conquest*, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Justice, upon the children of *Henry the First*. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, he had disposed, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind, and destroyed his elder Brother, *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Nieces (*Maud* excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to *Edward the Second*; it is certain, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out, and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the *Matiline Race* (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of *Edward the Third*, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious; yet, in that he afterwards caused his own Uncle, the Earl of *Kent*, to die, for no other offence, than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be Treason in his Uncle, which was indeed Treason in himself, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused *Mortimer* to die for the same.

This cruelty, the secret and unfeareable Judgement of GOD, revenged on the Grandchild of *Edward the Third*; and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent, they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent blood. For *Richard the Second*, who saw both his *Treasurers*, his *Chancellor*, and his *Steward*, with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people,

people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he always took himself for over-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, *Montagu* and *Spencer*, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those days, as others have done in these, hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves by the murder of *Gloucester*, died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himself (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents: He was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cousin-German and Vassal, *Henry of Lancaster*, afterwards *Henry* the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown traitorous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, pretending to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with *Richard* himself, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he swore, that the deposed King should live. After he had enjoyed this Realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from Conspiracies and Rebellions: he law (if Souls immortal see and discern any things after the Bodies Death) his Grand-child *Henry* the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crown (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his Race, and by the Issues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd; enemies, whom, by his own practice, he supposed that he had left no less powerless, than the succession of the Kingdom questionless, by entailing the same upon his own Issues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the Duke, seconded by the valour and signal victories of his Son *Henry* the Fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despair of all re-conquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might to have judged, were not this passage of *Caesaron* all true; *Dies, hora, momentum, horrendis dominationibus sufficit, quo Adamantius credebantur radicibus esse fundatas. A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that seem to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.*

Now, for *Henry* the Sixth, upon whom the greatest storm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as if formerly had done upon *Richard*, the Grand-child of *Edward*, although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he refused the Daughter of *Armagnac*, of the House of *Navarre*, the greatest of the Princes of *France*, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in *France*) and married the Daughter of *Anjou* (by which he lost all that he had in *France*) (in condescending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of *Gloucester*, the main and strong Pillar of the House of *Lancaster*; he drew on himself and his Kingdom the greatest joint-los and dishonour, that ever it sustained since the *Norman* Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his own spake of *Henry* the Third of *France*, *Qu'il estoit une fort gentille Prince; mais son reign eut advenu en une fort mauvais temps: That he was a very gentle Prince, but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Season.*

It is true, that *Buckingham* and *Suffolk*, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queen had been absolute, the Queen, in respect of her personal wound, *proteague injuria forme*, because *Gloucester* disfavoured her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed, the success to the counsel. For after the cutting down of *Gloucester*, *Turk* grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel, *Suffolk* and *Buckingham*, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down *Turk*; yet his Son the Earl of *March*, following the plain path which his Father had trodden out, deposed *Henry* the Father, and *Edward* the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politic *Lady the Queen*, other than this, That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that she lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her only Son the Prince, were hewn in funder; while the Crown was set on his head that did it? She lived to see her self deposed of her estate, and of her moveables; and lastly, her Father, by rendering up the Crown of *France*, the Earldom of *Provence*, and other places, for the payment of 50000 crowns for her Ransom, to become a stark Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which *Siracides* calleth *fine*, but unwisdom: for other fruit hath it never yielded since the World was.

And now it came to *Edward* the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of *Lancaster* were rooted up, one only Earl of *Richmond* excepted; whom also he had once bought of the Duke of *Britain*, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of *Edward* such a Plantation, as could any way promise it self stability. For this *Edward* the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter which *Gloucester*, *Dorset*, *Hastings*, and others, made of *Edward* the Prince in his own presence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the Judgement of GOD in the same kind. And he, which (besides the execution of his Brother *Clarence*, for none other offence than he himself had formed in his own imagination) instructed *Gloucester* to kill *Henry* the Sixth, his Predecessor; taught him also, by the same art, to kill his own Sons and Successors, *Edward* and *Richard*. For,

these

these Kings which have sold the blood of others at a low rate, have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To *Edward* the Fourth, succeeded *Richard* the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Person, than all the rest; yet he so well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of *Hastings* and *Buckingham*, enemies to the Queen, and to all her Kindred, as he easily allured them to consend, that *Rivers* and *Grey*, the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, should (for the first) be severed from him: Secondly, he wrought their consent to have them imprisoned: And lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads severed from their Bodies. And having now brought these his chief instruments to exercise that common Precept which the Devil hath written upon every Poit, namely, To deprecate those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had deprecate; He urged that Argument so far, and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himself, and of his Brother, could fathom the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into *Buckingham's* head, That, whensoever the King, or his Brother, should have able years to exercise their power, they would take a most severe revenge of that careless wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother, *Rivers* and *Grey*.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with *Hastings*, whose fidelity to his Masters Sons was without suspect; and yet the Devil, who never dilwades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But, when he found by *Catesby*, who sounded him, that he was not fordable, he first resolved to kill him sitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he set the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And, because nothing else could move his appetite, he caused his head to be stricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgement of God, than this upon *Hastings*, I have never observed in any Story. For, the self-same day that the Earl *Rivers*, *Grey*, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by *Hastings* advice, executed at *Smiffet*; I say, *Hastings* himself, in the same day, and (as I take it) in the same hour, in the same lawless manner, had his Head struck off in the Tower of *London*. But *Buckingham* lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration persuaded the *Londoners* to elect *Richard* for their King. And having received the Earldom of *Hereford* for reward, besides the hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings only Son; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant; he had his Head severed from his Body at *Salisbury*, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what success had *Richard* himself after all these mischiefs and murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian Religion; and after such time as with a mercilefs hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it took end, ere himself could well look over and discern it? the great out-cry of innocent blood obtained at GOD's hand the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel King, *Henry* the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods Justice. A politick Prince he was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions, both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of *England* did; I say, by his wisdom, because, as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of *Loy* the Eleventh, whom he followed in all was royal, or royal-like; but he was far more just, and begun not their processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as *Loy* did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wife; for whatsoever himself gave, he himself received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well, that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his Subjects, he wisely put it off on those that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever, the taking off of *Stanley's* Head, who set the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, shews, as the success also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancestors; for his possession in the first Line ended in his Grand-child, as that of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth had done.

Now, for King *Henry* the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercilefs Prince were lost in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For, how many servants did he advance in haste (but for what virtue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more desert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chroni-

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cles have kept the accomp^t did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to give his account to GOD for the abundance of blood already spilt, he imprisoned the Duke of *Norfolk* the Father, and executed the Earl of *Surry* the son; the one, whose deserting he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings service; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure; the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrows, which he heaped upon the Fatherless and Widows, at home; and besides the vain enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more treasure, than all our victorious Kings did in their several Conquests; what cauleless and cruel wars did he make upon his own Nephew King *James* the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he devise to establish this Kingdom in his own illues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut down those Branches, which sprang from the same root that himself did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions) it pleased God to take away all his own, without increase; though, for themselves in their several kinds, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of *Samuel* to *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*, have been verified upon many others: *As thy Sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women.* And that blood which the same King *Henry* affirmed, that the cold air of *Scotland* had frozen up in the North, God hath diffused by the Sun-shine of his grace; from whence his Majesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infused into one eye; yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foul spots, by which the consciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the Sword of his Justice, with which the most that forewent him have stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of *England*, it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God, and hath itaied the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it: That he never took revenge of any man that fought to put him beside it; That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princes did: That *His Majesty* entered not by breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary Gate, which his own right fet open; and into which, by a general love and obedience He was received. And howsoever *His Majesty's* preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at *Cambray* in the year 1559.) yet he never pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; nor, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of *Brittany* to the South, to wit, of *Scotland* to *England*, which though they were severed, but by small brooks and banks, yet, by reason of the long continued War, and the cruelties exercised upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This, I say, it is not the least of God's blessings which *His Majesty* hath brought with unto this Land; No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole Hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Historians since then have acknowledged the uniting of the *Red-Rose* and the *White*, for the greatest happiness (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of *Gold* and *Gales*, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our *British* Blood, heretofore, and during the difference, so often and abundantly shed, the state of *England* is more assured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her ancient honours and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conquests. It is true, that heretofore we do not yet find the effect. But that the Duke of *Parma*, in the year 1588. joyned the Army which he commanded, with that of *Spain*, and landed it on the South-coast; and had *His Majesty* at the same time declared himself against us in the North, it is easie to divine what had become of the Liberty of *England*: certainly, we would then, without murmur, have brought this Union a far greater praise than it hath since cost us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not infinite, to examine every man's cause, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice) *His Majesty* hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own. Which, of whom it may be said, as of *Solomon*, *Deiis Deus Solomoni Latitudinem cordis*; Which, if other men do not understand with *Pineda*, to be meant by *Liberality*, but by *Latitude of knowledge*; yet may it be better spoken of *His Majesty*, than of any King that ever *England* had; who, as well in divine, as in humane understanding hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the *Kings Majesty*, without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and wishal suspect, that it might befall these Papers of mine (though the lofs were little) as it did the Pictures of *Queen Elizabeth*, made by unskilful and common Painters, which,

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which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in describing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Posterity, of well formed faces, a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely minds, a most defective Representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruel and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpose I have inserted this brief Discourse) with *His Majesties* temperate, revengelless, and liberal disposition; I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them justly, and with an even hand; and withall, but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so just a cause to complain, as the King himself hath. Now, as we have told the success of the triumphs, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Personages; so we find, that GOD is every where the same God. And, as it pleased him to punish the usurpation and unnatural cruelty of *Henry* the First, and of our Third *Edward*, in their Children for many Generations: so dealt he with the Sons of *Loy* *Debonaire*, the Son of *Charles* the Great, or *Charlemain*. For after such time as *Debonaire* of *France* had torn out the eyes of *Bernard* his Nephew, the Son of *Pepin*, the eldest Son of *Charlemaine*, and Heir of the Empire, and then caused him to die in Prison, as did our *Henry* to *Robert* his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poisoning, imprisonments, and civil War; till the whole Race of that famous Emperour was extinguished. And though *Debonaire*, after he had rid himself of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his bastard Brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition; yet God raised up against him (which he expected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his own Sons, with whom (to satisfy their ambition) he had thured his estate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldest Son *Lothaire* (for he had four, three by his first Wife, and one by his second; to wit, *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, *Loy*, and *Charles*) made it the cause of his deposition, that he had used violence towards his Brothers and Kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be slain. *Et quod, laith the Text, fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem ipse suscepit liberare poterat, interfecit permisit; Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slain, whom he might have delivered.*

Yet did he that which few Kings do, namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which he performed in the General Assembly of the States, it follows: *Post hec autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, penitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quae in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat.* After this, he did openly confess himself to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperour Theodosius, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against *Bernard* his own Nephew.

This he did, and it was praise-worthy. But the blood that is unjustly spilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

The King, as I have said, had four Sons. To *Lothaire* his eldest, he gave the Kingdom of *Italy*, as *Charlemaine* his Father had done to *Pepin*, the Father of *Bernard*, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To *Pepin*, the second Son, he gave the Kingdom of *Aquitaine*; to *Loy*, the Kingdom of *Bavaria*; and to *Charles*, whom he had by a second Wife, called *Judith*, the remainder of the Kingdom of *France*. But his second Wife, being a mother-in-law to the rest, persuaded *Debonaire*, to cast his Son *Pepin* out of *Aquitaine*; thereby to graten *Charles*, which, after the death of his Son *Pepin*, he persecuted to effect against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son *Loy* of *Bavaria*, he dies for grief.

Debonaire dead, *Loy* of *Bavaria*, and *Charles*, afterward called the *Bald*, and their Nephew *Pepin* of *Aquitaine*, joyne in league against the Emperour *Lothaire* their eldest Brother. They fight near to *Auxerre*, the most bloody battel that ever was stricken in *France*; in which, the marvellous loss of Nobility, and men of War, gave courage to the *Saracens* to invade *Italy*; to the *Huns* to fall upon *Almaine*; and the *Danes* to enter upon *Normandy*. *Charles* the *Bald* by Treason seizeth upon his Nephew *Pepin*, kills him in a Cloyster; *Carloman* rebels against his Father, *Charles* the *Bald*, the Father burns out the eyes of his Son *Carloman*; *Bavaria* invades the Emperour *Lothaire*, his Brother, *Lothaire* quits the Empire, he is assailed and wounded to the heart by his own conscience, for his Rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. *Charles* the *Bald* the Uncle, oppresseth his Nephews, the Sons of *Lothaire*, he usurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of *Loy* of *Bavaria*, his elder Brother; *Bavaria* Armies, and his Son *Carloman*, are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Usurper *Charles* is poisoned by *Zede-chias* a Jew, his Physician, his Son *Loy* the *Begue* dies of the same drink. *Begue* had *Charles* the simple, and two bastards, *Loy* and *Carloman*; they rebel against their Brother, but the eldest breaks his neck, the younger is slain by a wild Boar; the Son of *Bavaria* had the same ill destiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions. *Charles* the *gros* becomes Lord of all that the Sons of *Debonaire* held in *Germany*; wherewith not contented, he invades

invades *Charles the simple*: but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Understanding; he dyes a distracted Beggar. *Charles the simple* is held in Wardship by *Endes*, Major of the Palace, then by *Robert*, the Brother of *Endes*; and lastly, being taken by the Earl of *Fernandis*, he is forced to dye in the Prison of *Peron*. *Loy* the Son of *Charles the simple* breaks his neck in chafing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this *Loy*, the one dyes of poison, the other dyes in the Prison of *Orleans*; after whom, *Hugh Capet*, of another Race, and a stranger to the *French*, makes himself King.

The miserable ends had the Issues of *Debonaire*, who after he had once apparelled Injustice with authority, his Sons and Successors took up the fashion, and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the fame was torn from their shoulders, every man despit ed them as miserable and naked Beggars. The wretched success they had (saith a Learned *Frenchman*) shews, *Que en cest mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice; That in the death of that Prince, to wit, of Bernard the Son of Pepin the true Heir of Charlemain, men had more meddling, than God or Justice had.*

But to come nearer home; it is certain that *Francis* the First, one of the Worthiest Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the *French-men* had, did never enjoy himself, after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of *Mirandol*, and *Cabrières*, to the Parliament of *Provence*, which poor people were thereupon burnt and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true that the said King *Francis* repented himself of the fact, and gave charge to *Henry* his Son, to do Justice upon the murderers, threatening his Son with GODS Judgements, if he neglected it. But this unreasonable care of his, God was not pleased to accept for payment. For after *Henry* was slain in sport by *Montgomery*, we all may remember what became of his four Sons, *Francis*, *Charles*, *Henry*, and *Hendrick*. Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautiful and virtuous Ladies; yet were they, one after another, cast out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Mallicious upon those of the Religion, and great effusion of blood, the Crown was set on his Head, whom they all laboured to dissolve; the Protestants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong Cities than ever they had.

Let us now see if God be not the same God in *Spain* as in *England* and *France*. Towards whom we will look no further back than to *Don Pedro* of *Castile*, in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of *Sicily*, our *Richard* the Third, and the great *Evan Vassilovick* of *Muscovy*, were but petty ones: this *Castilian*, of all the Christian and Heathen Kings, having been the most mercilefs. For, besides those of his own Blood and Nobility, which he had caused to be slain in his own Court and Chamber, as *Sancho Ruiz*; the great Master of *Calatrava*, *Ruis*, *Gonsales*, *Alphonso Tello*, and *Don John* of *Aragon*, whom he cut in pieces, and cast into the streets, denying him Christian burial: I say, besides these, and the slaughter of *Gomes Mauriques*, *Diego Peres*, *Alphonso Gomes*, and the great Commander of *Castile*, he made away the two Infants of *Aragon* his Cousin-Germans, his Brother *Don Frederick*, *Don John* de la Cerde, *Albuquerque*, *Nugnes de Guzman*, *Cornel*, *Cabrera*, *Terorin*, *Alendes de Toledo*, *Gutierrez* his Great Treasurer, and all his Kindred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest Brethren, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in close Prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murdered them there. Nay, he spared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady *Blanch* of *Bourbon*. Lastly, as he caused the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, and the Dean to be killed, of purpose to enjoy their Treasures; so did he put to death *Abraham* *Aben Alhamar*, King of *Barbari*, with thirty seven of his Nobility, that came unto him for succour, with a great sum of Money, to levy (by his favour) some Companies of Souldiers to return withal. Yet, he would needs assist the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope *Urban* declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-established by the valour of the *English Nation*, led by the famous Duke of *Lancaster*: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of *Afaramara*, who dispossessed all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injustice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke *John* of *Burgoin*, who after his traitorous murder of the Duke of *Orleans*, caused the Constable of *Armagnac*, the Chancellor of *France*, the Bishops of *Constance*, *Bayeux*, *Eureux*, *Sculis*, *Saintes*, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of *gran Pre*, *Hector* of *Chartes*, and (in effect) all the Officers of Justice of the Chamber of Accounts, Treasury, Requests (with sixteen others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have mastered *France*; He was soon after stricken with an Ax in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and without any leisure to repent his mis-deeds, presently slain. *These were the lovers of other mens miseries: and miseries found them out.*

Now, for the Kings of *Spain*, which lived both with *Henry* the Seventh, *Henry* the Eighth, *Queen Mary*, and *Queen Elizabeth*; *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, was the first, and the first that laid the foundation of the present *Austrian* greatness. For this King did not content himself to hold *Ara-*

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gon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thereunto the Kingdom of *Castile* and *Leon*, which *Isabel* his Wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Niece, the Daughter of his own Niece out of the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promise he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also *Ferdinand* and *Frederick*, Kings of *Naples*, Princes of his own Blood, and by double alliance tyed unto him; sold them to the *French*; and with the *French*, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politic King, who sold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of *Spain*, the greatest Monarch of the World; saw him dye in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest Daughter married unto *Don Alphonso* Prince of *Portugal*, beheld her first Husband break his neck in her presence, and being with child by her second, dyed with it. A just Judgement of God upon the Race of *Alphonso*, now wholly extinguished; who had not only left many disconsolate Mothers in *Portugal*, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slain with his own hand, the Son and only comfort of his Aunt the Lady *Beatrice*, Dutches of *Viseu*. The second Daughter of *Ferdinand*, married to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, turned fool, and dyed mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, bestowed on King *Henry* the Eighth, he saw cast off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in *England*; and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, shed a world of innocent blood; lost *Calice* to the *French*, and dyed heart broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdoms of *Ferdinand* have Masters of a new name; and by a strange Family are governed and possessed.

Charles the Fifth, Son to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, in whose vain enterprises upon the *French*, upon the *Almans* and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were consumed; who gave the while a most perilous entrance to the *Turks*, and suffered *Rhodes*, the Key of *Christendom*, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of *France*, and in a fort, out of *Germany*; and left to the *French*, *Metz*, *Toule*, and *Verdun*, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from *Insburg*; and scaled the *Alpes* by torch-light, pursued by Duke *Maurice*, having hope to swallow up all those Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, save ground in either. He crept into a Cloyster, and made himself a Prisoner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the year, to his Son *Philip*, from whom he very slowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

His Son again, King *Philip* the Second, not satisfied to hold *Holland* and *Zealand*, (wrested by his Ancestors from *Jacqueline*, their lawful Princess) and to possess in peace many other Provinces of the *Netherlands*; perswaded by that mischievous Cardinal of *Granville*, and other *Romish* Tyrants; not only forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperor, by the Nobility of those Countreys, not only forgot the Present made him upon his entry of forty Millions of *Florents*, called the *Novelle aid*; nor only forgot that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the General States, to maintain and preserve their ancient Rights, Privileges, and Customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of those Provinces; but beginning first to constrain them, and enthrall them by the *Spanish Inquisition*, by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself not only an absolute Monarch over feet all their Natural and Fundamental Laws, Privileges, and ancient Rights; but *Turk-like*, to tread under his after he had easily obtained from the Pope a dispensation of his former Oaths (which Dispensation was the true cause of the War and Bloodshed since then,) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his base Sister *Margaret* of *Austria*, and the Cardinal *Granville*; He employed that most mercilefs *Spaniard*, *Don Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, followed with a powerful Army of strange Nations; by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of *Egmont*, Prince of *Guevre*; and *Philip Montmorency* Earl of *Horn*; made away *Montigne*, and the Marquels of *Bergues*, and cut off in those fix years (that *Alva* Governed) of Gentlemen and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtilty which he had failed to perform by force. He sent for Governour, his bastard Brother, *Don John* of *Austria*, a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he using the same Papal advantage that his Predecessors with the General States; and to discharge the Low-Countreys of all *Spaniards*, and other strangers therein garrisoned; Towards whose Pay and Passport, the *Netherlands* trained themselves to make a payment of six hundred thousand pounds. Which Moneys received, he suddenly surprised the

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Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Nemmes*; nor doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to have possessed himself of all the mastering places of those Provinces. For whatsoever he overtly pretended, he held in secret a contrary counsel with the Secretary *Escovedo*, *Rhodus*, *Barlemont*, and others, Ministers of the *Spanish* Tyranny formerly practised, and now again intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. First, for himself, after he had murdered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six years, and most cruelly slain Man, Woman, and Child in *Mecklin*, *Zutphen*, *Narden*, and other places; and after he had consumed six and thirty Millions of Treasure in six years, notwithstanding his *Spanish* vaunt, That he would suffocate the *Hollanders* in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs, He departed the Country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and deceleration of the whole Nation; leaving *His Majesty's* Affairs in a ten-fold worse estate than he found them at his first arrival. For *Don John*, whose haughty conceit of himself overcame the greatest difficulties: though his judgement were over-weak to manage the least: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealousy and distrust, with the untimely death that seized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for *Escovedo* his sharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Master, both *England* and the *Netherlands*; being sent into *Spain* upon some new project, he was at his first arrival, and before any access to the King, by certain Ruffians, appointed by *Anthony Peres* (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spain's carriage, his counsel and success in this business, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, for the loss of all those Countreys, which for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his *West-Indies*; for the loils of a Nation which most willingly obeyed him; and who, at this day, after forty years War, are, in despite of all his forces, become a free Estate, and far more rich and powerful than they were, when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

Oh! by what plots, by what for-livings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures; poisonings, and under what reasons of State, and politick subtilty, have these fore-named Kings, both strangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent Ministers! and in the end have brought those things to pass for their enemies, and seen an effect so directly contrary to all their own counsels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever been made. GOD hath said, and performed it ever: *Perdam sapientiam sapientum*; I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; seeing the world is the same that it hath been; and the children of the present time, will still obey their Parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the World are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawful; and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at least we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our selves; or perfwade our selves, that GOD hath given us Letters Patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a *Non obstantes*; so we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joynted to earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, far off, and unsearchable; we have sense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are also earthly; and it is less to be wondered at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them from seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet *Esay* cried out long ago, *Lord, who hath believed our reports?* And out of doubt, as *Esay* complained then for himself and others: so are they less believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every mans mouth, yea, in the discourse of every woman, who, for the greatest number are but *Idols of Vanity*; what is it other than an universal diffimulation? We profess that we know GOD, but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life; for the Devils know them better than men. *Beatitude non est divinum cognitio, sed vita divina*. And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personal hatred, and the perpetual war, massacres, and murders, for Religion among *Christians*, the discourse whereof hath occupied the World, as it hath well near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soon resolve, that took knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heaven; and that the World it self were but used as it ought, and as an Inn, or place wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our Celestial habitation? when on the contrary, besides the Discourse and outward profession, the Soul hath nothing but hypocrisy. We are all (in effect) become

become Comedians in Religion; and while we act in gesture and voice, divine virtues, in all the course of our lives, we renounce our Persons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Justice, and Truth, have but their being in terms, like the Philosophers *Materia prima*.

Neither is it that wisdom, which *Solomon* defineth to be the *School-Mistress of the Knowledge of God*, that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtain honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we still shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we ourselves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability, that ever man had, hath told us, that this is the use: *When goods increase (saith Solomon) they also increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes?* As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in fair weather; they again forsake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steer away from Examples, I will take but one out of Master *Danvers*, and use his own words: *whilst the Emperor Charles the Fifth, after the resignation of his estate, stayed at Ulloching for winds, to carry him his last journey into Spain; He conferred on a time with Seldius, his Brother Ferdinand's Embassador, till the deep of the night. And when Seldius should depart; the Emperor calling some one of his servants, and no body answering him (for those that attended upon him, were gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleep) the Emperor took up the Candle himself, and went before Seldius, to light him down the Stairs; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he said thus unto him; Seldius, thou hast known in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of Soldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea, even of his own servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of God, which I will by no means go about to withstand.*

But you will say, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first is, the reverend respect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Justice and Piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which, what is the applause of the multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, who without the knowledge rare to distinguish Virtue and Fortune; the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded; the most virtuous (if unpromising) have ever been despised. For, as Fortunes and on foot, the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The second is, the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them which *Laetantius* spake of certain Heathen Philosophers; *Quod sapientes sunt in re stulti*. For, when our spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal bodies, and disposed by GOD; there remaineth in them no other joy Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than there doth of shame etiam corum filii, quia anima mortuorum rebus viventium non interstunt; The dead, though no more holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of those departed, are not conversant with their affairs that remain. And if we doubt of Saint *Augustine*, we cannot of Job; who tells us, *That we know not if our Sons shall be honourable; neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shall be of low degree*. Which *Ecclesiastes* also cannot tell who shall gather them. The living (saith he) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for who can shew unto man, what shall be after him that die, but He therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the Son? not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wise man should enjoy the fruits thereof, which made me (saith he) endeavour even to abhor, mine own labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowful estates after death, God hath reserved? Mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet *Esay* confesseth of the Elect, *That Abraham is ignorant of us* Job 14: 21; Eccles. 9: 5; Eccles. 9: 6; Eccles. 9: 7; Eccles. 9: 8; Eccles. 9: 9; Eccles. 9: 10; Eccles. 9: 11; Eccles. 9: 12; Eccles. 9: 13; Eccles. 9: 14; Eccles. 9: 15; Eccles. 9: 16; Eccles. 9: 17; Eccles. 9: 18; Eccles. 9: 19; Eccles. 9: 20; Eccles. 9: 21; Eccles. 9: 22; Eccles. 9: 23; Eccles. 9: 24; Eccles. 9: 25; Eccles. 9: 26; Eccles. 9: 27; Eccles. 9: 28; Eccles. 9: 29; Eccles. 9: 30; Eccles. 9: 31; Eccles. 9: 32; Eccles. 9: 33; Eccles. 9: 34; Eccles. 9: 35; Eccles. 9: 36; Eccles. 9: 37; Eccles. 9: 38; Eccles. 9: 39; Eccles. 9: 40; Eccles. 9: 41; Eccles. 9: 42; Eccles. 9: 43; Eccles. 9: 44; Eccles. 9: 45; Eccles. 9: 46; Eccles. 9: 47; Eccles. 9: 48; Eccles. 9: 49; Eccles. 9: 50; Eccles. 9: 51; Eccles. 9: 52; Eccles. 9: 53; Eccles. 9: 54; Eccles. 9: 55; Eccles. 9: 56; Eccles. 9: 57; Eccles. 9: 58; Eccles. 9: 59; Eccles. 9: 60; Eccles. 9: 61; Eccles. 9: 62; Eccles. 9: 63; 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again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the seats of Angelical affections; in so great admiration shall the Souls of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or less joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kindred, or Children. Of whom, whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can assure us; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, If a divine life remain any of those faculties, which the Soul exercised in a mortal body; we shall not at that time to divide the joys of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their estates greater than ever the World gave, we shall (by the difference known unto us) even detect their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remain of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that Piety, Justice, and firm Faith, for which it pleased the Infinite Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unnecessary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his Angels by degrees; which hath given greater and less light and beauty to heavenly bodies; which hath made differences between Beasts and Birds; created the Eagle and the Eagle, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magistrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Posterity, for a mark and ensign of the virtue and understanding of their Ancestors; so (seeing *Siracides* preferred Death before Beggary; and that Titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pity) I account it foolishness to condemn such a care. Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our own buildings out of other mens ruins. For, as *Plato* doth first prefer the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly, *Divitias nulla fraude quasitas*: so *Jeremy* cries, *wo unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers without equity*; And *Ezay* the same, *Wo to those that spoil, and were not spoiled*. And it was out of the true wisdom of *Solomon*, that he commandeth us, *not to drink the Wine of violence; not to lye in wait for blood; and not to swallow them up alive, whose riches we covet; for such are the ways (saith he) of every one that is greedy of gain*.

And, if we could afford our selves but to much leisure, as to consider, That he which hath most in this world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, seeing it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever; I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending; coveting those mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves, after the World, were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger esteem all negligent, that have not trodden down their opposites; the Politician all gross, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet, when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty to others; and it is only then, that we are stricken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, *That God will not be mocked*. For if, according to *S. Peter*, *The righteous scarcely be saved*: and that God spared not his Angels; where shall those appear, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandments of the All-powerful God were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the found of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? *O quam multi*, saith a reverend Father, *cum hac spe ad eternos labores & bella descendunt*! I confess, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it said, That we ended well; for we all desire (as *Balaam* did) *to dye the death of the righteous*. But, what shall we call a disesteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if those men do not oppose him, disesteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwise, that dye this kind of well-dying, but say unto God, as followeth? We beseech thee, O God, that thou wilt the falsehoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishness. For I shall prejudice my Son (which I am resolved not to do) if I make restitution; and confess my self to have been unjust (which I am too proud to do)

if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood, such a Leaden One, as *Lewis* the Eleventh wore on his Cap; which, when he had caused any that he feared or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head, and kiss it; beseeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when, by the practice of a Cardinal, and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the *Earl of Armagnac* to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be used, towards a Leaden, but not towards the Ever-living, GOD. But of this composition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is duple and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon shadows; they flatter and forsake the prosperous and unprosperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-stone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour against the terrible judgments of the All-powerful God; yea, they shew themselves Gods against God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now, for the rest; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppressed, whom we account wretched; we shall find the happiness of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to entrenchance (witness the sudden downfall of the greatest Princes, and the speediest uprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certain, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertain, whereof to bewail it self. For, there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. *Quid vesper verbat, incertum est*; what the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (saith *S. James*) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set up, and to morrow he shall not be found; for he is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the air which compasseth adversity, be very obscure; yet therein we better discern God, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearness thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let adversity seem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those under the cross, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years, and according to *Solomon* in them all we have rejoiced; or be it that we have measured the same length of dayes, and therein have evermore sorrowed; yet, looking back from our present being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, failed out of sight; and death, which doth pursue us, and hold us in chase, from our infancy, hath gathered it. *Quicquid statui retro est, mors tenet*; whatsoever of our age is past, death holds it. So, as whosoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a servant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the account of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what he hath relieved; either of Beauty and Youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath saved, that it might lift, of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he shall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad sighs. He shall find nothing remaining, but those sorrows, which grow up after our fast-springing youth, overtake it, when it is at a stand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in so much as looking back from the very instant time, and from our now being, the poor, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and pains, as he, that is most blessed in common Opinion, hath of his fore-past pleasure and delights. For whatsoever is cast behind us, is just nothing; and what is to come, deceitful hope hath it: *Omnia qua eventura sunt, in incerto jacent*. Only those few black Swans I must except, who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as necessary guides to endless glory.

For my self, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrows of this life are but of two sorts; whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other to the World. In the first, we complain to GOD against our selves, for our offences against him; and confess, *Et justificus in omnibus qua venerunt super nos*; And thou, O Lord, art just in all that hath befallen us. In the second, we complain to our selves against GOD; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that humble and just acknowledgement of Job, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken*. To the first of which, *S. Paul* hath promised blessedness; to the second, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean soever his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him; or doth not acknowledge, how sharp soever his afflictions be, that the same are yet far less, than those which are due unto him. And if an Hea-then wife man call the adversities of the World but *tribula vivendi*, the tribunes of living; a wife

Sirac. 44.
v. 28.

Plat. de leg. 1.
2. 6. & in
George.
Jer. 22. 13.
Ez. 29.
Prov. 1. 18, 12.
Prov. 23. 1, 2.
8. 9. & 25.
9. 8.

Gal. 6. 7.
1. Pet. 4.

wife Christian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and resolutely, and not as those whining Souldiers do, *Qui gementes sequuntur Imperatorem.*

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their distribution, been partial to the most mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto *Darius* the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed *Bajazet* to play the *Grand Seigneur* of the *Turks* in the morning, and in the same day, the *Foolish* of *Tamerlane* (both which parts *Valerian* had also played, being taken by *Sapores*) that made *Bellisarius* play the most victorious Captain, and lastly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which, examples of many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous World, than to resolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the less. For, when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weaknefs prize the passages of this world otherwife (for, saith *Petrarch*, *Magni ingenii est revocare mentem à sensibus*) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversity work all that they work. For, seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a foolish madnes in the shipwrack of worldly things, where all sinks but the Sorrow, to save it. That were, as *Seneca* saith, *Fortune succumbere, quod tristis est omni fato; To fall under Fortune, of all other the most miserable destiny.*

But it is now time to found a retreat, and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time past (which we call *History*) in so large a Table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the first divine *Histories* being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have persuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things, to wit, Creation. For, though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other; Creation inferreth Providence (for what father forsaketh the child that he hath begotten;) and Providence presupposeth Creation; Yet many of those that have seemed to excel in worldly wisdom, have gone about to dis-joyne this coherence; the *Epicure* denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the *Aristotelian* granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for, by Faith, we understand that the world was made by the Word of God) be too weighty a work for *Aristotle's* rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his Verbal Doctrine; yet that the necessity of Infinite power, and the Worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary, even in the judgement of Natural reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no less strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing *Aristotle* hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than *terms* in the rest) have so retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the law of those Philosophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the search of causes, they have condemned, either for phantastical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Positions of Heathen Philosophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, because so called? Or, that *ipsi discernunt*, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it self, as the same reason can hardly assail it, much less barter it down: the same in every question of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of humane knowledge. For, saith *Charron*, in his Book of Witdom, *Tout proposicion humaine a autant d'autorité quel autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference; Every humane proposition hath equal authority, if reason make not a difference:* the rest, being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how shall the upright and impartial judgement of man give a Sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpose, it was well said of *Lactantius*, *Sapientiam sibi adiungunt, qui sine ullo iudicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pendunt more ducuntur; They neglect their own wisdom, who without any judgement approve the invention of those that fore-went them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them.* By the advantage of which sloth and dulcnes, ignorance is now become so powerful a Tyrant, as it hath let true Philosophy, Physick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the first, *Contra negantem principia*; over the second, *Virtus specifica*; and over the third, *Ecclesia Romana*.

But for my self, I shall never be persuaded, that God hath shut up all the light of Learning within the Lanthorn of *Aristotle's* brains; or, that it was ever said unto him, as unto *Esdras*, *Accendam*

Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they only invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same Nature having confuted all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theie, and theie, be the causes of theie and theie effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reason; and so hath Experience without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that fowre Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reason of this cause, why the fowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it; and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this, and many other like vulgar questions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grains under his feet, why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are far less noble Creatures than himself; who is far more noble than the Heavens themselves: *Man* (saith *Solomon*) *that can hardly discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us*; that hath so short a time in the World, as he no sooner begins to learn; than to dye; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his understanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his own Soul, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if *Aristotle* be he) could never so much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else doth know, but GOD that created it (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, saith *Job*.) Man, I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his own life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith *Job*) *is so excellent as we know him not*; and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will disable GOD, power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Moors of the Air for a cause, call the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of Form; and lastly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion *Aristotle*, to make himself the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and his Sectators have maintained it; *Parati ac conjurati, quos sequuntur Philosophorum animis invictis opinionibus tueri.* For *Hermes*, who lived at once with, or soon after *Moses*, *Zoroaster*, *Musæus*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Melissus*, *Pherecydes*, *Thales*, *Cleanthes*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and many others (whose Opinions are exquisitely gathered by *Stenachus Engubinus*) found in the necessity of invincible reason, One Eternal and Infinite Being, to be the Parent of the Universal: *Horum omnium sententia quævis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, ut providentiam unam esse consentiant: sive enim Natura, sive Æther, sive Ratio, sive Mens, sive Fatalis Necessitas, sive divina Lex, idem est quæ à nobis dicitur Deus; All these mens Opinions (saith *Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this; That Last; they agree upon one Providence, whether the same be Nature, or Light, or Reason, or Understanding, or Destiny, or divine Ordinance, that it is the same which we call GOD. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers risings, and divers runnings, though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under ground, and seem to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; do at last find, and fall into, the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philosophical contemplation and curiosity, in the necessity of this Infinite power, all the reason of Man ends and dissolves it self.*

As for others: and first touching those which conceive the matter of the World to have been eternal, and that God did not create the World, *ex nihilo*, but *ex materia præexistente*; the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith *Eusebius*) *Mibi videtur quod hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexere; They seem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune; inasmuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had never been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Universal.* For, were the Matter or Chaos eternal, it then follows, That either this supposed Matter did fit it self to God, or God accommodate himself to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans Will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himself, according to the proportion of matter, which he lighted upon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise; I would gladly learn how it came to pass, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no less, than served to receive the form of the Universal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient, then must it be granted, That God cleared out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to finish the work of the World: Or, had there been more of this matter than sufficed, then God did dissolve and annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable Soul confess, That it is the same work of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same Art and Power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternal matter, be again

Charron de
Saggi.

Lañ. de orig.
Error. l. 2.
c. 2.

Ench. de præp.
Evangel. l. 7. c. 11.

again changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this *matter* was the cause of it self; this, of all other, were the greatest Idiottum. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time; then there was also a time when it self was not; at which time of not being, it is cause enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it self, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. *Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus; There is nothing that doth precede it self, neither do bodies compound themselves.*

For the rest, Those that feign this *matter* to be eternal, must of necessity confess, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had infinite *matter* left no place for infinite form; but that the first *matter* was finite, the form which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part, whoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be his reward. For, it is a madness of that kind, as watchmen terms to express it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow: *quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant*) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for *matter* or *form*; yea, for as many worlds (as if such had been Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the work-mans will. Yea, Reason it self finds it more cause for Infinite power, to deliver from it self a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and dust, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius his words: *Deum in una existentia omnia præbuit; et* again, *Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod videt, & quod non videt*; to wit, *causæ alter, or in better terms, non tantum formas, sed tantum causa universalis*. Neither hath the World Universal closed up all of G O D: For the most part of his works (saith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his Wisdom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we seldom entitle G O D The All-*showing*, or The All-*willing*; but the Allmighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, infer the Worlds eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [Nothing] be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed upon Natural Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor, Aristotle himself confesseth, *Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum: That all the Ancients decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite*; and a little after, more largely, and plainly, *Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia completi ac regere*: it is strange, that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsely; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For, if we compare the World Universal, and all the unmeasurable Orbs of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, with ipsum infinitum, it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirms of his imaginary *Materia prima*, That they are neither *quid*, *quale*, nor *quantum*; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionem) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore, *Anaximander, Melissus, and Empedocles*, call the World Universal, but, *particulam Universalis & infinitatis*; a parcel of that which is the Universality, and the Infinity is self: And Plato, but a shadow of God. But the others, to prove the Worlds eternity, ureth this *Maxime*, That, *A sufficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted*. Inferring, that God being for ever a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the World universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the same God to be a God restrained in his Conclusion; to make God free in power, and bound in will, able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding, which cannot but work, matter being present: As Fire, to burn things combustible. Again, he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterwards work, it is either thereto moved by it self, or by somewhat else; and so it passeth from power to act: But God (saith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himself, nor by any other; but being always the same, doth always work. Whence he concludeth, If the World were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore eternal. The answer to this is very easie; For that Gods performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him.

For

For the same action of his will, which made the World for ever, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it self sufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be said to be eternal; which the Platonicks call *Spiritualium mundum*; and do in this fort distinguish the *Idea* and *Creation in time*. *Spiritualis est mundus, mundus hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vixit aequali est Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decessit jam ab officio ex parte una, quia non fuit semper: retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus: That representative, or the intentional word (say they) the sampler of this visible world, the first work of G O D, was equally antient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever shall be. This material world, the second work or creature of G O D, doth differ from the worker in this, that it was not for everlasting; and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come. The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confess: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the consummation of this world, there shall be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue; though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this consideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point, *Proclus* the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded Essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissolvable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inseparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the Worlds natural appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good and understanding divine; and that this virtue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporal Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not all together; but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.*

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it shall have any end, and to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never seen, never felt, nor, not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance, or in any fort otherwise than they were; which had been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newness, and that they have not continued so long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive answer by conjectures; it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Pliny, Strabo, Bedæ, Aquinas, and Arif. Met. 2. others, were grossly mistaken; or else those parts of the World, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sun's heat, neither were the Seas under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that those Regions so scituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which we navigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of Deluges; and how that in the time of Phæton, divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Suns violent heat.

But in a word, this Observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter mouldring and friable, have stood two or three thousand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of substance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alterations should we look for in Celestial and Quintessential bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the Sun, by who's help all creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, such as the eldest World had, nor Mighty Men, such as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of less vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Discourse, we might easily fetch store of proof; as well that this World shall at length have end, as that once it had a beginning.

And I see no good Answer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal, why not all things in the World eternal? If there were no first, no Cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible Wisdom, but that every Nature had been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other Nature; Why had not the eternal reason of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why should Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men rot and dye?

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Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it should hang in the Air; that the *Sun* should travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed those bounds, nor fail to perform that Progress once in every year; the *Moon* to live by borrowed light; the fixed *Stars* (according to common opinion) to be fastned like nails in a Cart-wheel; and the *Planets* to wander at their pleasure? Or, if none of these had power over other; was it out of Charity and Love, that the *Sun* by his perpetual travel within those two Circles, hath visited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the *Sun* have of his own accord kept this course in all eternity; He may justly be called eternal Charity, and everlasting Love. The flame may be said of all the *Stars*, who being all of them most large and clear fountains of virtue and operation, may also be called eternal Vertues; the *Earth* may be called eternal Patience; the *Moon*, an eternal Borrower, and Beggar; and Man, of all other the most miserable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by Millions, than ever *Hesiodus* dream'd of. But instead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reason discern it better; That the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Stars*, and the *Earth*, are limited, bounded, and confined; themselves they have not constrained, nor could. *Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit* Every thing hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now, for *Nature* : As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of *Aristotle* hath both commended many errors unto us, and fought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World ; so if the best definition be taken out of the second of *Aristotle's Physics*, or *primo de Celo*, or out of the fifth of his *Metaphysics*, I say, that the best is but nominal, and serving only to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artificial : which yet the *Academicks* open better ; when they call it, *A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soul of the World* ; who give the first place to *Providence*, the second to *Fate*, and but the third to *Nature*. *Providencia* (by which they understand GOD) *Dux & Caput* ; *Fatum*, *medium ex providentia prodeunt* ; *Natura postremum*. But be it what it will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all ; yet that it hath choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanswerable of *Laërtianus*, *is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem facienti habet, aut scientiam* ; He only can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus : Potest ubique Natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materiis, opera facere ; sublata vero mediolorum materiarumque diversitate, vel unicum, vel simillimum operatur; neque potest quando adest materia non operari : It is the power of Nature by diversity of means, or out of diversity of matter, to produce divers things ; but taking away the diversity of means, and the diversity of matter, it then works but one or the like work ; neither can it but work, matter being present . Now, if Nature made choice of diversity of matter, to work all thele variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both understanding and will ; it had counsel to begin ; reason had been bur one and the same, all of the manner of Heaven ; or all of the matter of Earth . And , if we grant Nature this will, and this understanding, this counsel, this reason, and power : Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur ? Why should we then call such a cause a Nature, than God & God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to divine power : Omnes homines naturam esse non habent, omneque summum locum reison in man (where there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power . Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his que sunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea que vere sunt, & semper eadem : True Philosophy is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest ; I do also account it not the meaneſt, but an impietie, monſtrous, to confound God and Nature ; be it but in terms. For it is God, that only diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, *vessels of honour and diſhonour* : It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all ; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that good doth un-
to all, knowing and loving the good it doth. It is Nature that ſecondarily doth all good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in him-
ſelf ; Nature nothing in it ſelf. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things ; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth ; for by it ſelf it
exiſteth not. For, ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall
towards

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towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we term it knowledge in Fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these; by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, seeing all things work as they do (call it by *Form*, or *Nature*, or by what you please) yet, because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; and by a faculty, infused by the supremest power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the *Creature* wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it self, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the virtue and power which it hath; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost perfections. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himself for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith and Reason; without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do successively pursue each other from the first fountains.

Thus much, I say, it is, that Reason it self hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledge. *Sapientia præcedit, Ratio sequitur; quia primus est Deus scire, consequens colere;* Sapience goes before, Religion follows; because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience, Plato calleth *ablati boni scientiam*, the Science of the absolute good: And another, *Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum.* For Faith (*faith is fide*) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and example is perswaded: *Fides nequaquam vi exoritur, sed ratione & exemplo suadetur.* I confess it is, That to enquire further, as of his fecrer judgement, and the causes, is not an affect of Reason; *Sed cum ratione infansium;* but; and they grow much with reason, that enquire after it: For, as it is no shame nor dishonour (*faith a French Authour*) *de faire ardeur au bon homme naître surpasse*; for a man to reit himself there, where he finds it impossible to pass further: so whatsoever standing it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a cessity teach us (Reason, which is *pari divini spiritus in corpore humanum me*) that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and the seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Discourse, either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine own excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grosslest, the unfaulter division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first Part finished. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little, *ipsi nobis fatis lubentior*; *nam*. We are tollen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our own. But proof, though a late good Writer, make himself the wisest man, is but a poor and miserable Ignorant. Those that are the best men of War, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from their selves; from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argument. For of the *Affyrans*, which after the down-fall of *Babel* take up the first Part; and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity; some few enterprises, greater in Fame than Faith, of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, excepted.

It was the Story of the *Hebrews*, of all before *Olympiad*, that overcame the confuming disease of Time; and preserved it self from the very Cradle and beginning to this day; and yet not so entire, but that the large Discourses thereof (to which, in many Scriptions, we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of whole Kings and Princes which thut up here and there in the same Time, I am driven to relate by way of digression; of which we may say with *Virgil*:

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*Apparent rarities in gurgite vasto ;
They appear here and there, floating in the great gulf of Time.*

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us ; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Laws ; they had their diversity of Government ; they had Kingly rule ; Nobility ; Policy in War ; Navigation, and all, or the most of needful Trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a general History we should have left a great deal of Nakedness by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have also made many others ; which, if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of humane error. For, seeing we digress in the ways of our lives ; yea, seeing the life of Man is nothing else but digression ; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of History, and of the kinds.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Laws are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles, and every day preach'd unto us. But we still make large digressions ; yea, the Teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the *Persians* had wrested the Empire from the *Chaldeans*, and had raised a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found : it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire ; whilst it so flourished, that the affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the Fortunes of *Greece*, when they again began to get ground upon the *Persians*, as also towards the affairs of *Rome*, when the *Romans* grew more mighty than the *Greeks*.

As for the *Mædes*, the *Macedonians*, the *Sicilians*, the *Carthaginians*, and other Nations, who resisted the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement : it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers ; who seldom give names to these small Brooks, whereof many joyned together, make great Rivers ; till such time as they become united, and run in main stream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, and the Style not every where like it self ; the first shows their legitimation and true Parent, the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matter. For *Virgil*, who wrote his *Elogues*, *crastili avena*, used stronger pipes, when he founded the wars of *Aeneas*. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers *Hebrew* words in my first Book, and elsewhere, in which language others may think, and my self acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant ; but it is true, that some of them I find in *Montanus*, others in *Latine* Characters in *S. Senensis* ; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say, I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondered at, having had an even years leisure to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other Tongue ; Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I answer, That whosoever in writing a modern History, shall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his Teeth. There is no Mistress or Guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself ; and he that walks after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kind of course, Temper, or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the best use of them ; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardise, or both, do yet (when Death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest Times ; wherein also, why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the Vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead ; and have it laid to my charge ? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find find fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely.

For, I protest before the Majesty of God, that I malice no man under the Sun. Impossible I know it is, to please all ; seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers persons in one and the same day. *Seneca* hath said it, and so do I : *Unus mihi pro populo eras* : and to the same effect, *Epicurus*, *Hic ego non multis, sed tibi* ; (or as it hath since lamentably fallen

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fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, *Satis est unus, Satis est nullus*. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince, *Henry*, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleased him to permit some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master ; from which, all that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks : *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus : hic exitus est omnis judicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur*. But these Discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably ; so against those, *qui gloriantur in malitia*, my present adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already ; and therefore have not far to fall ; and for rising again, as in the Natural privation, there is no recession to habit ; so it is seldom seen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers, *Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly*, thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promise a second and third Volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough ; and too much : and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never so many courteous Phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fools, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well deserving of them, than ever I shall do again. For had it been otherwise ; I should hardly have had this leisure to have made my self a Fool in Print.

The



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9. III. That in process of time these lesser errors drew on greater, as appeareth in the gross Superstitions of the Egyptians.

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9. VII. That the wiser of the ancient *Heathen* had far better opinions of *God*.

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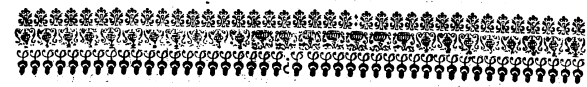
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THE



THE LIFE OF Sir WALTER RALEIGH.



Determine to write the Life, the Rise, Fortunes, and End of *Walter Raleigh*, Knight; his Memoirs being certainly worthy to be transmitted to Posterity, who hath been so successfully industrious in retrieving the Actions of former Ages from the Ruines of Time, even in its very Infancy, in a well-compile'd, masculine, and learned History of the World. The Image of so great a Person should not be quite lost, though drawn in little, which deserves to

be pourtrayed by the greatest Masters of Policy, and with the boldest Touches. Indeed his Shadows cannot now be well left exact, seeing they must be taken so long after his Death; when Time hath defac'd his best Features, and shed Oblivion on the most beautiful of his Actions. Who follows Truth (as Sir *Walter* has wisely remark'd) too near the heels, may have his teeth struck out; and he that goes after her, oft loseth her sight, and himself too. Distance of time doth sometimes, like some *mediums*, make the straightest Actions seem crooked, and sometimes gives them the advantage of Landscapes, which appear taking and agreeable afar off, though when nearly search'd, and pry'd into by a curious and intelligent Eye, they seem rude, harsh, and unpleasant. We must therefore despair of a just and exact Account of him, unless we could by some Magick power (as the Author of a Pamphlet has done, to terrify and make *Gondomore* speak the truth) raise him from the dead, and converse a while with his Ghost. I shall however with what imperfect Clue our Histories have bequeath'd, trace him through the various Labyrinths of Fortune, and take a Prospect of him in the several Scenes of Court and Camp, Peace and War, till I have followed him to the Scaffold, the place of his much lamented and unhappy End; keeping as near as I can a *medium* between those who in their Annals drive on with an implicit faith; and those, who to get the reputation of Observers and men of Reach, steal into the private Recesses of Princes, and disrobe Majesty it self to find some Deformities, which love to their Prince, and interest of State should cover; The best vail for all deform'd Actions.

In his Preface to the History of the World.

In his Bri-
tannia.

I find him born at a place, call'd *Budely*, or *Budliegh*, in the County of *Devon*, in an house which his Family had long posselt, call'd *Hays*: A Country (as Mr. *Cambden* has observ'd) renown'd among foreign Nations for the Valour of the Inhabitants in Sea-Services of all sorts. That *Spain* thought so, Sir *Francis Drake*, with many others of that Country, as well as our Sir *Walter*, are very convincing Arguments.

That he was well defended, was never yet questioned, but by my Lord of *Oxon*, who indeed was wont to call him the Jack, and Upstart. But these were words which only Envy and Emulation could extort, and every one very easily confute.

Sir Robert
Nanton.

Indeed that he was a Gentleman, because a Favourite, was no ill Argument among the Politicians of those Times, if we may believe a Secretary of State, who hath left this as a Maxim then, That the Queen through her whole Reign never was guilty of creation, never in her choice took into her Favour a meer new man, or a Mechanick.

That he was but poor in the beginning seems not strange, if we consider him the youngest Brother, and the Fortunes of his Family much diminished by the Generosity (if not Prodigality) of his Ancestors. But the wants of Fortune are often recompenc'd with the richer gifts of the Mind; Nature foreseeing the disability of his Estate, stock'd him with a larger portion of Sense, bequeath'd him the fairer Patrimony of a faithful Memory, plausible Tongue, strong Wit, and solid Judgment.

But because the natural Endowments of the Mind, though never so great, are capable of advancement by the help of Education, he resolv'd for one of the Universities. *Oxon* had the happiness to own him, where I find him in *Oriel* Collegg. His slender Fortune, and his active Genius, always pointed with a restless Ambition, would not let him settle here, so that he could only (like a Spy) take a transient view of, or (like an hasty Enemy) make some incursions and inrodes into those parts of Learning, which he afterwards conquered, and was entirely Master of.

Therefore that he might the better feed those Hopes Ambition had kindled in his thoughts, and remove nearer to the Mistress he courted; He resolv'd for one of the Inns of Court, which he knew were always places of Esteem with the Queen, who would say, *they fitted Youth for the future*. Here he spent his time, and improv'd himself in the intricate knowledge of our Laws, and in the studies of all manly and real Accomplishments.

But he staid not long here neither, for Fate it seems would have him of the Sword first. Yet though he laid aside his Gown, it was not with a design of never reassuming it; for through the frequent Vicissitudes of his whole Life, he challeng'd a Reputation among the most Eminent States-men, being upon all Emergencies of Affairs consulted, as one of the best Oracles of Government and Policy in his time. It's true he was never sworn, for some Reasons of State which Courts spread a Vail over, but was frequently called to Council. Through his Life he made good his Motto, *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*: and it is still a Question, Whether he was the better Statesman or Soldier? incomparably excelling in both the Arts of Peace and War. To rise by his Studies, probably his Condition and Ambition would not let him judge the speediest course, much time and a considerable fortune being often spent in climbing up the tedious steps of Preferment that way. He thought it more easy to fight, than talk himself into a Reputation. Active Times, and a busy War-like Princess, pointed him out the readiest way to the Temple

ple of Honour. The Sword he judg'd with *Alexander* the quickest Instrument to unty all the Knots and tedious Obstacles of Greatness.

Nor could he want Occasions enow to draw forth his Spirits into Action. *France* was engag'd in a Civil-War; And the Queen, whether out of concern for the Protestants, or for reason of State, to divert the Giant-Enemy the *Spaniard*, assist'd the poor distressed *Dutch*. And the *Spaniard* by a Policy of the same nature, rais'd Rebellions in *Ireland*, which, like subterranean Fires, broke out over all the Kingdom at several times; when one *Mac* had in one place spent his Force, presently we hear of the Eruption of another. This Fire was kept in to the end of her Reign, being maintained by that lasting Fewel of Rebellion, and common pretext of change in Government, Religion: The Pope pretending the Kingdom belonged to *St. Peter*.

Of his first publick Appearance Mr. *Cambden* hath given us this Account: The Queen though imbroil'd in a Rebellion at home of the Earl of *Northumberland* and *Dacres* in the North, Yet fail'd not to relieve the Protestants in *France*, who were now brought into a distressed and almost desperate condition; she exhorted all the Protestant Princes to assist the Common Cause, supplied the Queen of *Navar* with Money, taking Jewels in pawn; Permitted *Henry Champernowne* to carry into *France* a Troop of Gentlemen-Volunteers, who were resolv'd to make good the Motto their Colours bore, *Finem det nobis Virtus*. Among these Sir *Walter* engag'd himself, though (as Mr. *Cambden* goes on) very young, and now first beginning to be of any note. So soon the early blossoms of his Valour began to appear, which afterwards grew up to an exact ripeness and perfection. *France* was the first School, wherein he learnt the Rudiments of War; and the *Low-Countries* and *Ireland* (the Military Academies of those times) made him Master of that Discipline; for in both places he expos'd himself afterwards to Land-Service: But their slender Pay encouraged him not to stay long in either. The Service of *Ireland* especially scarce supplying the necessities of a Military Life. Being restless and impatient of a narrow and low condition, and his Services being not so successful as his Hopes were great, and his Merits not answer'd with a Fortune strong enough to buoy up his Reputation, he was resolv'd to leave no stone unturned, nor any Method of living unexperimented. And since his Land-Expeditions could make no Additions to his Fortunes, Novelty and a desire of putting himself into a better capacity, urg'd him to a Sea-Voyage. At both Sea and Land he was the true pattern of Industry; and if any Man ever manag'd Necessity to its furthest improvements, it was He. No expert Soldier or Mariner escap'd his Acquaintance and Enquiries; nothing that related to the Arts of War and Navigation mis'd his perusal, and one who was Master of those parts he enjoy'd could with no difficulty make those Arts his own. Add to this the Methods he us'd to improve himself. He slept but five hours, four he spent in reading and mastering the best Authors, two in a select conversation and an inquisitive discourse, the rest in business. He underwent all the labours that attend a Soldier, and far'd as the meanest. No common Mariner took more pains, or hazarded more in the most difficult attempts.

What his Sea-Voyages produced Histories are silent in; but not long after his return I find him got again into *Ireland*, appearing with his own Colours flying in the Field, under the command of the Lord *Grey*, who succeeded *Pelham* in the Deputyship of that Kingdom. He had not been long there, before a Quarrel was rais'd between the Lord-Deputy and our Captain, (for with that Title he went into *Ireland*) which being complain'd of to a Council

1569.

1580.

cil of War, was referr'd to the Council-Table in *England*. Our Historians would make the Lord *Grey's* Cause the fairest, but Justice, and the result of the Council, gave *Raleigh* the Victory. What were the occasions of this Quarrel our Annals slip over, and have only left a large Field for Conjecture to tire it self in. Whether an eager pursuit after Honour, without exact obedience to Military Command, occasioned by a restless desire of doing something great, or whatever else it might be, we leave the *Reader* to fancy. However if his Cause had not been good, no Apology, how well soever managed, could have brib'd the Judgment of so wise a Council, wholly strangers to his Worth and Person.

About this time Authors place the *Era* of his Rise, but cannot well agree about the occasion of it. Some would have *Leicester* to be the chief Agent in it, and that he related the whole business at Council to the Queen with no little advantage to our Captain. Not so much probably out of respect to *Raleigh*, as to his own interest. For Favourites, like their Princes, seldom espouse any Cause upon any other ground than what advances or stands with their own Designs. His own Designs indeed on the Queen were blasted, and finding the burden and envy of a Statesman too heavy for his aged shoulders, he was willing handsomely to impart them to a more active *Genius*. Though great Favourites seldom admit of a Partner, till Age makes them willing to withdraw and leave the trouble of business to more sprightly years. They care not to have new Plants set, till they themselves are almost withered and sapless.

Others would have his Rise attributed to *Suffex*, who brought him to Court to outshine *Leicester*, and eclipse the splendor of his Enemy. But what was the strongest Argument and only Periwinkle with the Queen was his Merits, which she soon saw, and presently encouraged. Nor must I here pass by one small step to his future Height, which our Chronicles have overlook'd, as below the Pen of an Historian, though some have judg'd an Account of some little transactions the best Inlets to Truth and Mysteries of State. The occasion was thus: Our Captain coming over out of *Ireland* upon the aforementioned Cause to Court, in very good habit (which it seems was the greatest part of his Estate) which is often found to be no mean Introducer where Delights are not known, found the Queen walking, till she was stop'd by a plashy-place which she scrupled treading on, presently he spread his new Plush-Coat on the ground, on which the Queen trod gently, being not a little pleas'd as well as surpriz'd with so unexpected a Complement. Thus, as one remarks upon this Story, *An advantageous Admission into the first Notices of a Prince is more than half a degree to Preferment*. For he presently after found some gracious Beams of Favour reflecting on him, which he was resolv'd, and well knew how to cherish and contract. To put the Queen in remembrance, he wrote in a Window obvious to her Eye,

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Which her Majesty either espying, or being shewn, under-wrote this Answer,

If thy Heart fail thee, climb not at all.

But his aspiring Soul could not rest in the lower, though safer way of living; He could not be mean, whose Resolutions were so great, and whose Prudence and

and Activity made him capable of the highest Preferments. Inspir'd with a restless and ambitious Genius he design'd nothing but what was extreme, and had rather not be, than not be one of the most Eminent. And to the greatest Height probably he had arrived, had he lived in any other Princes Reigns than that of *Q. Elizabeth* and *K. James*, the former being not over-hasty to raise any to any great Honour, and the latter not caring for Men of War and Blood.

Raleigh was so towards an Apprentice in the Court-Trade, that he soon set up for himself, and would have improv'd this stock of Favour to a great advantage, had he not lost by those common Enemies to it, Envy and Jealousie. In a short time he is become a *Minion*, obtains the Queens Ear, is often consulted, and nothing done without him. Her Favour and his Parts began to alarm his Rivals, who like some envious Neighbours will not easily permit any Fabrick to stand long that hinders their own Prospect. Jealous Favourites, like wise Planters, will not suffer the Under-Wood to rise, which may obstruct the growth of taller Trees.

Leicester began to repent his choice of his Creature, and thought he grew too fast in his Mistress Favour. To stop the current of her Affection, he privately endeavours to undermine his Esteem, and introduce a new Favourite that might be his Rival. To bring about this design, *Leicester* thought there would be nothing wanting, if by *Raleigh's* absence he could have opportunity to introduce the Earl of *Essex*; nor did he long expect before one offer'd it self: for the Queen being willing to encourage *Raleigh*, (who, as Mr. *Cambden* is pleas'd to tell us, was never sufficiently to be commended for the great pains he took to discover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the *English Navigation and Trade*) sent him on a Voyage to Sea. Nor did he make a vain and fruitless one; for at his Return he brought news of a new Country, discover'd by him in the Year 1584, called in honour of the Queen *Virginia*, before call'd *Ancientoria* by the barbarous Inhabitants. A Country that hath been since of no inconsiderable Profit to our Nation. But though Patents were granted to him to settle a Plantation there, it grew not famous till the Reign of King *James*: Wherein this Nation quickly found out the Excellency and Fruitfulness of the place, so agreeable to our *English* Bodies, and profitable to the Exchequer. Nature there is prodigal, and makes amends for her parsimony to other parts of the World. An Acre there yielding often forty Bushels of Corn; and, which is more strange, there being three Harvests in a Year: For their Corn is sow'd, ripe, and cut down in little more than two Months.

For this, and other beneficial Expeditions and Designs, this Year her Majesty was pleas'd to confer on him the honour of Knighthood, which in her Reign was more esteemed than in her Successors. The Queen keeping the Temple of Honour close shut, and never open'd but to Virtue and Desert. Nor was she indeed ever hasty to reward; for she seldom paid in any other coin than Patents and good Words. So that the greatest number of those who might pretend to Favour, were the Architects of their own Fortunes, and had little or no Encouragement from her, more than that of a Spectator, who praises the Workmanship, and commends the handfom Contrivances of a Building; but is at no part of the Expences of raising it. Hence our Sir *Walter's* Rewards are quickly enumerated, for he got nothing after all his Exploits and Designs, but the Wardenship of the *Stameries*, Command of the Guard, and the Government of *Jersey* and *Virginia*; Places of no very great Profit, nor answerable to his Worth, or just Ambition.

1588. In 1588, the Grand Climacterick of Spain, (for Bodies Politick have their Critical Times) I find Sir Walter by his Example encouraging others of the Gentry to set out Ships at their proper charges, and by his admirable Conduct and Courage to put them to the best use. Which hired Ships were Actors of no small use in that fatal Blow given to the Invincible Armada. Three Years this Giant had been growing to that portentous Greatness, with infinite Expences and Industry; but was beaten, ruin'd, and dishonourably overthrown in less than a Months space: the Spaniards finding that our Ships as well as the Heavens could fight against them.

1592. But this Shock, like some Ague-fit, was easily recovered, and in a short time after the Spaniards began to renew their former Designs. For in the Parliament which began Feb. 19. 1592, I find Sir Walter Raleigh informing the House, that the Queen could not without Subsidies prevent the eminent Dangers threaten'd from the Spaniard. Of which Subsidies he spake (as he protesteth) not only to please the Queen, to whom he was infinitely obliged, but for the necessity he both saw and knew; He told them, he very well discovered the great strength of the King of Spain; and to shew his Mightiness, he inform'd the House how he possess'd all the World. And that his Malice and ill purposes against this Realm might be evident, he shew'd how on every side he had beleaguerr'd us; In Denmark, the King being young, he had corrupted the Council and Nobility; so it was very likely he would speed himself of Ships from thence. In the Maritime Towns of the Low-Countries, and in Norway he hath laid in great store of Shipping. In France he hath the Parliament-Towns at command; In Britanny he hath all the best Havens; and in Scotland he hath corrupted the Nobility, and promis'd them Forces to assist the Papists, and that they were ready to joyn with any Foreign Aids, that would make them strong enough to be by themselves, and to resist others; for, as he thought, there were not six Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion. In his own Country there are all possible Preparations making, and he is coming with sixty Gallies, besides other Shipping. If our Subsidies are not sudden, he may with ease invade us riding at Anchor; but all will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming he fully resolveth to get Plymouth, or at least to possess some of the Havens this Summer within our Land. And Plymouth is in most danger; for no Ordnance can be carried thither to remove him, the passages will not give leave. Now the way to defeat him, is to send a Royal Army and supplant him in Britanny, and to possess our selves there; and to send a strong Navy to Sea, and to lye with it on the Cape, and at Lambuck, to which places come all his Ships with Riches from all places, and there they may set upon all that come.

What success this Speech alone had I know not, but the Subsidy was granted, with the general consent of the House, to carry on a War against Spain. His Expedition a little after demonstrates that the Queen took his Advice, which was to afflict the Spaniards at a distance; and whilst he could not handomly assault his more neighbourly and guarded parts, to disturb those that were more naked and further off, his Indies. The Moneys brought from thence being the Nerves and Sinews of his Power, and the chiefest Incendiary in the Irish Rebellion, which if handomly stop'd, would put an end to his Greatness, and humble the mighty Monarch.

That he might not want an opportunity to shew his Valour and Conduct in this Affair, the Queen sends him to Sea to manifest both; thinking none more fit to be employed in a Business, than the Person that counsel'd and

started

started it. Having the Courage of a Soldier to put in execution the sober Advices of the Gown-man. To America he is sent with fifteen Men of War to possess himself of Panama, where the Spaniards ship their Riches, or to intercept their passage homewards. But he found more Encouragement from the willingness of the Seamen than from the Winds, which held the Ships in their Havens for three months; a Circumstance, which put an ill look upon the Enterprize, and had almost made it vain. But nothing could allay the Courage of the Seamen, who were buoy'd up with the hopes of Prey, and the success of their Commander. Having set sail at last, they got beyond the Spanish Cape, called the Lands-end, where they met with unwelcome Intelligence, viz. That by express Command from his Catholick Majesty no Ship was to stir from the West-Indies that Year. Together with this News, instead of meeting with the long'd-for Enemy, they were attack'd with a more invincible one, a furious Tempest, which dispers'd and disorder'd the Fleet, and sunk their Ship-Boats. Thus being on all sides assaulted with Tempests, Disasters, and the worse news of the Spaniards stay in the other World, he thought the Heavens had dash'd his Designs, and render'd a well-ordered Contrivance abortive. Upon which at first he intended to make for home with the whole Fleet; but another Project offer'd it self after second thoughts, of dividing the Navy into two Squadrons, from the hope that though while together they had been successles, yet Fortune might offer to them when separated something worthy their patience and desires. Immediately one Squadron is committed to the conduct of Sir John Burroughs, Son to the Lord Burroughs; the other to Sir Martin Forbisher, with their respective Commissions. Sir Martin's charge was to lie off and on the Coast of Spain, to hinder the coming in of their Vessels. Sir John's to wait at the Azores for the coming of the Caracks out of the East-Indies.

Sir Walter was much blam'd for this Action, and thought short in his Politics in giving over the hopeful part of the Design to Sir John Burroughs, and retiring himself to Court. But the Success was the only Argument of his Oversight, and nothing but the Event could charge him with Imprudence. The Division of the Fleet proved a wise Design, and amazed the Spaniard. For while the Spanish Admiral eyed Forbisher, the mighty Caracks were unguarded, and left to the mercy of Burroughs's Men of War as an easy prey. Who having according to Order arriv'd at Santa Cruce, a small Town in the Isle of Azores, a little after got sight of a Portugal Merchant-man, (briskly pursued by a Privateer of the Earl of Cumberland's) but could not reach her, an unhappy Calm keeping him at a too far distance. But a more welcome Storm arising in the night, forc'd both to weigh Anchor. As soon as day appear'd, the Portuguese was unloading as fast as she could at Flores, and upon the approach of the English fired their Carack: But though their Designs were ruin'd on that Ship, yet the news they got from some Prisoners taken, gave them fresh hopes, and hearten'd them with the Information, that several other Merchant-men were behind coming for Spain. This put Sir John Burroughs upon placing his Men of War at several distances, to reach as far about as was possible. But they had not long waited, before their diligence was rewarded with the surprizal of a large Vessel, called the Mother of God, which was 165 foot long from Head to Stern, and seven Decks high, laden with Goods to the value of 150000 l. English, besides what the Seamen privately seiz'd for their own use.

1595.

Sir *Walter* having now deserted his Naval Employ, and become again a Courtier, it was not long before he was seized with the idle Court-Disease of Love, the unfortunate occasion of the worst Action of his whole Life. For in the Year 1695, I find him under a Cloud, banish'd the Court, and his Mistresses Favour withdrawn, for devirginating a Maid of Honour. But why for this one Action he should lie under the imputation of an *Atheist*, and from a single crime get the denomination of a Debauch, is the Logick of none but the Vulgar. By the same reason the other Favourites of those Times (*Leicester, Cecil, and Essex*) bid as fair for those titles, the latter making the Parallel good in this Vice, with his Successor *Buckingham*, though in other circumstances there was a great disparity. Neither ever was it a Crime of any magnitude in the Orb of Courts. But to stop the Mouth of Fame, which is always open on such occasions, and to wipe out the Infamy of the Fact, he was shortly after married to the Object of his Love, the deflowred Lady. And to get Reputation among the People, who always were unjust to him in their Sentiments, he put himself on a Voyage to *Guiana*, for the Improvement and Honour of his Country. Having therefore obtained his Liberty (for, for this Action he was imprisoned some months) and finding all things with an unpleasant Aspect, he followed his *Genius* of discovering new Places, and tracing Nature in her more retired and hidden Paths; thinking that Absence, and a fortunate Voyage, might reinvest him in his Mistresses thoughts, and merit a new Esteem.

Guiana had been talk'd of much by the *Spaniards* as an excellent Country, and for one Commodity the *Spaniards* had a great reverence for, very famous, Gold, which put Sir *Walter* upon the Attempt, judging it besides a place (if mastered) very convenient for its situation to annoy and disturb the *Spaniards* American Traffic, and would be no little help in building his Fortunes, and what was more estimable, Place him in his Mistresses Favour again.

From *Plsmouth* he set sail on the sixth of *February*, and on the 22d of *March* arrived at the Isle of *Trinidad*, eight degrees on this side the *Equinoctial-Line*; where he soon made himself Master of *St. Josephs*, a small City; and, which was more considerable, of the Governour *Antonio Bereo*, from whom he got the best Account of those Parts, and its Trade. Leaving his Ship at *Trinidad*, with some Pinaces and an hundred Men, and the small stock of Knowledge he obtained of *Bereo*, he made up the great River *Ormus*, in search of *Guiana*. What he found, saw, and performed there, his most ingenious History of those Parts, may satisfy the Curious.

In his Return he fired *Cumana*, because the Inhabitants would not redeem it with Money; besides several Cottages at *St. Maries*, and *Rio de la Hach*. Neither did he desist in this Design of *Guiana*, for once or twice Mr. *Cambden* tells us afterwards he prosecuted it with vast Expences, although the *Spaniards* had placed a Colony at *Trinidad* to hinder his further Attempts.

Whilst Sir *Walter* is searching for a new World, *Hawkins* and *Drake* are attempting fresh things in those parts of *America* which the *Spaniards* were already possess'd of. But their old Fortune had left them, and the unhappiness of the Action put an end to their Lives; In the Year 1596, both died with Grief, and bequeath'd their Hatred of the *Spaniard* to Sir *Walter*, to revenge their Quarrel.

1596.

Who this Year return'd, being satisfied with his Expedition, and much more with the Reception he found at Court. The Storm was blown over, and his Mistresses Brow was more smooth than at his departure; after his Eclipse

Eclipse he shone brighter at Court, and the Death of those two famous Seamen, put them upon courting Sir *Walter*, whom the necessity of State forced them to cherish and encourage. It's strange, that what was *Essex's* Ruine should confirm Sir *Walter* in favour, frequent absence from his Mistress. But Sir *Walter's* Obsequiousness work'd much upon the humour of the Queen, who lov'd Pliantness and exact Obedience, which *Essex* could not always counterfeit.

The *Spaniard* being encouraged with the possession of *Cales*, from whence it was but a short cut over into *England*, the Death of *Hawkins*, and their former scourge, *Drake*, and the earnest Solicitations of the *Irish* (who through her Reign had got the Itch of Rebellion, which was fed and maintained by the *Spaniard*, though they had been sufficiently bloodied by the *English*.) And the Queen foreseeing a Storm gathering, thought the best way was to scatter it before it grew too great, and came too near. She resolv'd therefore to begin with the *Spaniard* first, and fairly set on the Enemy in his own Ports. She speedily riggs a brave Fleet, consisting of 150 Ships, mann'd by 6360 Souldiers, 1000 Volunteer-Gentlemen, 6772 Seamen. *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Howard* were Commanders of equal Authority, having been both at an excessive charge in carrying on the War. To these were joyned a Council of War, consisting of several eminent Seamen and Souldiers, among whom was our Sir *Walter*. The Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the first commanded by the Admiral Lord *Howard*; the second by *Essex*; the third by Sir *Thomas Howard*; the fourth by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

In the beginning of *June* they set sail, and got to *Gades* the 20th: their design being perfectly unknown, as well to their Enemies as their own Men. *Essex* heated with Youth, and an ambition of doing bravely, would have presently landed and assaulted the Enemy: but this heat was allayed and corrected by Sir *Walter's* Advice, vvho impugned all such rash Attempts. At last a fit Opportunity presented it self, and by all it was resolv'd to fight them. At vvhich news the Earl threw up his Hat for joy. The Ebbing Waters vvould not permit the great Ships to engage, the Shelves being of greater hazard than the Enemy. Therefore *Raleigh* is pitch'd on as the most proper Person in the midst of the Chanel to provoke them, vvho accordingly in a little Ship called the *Waffsight*, directed his Prow against the Spanish Men of War, vvich thereupon presently fell back. Upon this the rest of the Fleet came in, and burnt and took several of their Ships. After this Victory at Sea, the Men vvere very importunate to go ashore, vvhom *Essex* Landed at *Puntal*, a League from the City. At first the *Spaniards* received them vvith a great deal of courage, but the *English* charged so vvarmly, that they thought it their prudentest vvay to retire vvith more speed than they came out. The *English* pursued so close, that they had almost recovered the City-Gates as soon as they. The Earl got upon a Bulwark near the Gate, and from thence he elyped an Entrance into the Town, but very hazardous, it being down a very steep Precipice: but this did not affright several of our *English*, vvho leaped from thence into the Town, and engaged the Enemy in the Streets. In the mean time Sir *Walter* and others having forced the Gates, entered the Town, and the Castle was surrendred on Merciful Conditions. But Sir *Walter* vvvas not idle, or eager after the enjoyment of his Conquest; for vvhist others were reaping the plentiful Harvest of War, he vvith some small ships vvho could pass up the Chanel, fired their Merchant-men vvich vvere withdrawn to *Port-Real*, although they offered two millions of Ducats for their

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Redemption. Great were the Losses to the *Spaniards* by this War; and if we may believe our Histories, amounted to no less than Twenty Millions of Pounds. Upon Consultation it was resolv'd to quit the Town, though contrary to the Opinion of *Effex*, who was for keeping it, as a future Annoyance to the *Spaniards*. After this they took *Faro* in *Algarbe*, and being weary at last of their Victories, they resolv'd for Home, though much against *Effex's* will, whose youthful heat was but inflam'd by their Successes, but was wisely stak'd by the prudence of the Admiral, and the sober advice of Sir *Walter*: who finding their Men sick, and having gotten so ample Rewards, were not again for hazarding their Fortune upon hopes of a future Prey.

At their Return the Queen welcom'd and encourag'd her Souldiers with new Honours. All but *Effex* were pleas'd, who found State-Preferments not dispos'd of according to his mind. *Vere* was made Governour of the *Briel*, and Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State.

To recover their Losses at *Gales*, the *Spaniard* riggs out a new Fleet, which were battell alone by the Winds; for the greatest part were cast away and wreck'd. With the Reliques of this Fleet, in the Year following I find him upon his old Designs of *Ireland*: But the Queen was always too nimble for the *Grave-Dun*, whose Designs, like his Ships, mov'd slow and heavy.

1597.

Twenty Ships were rigg'd out at present, and afterwards encreased to an hundred and twenty Men of War and Victuallers; five thousand Men rais'd, besides a thousand old Souldiers who came from the *Netherlands* with *Vere*. To appease *Effex*, the whole Conduct of the Expedition is committed to him. The Navy was divided into three Squadrons; The first led by *Effex* himself; The second by *Howard*; The third by Sir *Walter*, who now was esteem'd the ablest Seaman of his Age. To enable this Expedition, several Persons of quality of all sorts engag'd themselves, who look'd rather like Couriers than Souldiers, being more adorn'd with Feathers and gay Cloaths, than arm'd with Courage and Resolution. On the ninth of July they set out with these Instructions, viz. To steer to *Faro* and the *Groine*, to surprize the *Spaniards* in their Harbours, and to intercept their *Indian* Fleet (the Bait of the War) at the *Azores*. Which Design was built upon very good Maxims of State; for it would hinder the Fleet intended against *England*; Their Merchant-men wanting Convoys, might be seized on; The *Azores* won, (where the *Indian* Fleet always call'd for fresh Water in their Return;) the Queen have the Dominion of the Seas; and the *Spaniard* be oblig'd to a Treatment of Peace. *Effex* gave out that he was resolv'd to sacrifice Himself and the Navy for his Country: But his brisk Resolutions were quickly daunted by a dismal Tempest, which astonish'd the Mariners themselves, and forc'd home our gaydy Volunteers, who thought no Enemy so terrible as a Tempest, and the severe motions of a Sea-sick Stomack. Thus by this Contradiction of Heaven their Ships were torn, their Victuals spent, and they upon this Emergency forc'd to a Consultation what to do. Some were for laying aside the *Faro* and the *Groine* Attempts; others for a Voyage to the *Azores*, which was contradicted by *Vere*. So that at last *Effex* and *Raleigh* were pitch'd on to ride Post for Advice to the Queen. *Effex* talk'd to the Queen of strange *Chimeras*; how that if he were permitted to have the Fleet, he would with ease fire the *Spanish* Navy, and perform many other bold Designs; about which the Queen caution'd him, and desir'd the whole Business should be managed as their joynt-discretion should prompt, and opportunity offer it self. But if it were possible, if any occasion courted them

them to it, they should fire the Ships in *Faro* Haven, and intercept what other Ships they could from the *Indies*; And upon all occasions manifest their Conduct and Valour. With these Instructions they set sail again from *Plimouth*, (whether they were returned the 17th of August) but were separated by a Tempest near the Promontory *Nerium*, or the Lands-end. A cross Yard in *Raleigh's* Ship was broken by the Impetus of the Storm, and fell, which forc'd him to stay behind to make it good; And having been fallily inform'd that the *Spanish* Fleet was bound for the *Azores*, after having repaired his Ship, he steer'd his course thitherwards. In the mean time *Effex's* Jealousy, and the pernicious Insinuations of *Raleigh's* Enemies, had wrought him into a belief that this Division of the Navy was on purpose laid and fore-design'd by *Raleigh*: But however the business was put up at his Arrival, and *Effex* welcomed him, making an Apology for acquainting the Queen with the Division fallily represented, and built (as it appear'd) on wrong suppositions.

Here wanting Water, Sir *Walter* landed without leave, and scarce had taken in Water before he received Orders immediately to follow *Effex* to *Faro*, whither he repair'd; but not finding *Effex* there according to his Order, he spent his time in taking an exact survey of the Haven, and of the People there, who from the fear and apprehension of what followed, were hastily packing away their Goods. This fair Opportunity, upon Consultation, puts him upon taking the Town, and egg'd on the Souldiers in hopes of an ample Prey. Sir *Gilly Merrick* (one of *Effex's* Creatures) dissuaded Sir *Walter* from the Design, alledging it would rob the Earl of the Honour of taking it, and so confirm him his Enemy. But Sir *Walter's* desire of Glory, and the Souldiers Avarice, urg'd him (after he had staid some time for *Effex's* Arrival) to the Assault of the Place, which was at last taken. The next day after this Exploit *Effex* arriv'd at *Faro*, where he was quickly inform'd of what *Raleigh* had done, and that the whole Business was transacted with no other design than to rob him of the Glory, which his Jealousy made him easily believe.

Some perswaded the Earl to try Sir *Walter* before a Council of War, and cashier him; others without more ado would have him put to death, for landing without Orders: At last some of *Raleigh's* Officers were cashier'd, He himself frown'd on, and severely reprov'd by *Effex*. But he never wanted an Apology for his Ambition; instancing that he was not oblig'd to the Orders the inferior Officers and Souldiers were; that the Commission did not reach Him, being one of the three Generals; Moreover, that he staid for him four days; that he was necessitated at last to land, being in extrem want of Water, which was not to be had without fighting. However, the Lord *Howard* became his Mediator, and perswaded him to an honourable submission; which was perform'd, and accepted of; and thereupon both himself, and the cashier'd Captains and Souldiers were again admitted into favour. But this was only laying their Passions asleep awhile, which in the sequel of our Story were again awaken'd. I cannot here omit a speech of the Earls upon this occasion, (which Sir *Henry Watton* calls a Noble Word) who being urg'd to put Sir *Walter* on Martial Law: That I would do, said he, if he were my Friend.

However this Expedition was not so glorious and great as at first they hoped it might have been. For after burning the Town, and taking *Flores*, *Gratiosa*, and *Villa Franca* in St. *Michaels*, with three *American* *Spanish* Ships, together with the burning of a Carack, they came home much torn, leaky,

and weather-beaten, about the end of *October*. This Expedition was commented on variously by the People, who were strangely carried on with a blind passion for *Essex*, and so very prone to misconstrue *Raleigh's* Actions, from a Prejudice they had entertain'd, that because he was not *Essex's* friend, he must be an enemy to his Country. However, the Queen look'd on him with another eye, and he grew faster in her favour than his Rival, who from this time began rather to decline, by a Fault Sir *Walter* was afterwards guilty of, Insatiable Ambition; a Principle that put him on those Practices which brought him afterwards to the Block. *Essex* was incens'd that Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Raleigh's* Friend, was prefer'd in his absence. And because the Earl's Concerns are woven amongst Sir *Walter's*, it will not be impertinent to give some Account of him here.

Essex was arrived at the height of Favour, and might have staid there, had he taken his Measures aright, had he own'd an Obsequiousness to the Queen, or been Master of the great Requisite in a Courtier, *Disimulation*; but it was a part of his Character, to be a great Refenter, and a weak Dissembler of the least Disgrace. His *Ireland* Transactions were ill construed, and his Miscarriages nicely dissected by the curious eyes of those State-Anatomists, the Lord-Treasurer *Buckhurst*, the Lord-Admiral *Nottingham*, and his mortal Enemy Secretary *Cecil*, who began to remove him out of that Favour he had so long possess'd. But it was true, as the Earl of *Clarendon* has observ'd, "That though he was Rival'd by a strong and subtle Faction, which cared, consulted for his Ruine; yet the Danger was thus allayed, that they were all his publick and profess'd Enemies, and so known to the Queen, that they durst never impertinently urge ought against him, since they were sure that Malice was concluded, when the Reason of their Objection haply might not be considered."

However, in 1601 the Earl drew near his Ruine: for being hurried on by *Cissy* ill Counsel, and his own Discontents, he projects new Plots against the State, and tampers with the King of *Scots* to remove his Enemies at Court by force, informing him that the Power of the Nation lay in their hands, *Raleigh* being Governour of *Jersey*, &c. and other of his Enemies having the strength of the Nation at their command. And vainly presuming upon the love of the Citizens, he projects to seize the Court, and to secure *Raleigh*, as the most considerable Enemy he had. Of which Design *Gorges* informs Sir *Walter*. The better to carry on his Designs, *Essex* goes into *London*, where he endeavoured to excite the Citizens to an Insurrection: But the City then being Rich, were not so apt to rebel; Rebellion being usually the Daughter of Poverty and Discontent. For these Treasonable Actions, being found guilty, he was condemned and executed.

That he died bravely and like a Gentleman, is not to be questioned; but that Sir *Walter Raleigh* should come openly to see him die, on purpose only to sat his Eyes with the Sacrifice of his Enemy, can never be granted, if we may believe himself in the same circumstances on the Scaffold, where he told his Auditors on the words of a Dying-man, he only came there to defend himself if any thing had been urged against him by the Earl.

Thus ended that Favourite, whose Death struck a damp on the Queens prosperous days, and gave blackness to her declining Reign. This Blow, like that of Gunpowder, not only blew up his Friends and Neighbours, but shook his Enemies at a distance; for it reached Sir *Walter* too, who wanting strength to grapple with his Rival the Treasurer, and not owning humility enough

enough to be his Servant, perished at last in the Encounter. This himself pretlag'd (if we may believe *Osborn*) as he came from the Execution of *Essex* in a Boat, when he was heard to say, *That it was more safe to have many enemies at Court of equal power, than one false and ambitious friend who hath attain'd to the absoluteness of Command.*

The Queen could not long survive her Favourite; for I find her Death to be the next Year following. A Queen who had enriched the Nation, reform'd Religion, curb'd the Pride of *Spain*, supported *France*, preserv'd *Scotland*, protected the *Hollander* against the *Spaniards*, and had vanquish'd his Armies by Sea and Land, reduced *Ireland* to obedience notwithstanding all the subtil practices of *Spain*, and open Assistance given in Arms to her *Irish* Rebels, with many other things which might seem too much to be the Achievements of one Reign.

King *James* her Successor came to the possession of a Kingdom arrived at the height of Prosperity, which like all other Bodies when they are at their ^{APPEAR} tend to Corruption, and degenerate. This Sir *Walter* perceiv'd, and would have, as he thought, remedied. Sir *John Fortescue*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter*, and others, would have oblig'd the King by Articles before his coming to the Crown, that his Country-mens number should be limited: But this was stopp'd by the prudent Treasurer, and the bold *Northumberland*. Sir *Walter* fear'd that the *Scots*, like Locusts, would quickly devour this Kingdom; it being probable that, like the *Goths* and *Vandals*, they would settle in any Country rather than their own, and would make it their business to render our Nation as beggarly as theirs: for this, He, with the rest of them, was afterwards frown'd on by the King, and lost his Command of the Guards.

However, Sir *Walter* still pursued the Good and Glory of his Country; and as formerly in Active Times, gave his Advice still against the Peace with *Spain*, which might now with no great difficulty be brought on its knees. At the entrance of the King he presented him with a Manuscript of his own writing, with no weak Arguments against the Peace. But Sir *Walter* was mistaken, for his Counsel was ill-timed, and a new Part was now to be acted, the Scene being changed. Peace was the King's Aim, whether out of Fear, or Religious Principles I determine not. But with *Spain* a Peace is concluded, with an Enemy already humbled, who now had time given them to recover their former Losses, and were as it were cherish'd to assault us with the greater vigor; which how true it proved every man can tell. And as if the King would quite run counter to the Queens Politiques, the Estates of the *Netherlands* are despoiled, slighted, and deserted, under pretence that it were of ill example for a Monarch to protect them.

The King is hardly warm in his Throne, but there is a great noise of a Plot, generally call'd Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Treason, but upon what grounds I know not, since he had the least hand in it, as by his Tryal will appear. A Plot that is still a Mystery, and hath a Vail spread over it; A Plot compos'd of such a Hodge-podge of Religion and Interests, that the World stands amazed Sir *Walter Raleigh* should ever be drawn into it; A Plot so unlikely to hurt others, or benefit themselves, that as *Osborn* tells us, "If ever Folly was capable of the title, or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim so large a share, as not possible to be too severely condemn'd, or slightly enough punished. Envy and Disdain, as Sir *Walter* has told us in his *Remains*, seek Innovation by Faction. Discontent is the great Seducer, which at first put him to

E

search

search into a Plot, he afterwards was betray'd into. The chief Ingredients in this Medley were two Priests *Watson* and *Clark*, and Count *Arenbergh*, Ambassador Extraordinary for the *Arch-Duke*, who brought in *Cobham*, and he his Brother *George Brook*, both Protestants, at least seeming so; *George Brook* hook'd in *Parham* and others, and they the Lord *Grey of Wilton*, a rank Puritan. Then came in Sir *Walter*, the wisest of them all, according to *Sanderfon*, who, as he tells us, dallied like a Fly in the Flame, till it consum'd him. Willing he was to know it, and thought by his Wit to over-reach the Confederates, whom he knew well enough, though he dealt with none but *Cobham*, as I can find out. One Mr. *Lawrency* an *Antwerp-Merchant*, was the property made use of by *Arenbergh*, and a Crony of the Lord *Cobhams*. These carried on the Contrivance a long while, which (as *Sanderfon* tells us) was betray'd by *Lawrency*, and the vigilancy of *Cecil*. And indeed it was morally impossible that so many disagreeing weak Souls should carry on a Project without taking Air; The least glimpse being enough to give light to the Statesmen of those times. Their Designs were,

1. To set the Crown on the Lady *Arabella*; or to seize on the King, and make him grant their Desires, and a Pardon.
2. To have a Toleration of Religion.
3. To procure Aid and Assistance from Foreign Princes.
4. To turn out of the Court such as they disliked, and place themselves in Offices.

Watson to be Lord-Chancellor.

George Brook Lord-Treasurer.

Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary of State.

Lord *Grey* Master of the Horse, and Earl-Marshal of *England*. But it seems they made no provision for Sir *Walter*; which is no inconsiderable Argument of his Innocency, who would have deserved, and might have expected as great a Reward as any of them, had he been engaged in the Plot.

To oblige to Secrecy, *Watson* draws up an Oath. But all is betray'd; they are seized, examined, and tryed. How well or ill Sir *Walter* has acquitted himself, we shall leave to the Opinion of the Readers of the following TRYAL, which was exactly and faithfully taken.

THE

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF Sir Walter Raleigh, K^t.

Temp.
Jac.
1603.



At *Winton*, Thursday the 17th of November, Anno. Dom. 1603. before the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sussex*, Lord Chamberlain.

Earl of *Devon*.

Lord *Henry Howard*.

Lord *Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*.

Lord *Wotton*.

Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain.

Lord Chief Justice of *England*, *Popham*.

Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, *Andrews*.

Justice *Gaudie*.

Justice *Warburton*, and others, Commissioners by special Delegate Assigned.

First, The Commission of Oyer and Terminer, was read by the Clerk of the Crown Office.

And then presently the Indictment was in effect as followeth:

That he did Conspire, and go about to Deprive the King of his Government, to raise up Sedition within the Realm, to alter Religion, to bring in the Roman Superstition, and to procure Foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdom. That the Lord *Cobham*, the 9th of June, did meet with the said Sir *Walter Raleigh* in *Durham House*, in the Parish of *St. Martin* in the Fields, and then and there had Conference with him how to Advance *Arabella Stuart* to the Crown, and Royal Throne of this Kingdom, and that then and there it was agreed, that *Cobham* should Treat with *Arenbergh*, Ambassador from the *Arch Duke* of *Austria*, to obtain of him 600000 Crowns, to bring to pass their intended Treasons. It was agreed, that *Cobham* should go to *Albert the Arch-Duke*, to procure him to advance the pre-

tended Title of *Arabella*: From thence knowing that *Albert* had not sufficient Means to maintain his own Army in the Low Countries, *Cobham* should go to *Spain* to procure the King to assist, and further her pretended Title.

It was agreed, the better to Effect all this Conspiracy, that *Arabella* should write three Letters, one to the *Arch-Duke*, another to the King of *Spain*, and a third to the Duke of *Savoy*, and promise three things: First, To Establish firm Peace between *England* and *Spain*. Secondly, To Tolerate the Popish and Rom Superstition. Thirdly, To be Ruled by them in Contracting of her Marriage.

And for the effecting these Traiterous Purposes, *Cobham* should return by the Isle of *Jersey*, and should find Sir *Walter Raleigh* Captain of the said Isle there, and take Council of *Raleigh*, for the Distributing of the aforesaid Crowns, as the Occasion and Discontentment of the Subjects should give Cause and Way.

And further, That *Cobham* and his Brother *Brook*, met on the 9th of June, and *Cobham* told *Brook* all these Treasons: To the which Treasons, *Brook* gave his Assent, and did joyn himself to all these; and after on the Thursday following, *Cobham* and *Brook* did speak these words: That there would never be a good World in *England*, till the King (meaning our Sovereign Lord) and his Cubs (meaning his Royal Issue) were taken away.

And the more to Disable and Deprive the King of his Crown, and to Confirm the said *Cobham* in his Intent, *Raleigh* did Publish a Book, falsely Written against the most Just and Royal Title of the King, knowing the said Book to be Written against the just Title of the King; which Book *Cobham* after that, received of him. Further, for the better Effecting these Traiterous Purposes, and to Establish the said *Brook* in his Intent, the said

Cobham did deliver the said Book unto him, the 14th of June. And further, the said Cobham, on the 16th of June, for accomplishment of the said Conference; And by the Traitorous Infatigation of Raleigh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three forenamed Princes, to procure them to Advance her Title; and that she, after she had obtained the Crown, should promise to perform three things, viz. Peace between England and Spain. 2. To Tolerate with Impunity, the Popish and Roman Superstitions. 3. To be Ruled by them three, in the Contracting of her Marriage.

To these Motions, the said Brook gave his assent, and for the better Effecting of the said Treasons, Cobham on the 17th of June, by the Infatigation of Raleigh, did write Letters to Count Aremberg, and did deliver the said Letters to one Matthew de Lawrence, to be delivered to the said Count; Which he did deliver for the obtaining of 60000 Crowns, which Money by other Letters, Count Aremberg did promise to perform the Payment of; and this Letter Cobham received the 18th of June. And then did Cobham promise to Raleigh, that when he had received the said Money, he would deliver 8000 Crowns to him, to which Motion he did consent; and afterwards Cobham offered Brook, that after he should receive the said Crowns, he would give to him 10000 thereof; to which Motion Brook did assent.

To the Indictment, Sir Walter Raleigh pleaded not Guilty.

THE JURY.

Sir Ralph Conisby, Knight.
Sir Thomas Fowler, Knight.
Sir Edward Peacock, Knight.
Sir William Rowe, Knight.
Henry Goodery, Arm.
Roger Wood, Arm.
Thomas Walker, Arm.
Thomas Whitty, Arm.
Thomas Higgate, Gent.
Robert Kempton, Gent.
Edward Littlebury, Gent.
John Chawkey, Gent.
Robert Brunley, Gent.

Sir Walter Raleigh Prisoner, was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury.

Raleigh. I know none of them; they are all Christians and Honest Gentlemen, I except against none.

E. Suff. You Gentlemen of the Kings

Learned Jury, follow the same Courte as you did the other day.

Raleigh. I pray you, I may answer the Points particularly as they are delivered, by reason of the Weakness of my Memory and Sickness.

Popham, Chief Justice. After the Kings Learned Council have delivered all the Evidence, you may Answer particularly.

Heath, the Kings Sergeant at Law. You have heard of Raleigh's bloody attempts, to Kill the King and his Noble Progeny, and in place thereof, to advance one Arabella Stuart: The particulars of the Indictment are these. First, That Raleigh met with Cobham the 9th of June, and had Conference of an Invasion, of a Rebellion, and an Insurrection, to be made by the Kings Subjects, to Depose the King, and to Kill his Children, poor Babes that never gave Offence: Here is Blood, here is a new King and Governour. In our King consists all our Happiness, and the true use of the Gospel, a thing which we all wished to be Settled after the Death of the Queen. Here must be Money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War. Where should that be had? Count Aremberg must procure it of Philip King of Spain, 5, or 60000 Crowns, and out of this Sum, Raleigh must have 8000; then there must be Friends to effect this. Cobham must go to Albert, Arch-Duke of Austria, for whom Aremberg was Ambassador at that time in England: And what then? He must persuade the Duke to Assist the pretended Title of Arabella. From thence Cobham must go to the King of Spain, and persuade him to Assist the said Title. Since the Conquest, there was never the like Treason. But out of whose Head came it? Out of Raleigh's, who must also advise Cobham to use his Brother Brook to incite the Lady Arabella to write three several Letters, as aforesaid in the Indictment; all this was on the 9th of June. Then three days after, Brook was acquainted with it: After this, Cobham said to Brook, 'twill never be well in England, till the King and his Cubs are taken away. Afterwards Raleigh delivered a Book to Cobham, Treacherously written against the Title of the King. It appears that Cobham took Raleigh, To be either a God, or an Idol. Cobham endeavours to set up a new King, or Governor. God forbid, mine Eyes should ever see so unhappy a Chance.

As for the Lady Arabella, she, upon my Conscience, hath no more Title to the Crown than I have; which, before God, I utterly Renounce.

Cobham, a Man bred in England, hath no Experience abroad.

Raleigh

The Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh, a Man of great Wit Military and a Sword-Man.

Now whether of these Persons was Bred in a hollow Tree, I leave to them to speak of, who can speak far better than my self.

Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Attorney. I must first, before I come to the Cause, give one Caution, because we shall often mention Persons of eminent Places, some of them great Monarchs: Whatever we say of them, we shall but Repeat what others have said of them; I mean the Capital Offenders in the Confession: we professing Law must speak Reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive these Honourable Lords, and the rest of this great Assembly, are come to hear what hath been scattered upon the Wreck of Rumors; we carry a Just mind, to Condemn no Man but upon plain Evidence. Here is Mischief, Mischief in Summo Grado, Exorbitant Mischief. My Speech shall chiefly touch these three Points; Imitation, Supplantation, and Defence.

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent, as on the contrary Imitation of good, ever comes short. Mischief cannot be supported, but by Mischief: Yea, it will so multiply, that it will bring all to Confusion. Mischief is ever underprop'd by falsehood of foul Practices. Because all these things did concur in these Treasons, you shall understand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treason of the Bye, consisteth in these Points: First, That the Lord Grey, Brook, Markham, and the rest, intended by Force in the Night, to Surprize the Kings Court, which was a Rebellion in the Heart, of the Realm, yea, in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court. They intended to make him, that is a Sovereign, subject to their Power, purposing to open the Doors with Muskets and Calivers, and to take also the Prince and Council. Then under the Kings Authority, to carry the King to the Tower, and to make a State of the Admiral, when they had the King there, to Exort three things from him.

First, A Pardon for all their Treasons. Secondly, A Toleration of the Romish Superstition: Which, their Eyes shall sooner fall out, than they shall ever see, for the King hath spoken these words in the hearing of many (I will lose the Crown and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion.)

And, Thirdly, To remove Councelors: In the Room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have placed one Watson a Priest, absurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. Brooks, of whom I will speak nothing, Lord Treasurer; the great Secretary must be Markham. A hole must be found in my Lord Chief Justices Coat.

Grey must be Earl Marshal, and Master of the Horse, because he would have a Table in the Court: Marry, he would Advance the Earl of Worcester to a higher Place; all this cannot be done without a Multitude.

Therefore Watson the Priest telleth a Resolute Man, That the King was in danger of Puritans and Jesuites; so to bring him in blind-fold into the Action: Saying, that the King is no King till he be Crowned, therefore every Man might Right his own Wrongs; but he is Rex Natus, his Dignity Descends as well as yours, my Lords.

Then Watson imposeth a Blasphemous Oath, that they should Swear to defend the Kings Person, to keep secret what was given them in Charge, and seek all Ways and Means to Advance the Catholick Religion. Then they intend to fend for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the Kings Name, to the Tower, lest they should make any Resistance, then to make Hostages of them; and to enjoyn them to provide for them Victuals and Munition. Grey, because the King removed before Midsummer, had a further Reach, to get a company of Sword-Men to assist the Action: Therefore he would stay, till he had obtained a Regiment from Offend. So you see, these Treasons were like Sampson's Foxes, which were joyned in their Tails, though their Heads were severed.

Raleigh. I pray remember, I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treason of the Priest.

Attorney. You are not: You shall observe three things in the Treasons. First, They had a Watch-word (the Kings safety) their pretence was Bonum in se, their intent was Malum in se.

Secondly, They avouched Scripture, both the Priests had, Scriptum est; perverting and ignorantly mistaking the Scriptures.

Thirdly, They avouched the Common Law to prove, that he was no King till he was Crowned, alledging a Statute of 13. Eli. This, by way of Imitation, hath been the course of all Traitors.

In the 20th of Edward the 2d. Isabella the Queen, and the Lord Mortimer, gave out, that the Kings Person was not safe, for the good of the Church and Commonwealth.

The Bishop of Carlisle did Preach on this Text (My Head is grieved) meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be Negligent, the People might reform what is amiss.

3d. Henry 4th. Sir Roger Glarindon accompanied with two Priests, gave out, that Richard the 2d was Alive, when he was Dead.

F

Edward

Edward the 3d caused Mortimers Head to be cut off, for giving counsel to Murder the King.

The 3. Hen. 7. Sir Henry Stanly found the Crown in the Dust and let it on the Kings Head, when Fitzwater and Garret, told him that Edward the 5th was alive, he said, If I be alive, I will assist him. But this cost him his Head.

Edmond de la Pool, Duke of Suffolk, killed a Man in the Reign of King Henry the 7th, for which the King would have him hold his hand at the Bar, and then Pardoned him. Yet he took such offence thereat, that he sent to the Noblemen, to help to Reform the Common-wealth; and then said, he would go to France and get Power there. Sir Roger Compton knew all the Treason, and discovered Windon and others, that were Attainted.

Temp. Eliz. Appleyard, a Traytor in Norfolk, said a Man must have two Accusers. Helmes was the Man that accused him; but Mr. J. Just. Catlin said, that that Statute was not in force at that day, his words were thrust her into the Ditch.)

Throgmorton, in the 12th, or 20th. (Queene the Statute) speaking of Accusers, maketh this difference: An Accuser is a speaker, by Report, when a Witness can speak nothing but by his own Report.

If a Man do accuse himself, it is more forcible than many Witnesses. So then, so much by way of Imitation. This is the way of all Proceedings, there is Treason in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Consummation.

The Wisdom of the Law meeteth with them all, Corda, Ore, Progressione, Consummatione; that which is in Corda, is the Root. You must take away Treason in the Root, in the Bud, in the Blossom.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury, in Determinatione finis, and Electione mediocrum. The greatness of Treason is to be considered in these two things, Determinatione finis, and Electione mediocrum; this Treason excelleth in both, for that it was to Destroy the King and his Progeny. These Treasons are said to be Crimen lese Majestatis, this goeth further, and may be termed Crimen extirpanda Regie Majestatis & totius Progeniei sue. I shall not need, my Lords, to speak any thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetness of his Nature, whose Thoughts are Innocent, whose Words are full of Wisdom and Learning, and whose Works are full of Honour; although it be a true saying, Nunquam nimis quod nunquam satis. But to whom do you bear your Malice? to the Children?

Raleigh. To whom speak you this? You tell me News I never heard of.

Attorney. Oh Sir, do I! I will prove you the Notorious Traytor that ever came to Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion: as you Sir Walter Raleigh, have followed them of the Bye in Imitation; for I will charge you with the words.

Raleigh. Your words cannot Condemn me, my Innocency is my Defence: Prove one of these things wherewith you have Charged me, and I will confess the whole Indictment; and that I am the Horrible Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be Crucified with a Thousand thousand Torments.

Attorney. Nay, I will prove all: Thou art a Monster, thou hast an English Face, but a Spanish Heart. Now you must have Money: Aremberg was no sooner in England (I Charge thee Raleigh) but thou incited Cobham to go unto him, and to deal with him for Money, to bestow on discontented Persons.

Raleigh. Let me Answer.

Attorney. Thou shalt not.

Raleigh. It concerneth my Life.

Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Mr. Attorney is bought in the General, but when the Kings Council have given the Evidence wholly, you shall Answer every particular.

Attorney. Oh! do I touch you?

Lord Cecil. Mr. Attorney, when you have done with this General Charge, do you not mean to let him answer to every Particular?

Attorney. Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be Read. Raleigh procured Cobham to go to Aremberg, which he did by his Instigation: Raleigh Supped with Cobham before he went to Aremberg, after Supper, Raleigh conducted him to Durham House; from whence Cobham went with Lawrenny, a Servant of Aremberg's, unto him, and went in by a Back-way, Cobham could never be quiet until he had entertain'd this Motion, for he had four Letters from Raleigh. Aremberg answered, and promised it should be performed, but knew not to whom it should be distributed. Cobham and Lawrenny came back to Durham House, where they found Raleigh. Cobham and Raleigh went up, and left Lawrenny below, where they had secret Conference in a Gallery, and after Cobham and Lawrenny departed from Raleigh. Your Reason was Peace! What is that? Spanish Invasion, Scottish Subversion. And again, you are not a fit Man to take so much Money for procuring of a Lawful Peace, for Peace procured by Money is Dishonourable. Then Cobham must go to Spain, and return by Ferrey, where

where you were Captain: And then because Cobham had not so much Policy, or at least Wickedness as you, he must have your advice for the distribution of the Money. Will you dispose of so good a King Lineally descended? For he came of Elizabeth, the eldest Daughter of Edward the 4th, why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make Arabella a Titular Queen, of whose Title I will speak nothing, but sure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

Raleigh. You tell me News, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. Oh Sir! I am the more large, because I know with whom I deal: For we have to deal to Day with a Man of Wit.

Raleigh. Did I ever speak with this Lady?

Attorney. I will Track you out before I have done: English Men will not be lead by perswasion of Words, but they must have Books to perswade.

Raleigh. The Book was Written by a Man of your Profession, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. I would not have you Impatient.

Raleigh. Methinks you fall out with your self, I say nothing.

Attorney. By this Book, you would perswade Men that he is not the Lawful King. Now let us consider some Circumstances: You know my Lord Cobham (for whom we all Lament, and Rejoyce; Lament in that his House, which hath stood so long Unspotted, is now Ruinated: Rejoyce, in that his Treasons are Revealed) is neither Politician nor Sword-Man; Raleigh was united in the Cause with him, and therefore cause of his Destruction. Another Circumstance is, the secret Contriving of it. Humphrey Stafford claimed Sanctuary for Treason, Raleigh hath his Machivilian Policy, made a Sanctuary for Treason. He must talk with none but Cobham, because (saith he) one Witness can never Condemn me. For Brook said unto Sir Griffith Markham, take heed how you do make my Lord Cobham acquainted; for whatsoever he knoweth, Raleigh the Witch, will get it out of him. As soon as Raleigh was Examined on one Point of Treason concerning my Lord Cobham, he wrote to Cobham thus: I have been Examined of you, and confessed nothing. Further, you sent to him by your trusty Francis Kemish, that one Witness could not Condemn; and therefore bad his Lordship be of good Courage. Came this out of Cobham's Quiver? No: But out of Raleighs Machivilian and Devilish Policy. Yea, but Cobham did retract it? Why then did you urge it? Now then see the most horrible Practices, that ever came out of the bottomless

Pit of the lowest Hell. After that Raleigh had intelligence that Cobham had Accused him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from Cobham, which he had gotten by young Sir John Peyton: But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

Raleigh. The Lords told me, else I had not been sent to the Tower.

Attorney. Then Cobham, by the Instigation of Raleigh, entered into these Actions: So that the Question will be, Whether you are not the Principallest Traytor, and he would nevertheless have entered into it? Why did Cobham retract all that same? First, Because Raleigh was so Odious, he thought he should fare the worse for his sake. Secondly, he thought, If he be free, I shall clear my self the better. After this Cobham asked for a Preacher to Confer with, pretending to have Doctor Andrews; but indeed, he meant not to have him, but Mr. Gallows; A Worthy and Reverend Preacher, who can do more with the King (as he said) than any other; that he, seeing his constant denial, might inform the King thereof. Here he plays with the Preacher. If Raleigh could perswade the Lords, that Cobham had no intent to Travel, then he thought all should be well. Here is Forgery. In the Tower Cobham must write to Sir Thomas Vane, a worthy Man, that he meant not to go into Spain: which Letter Raleigh devised in Cobham's Name.

Raleigh. I will wash my hands of the Indictment, and Die a true Man to the King.

Attorney. You are the absolute Traytor that ever was.

Raleigh. Your Phrases will not prove it; Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. Cobham writeth a Letter to my Lord Cecil, and doth will Melbis; this Man, to lay it in a Spanish Bible, and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper; then he was false.

Lord Cecil. You mean a Letter intended to me, I never had it.

Attorney. No, my Lord; you had it not; You, my Masters of the Jury, respect not the Wickedness and Hatred of the Man, respect his Cause; if he be Guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the Preservation of the King, the continuance of the Gospel Authorised, and the Good of us all.

Raleigh. I do not hear yet, that you have spoken one word against me, here is no Treason of mine done: If my Lord Cobham be a Traytor, what is that to me?

Attorney. All that he did was by thy Instigation, thou Viper, for I Thou thee, thou Traytor.

The Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh. It cometh not a Man of your Quality and Virtue, to call me so: But I take Comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attorney. Have I angered you?

Raleigh. I am in no case to be angry.

Popham. Sir Walter Raleigh, Mr. Attorney speaketh out of the zeal of his Duty, for the Service of the King, and you for your Life; be Patient on both sides.

Now they proceed to the Reading the Proofs.

The Lord Cobham's

Examination.

'He confesseth he had a Pass-port to go to the Spanish King, intending to go to the Arch-Duke to confer with him about these Practices; and because he knew he had not Money to pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go to Spain, to deal with the King for the 600000 Crowns, and to return by Jersey, and that nothing should be done, until he had spoken with Sir Walter Raleigh for distribution of the Money, to them which were discontented in England. At the first beginning he breathed out Oaths and Exclamations against Raleigh, calling him Villain, and Traytor; saying, He had never entered into these Courses, but by his Instigation, and that he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. Attorney willed the Clerk of the Crown Office, to read over these last words again (he would never let him alone.)

The Lord Cobham's

Examination.

'Besides he spake of Plots and Invasions: Of the Particulars thereof he could not give an Account, though Raleigh and he had Conferred of them, because he was (as he said) Confounded with them. Further, he said, He was afraid of Raleigh, that when he should return by Jersey, that he would have him and the Money to the King. Being Examined of Sir Arthur Gorge, he freed him, saying:

They never durst trust him, but Sir Arthur Savage they intended to use, because they thought him a fit Man.

Raleigh. Let me see the Examination: This is all the Evidence can be brought against me; poor shifts. You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you understand this: This is that which must either Condemn, or give

me Life; which must Free me, or send my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is that must prove me a notorious Traytor, or a true Subject to the King. I never saw this Examination before.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and shew you all the Examinations.

Raleigh. At my first Examination by my Lords at Windsor, what I knew of Cobham's practice with Aremberg, I answered Negatively: And as concerning Arabella, I protest before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be proved, let me be Guilty of a Thousand Treasons. It is a strangething you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the Name of Arabella Stuart, but only the Name of Arabella.

After being Examined, I told my Lords; that I thought my Lord Cobham had Conferred with Aremberg, I suspected his Visiting of him: For after he departed from me at Durham House, by his own Stairs, and passed over to St. Mary-Saviour's; I knew Lawrence a Merchant, and a Follower of Aremberg, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord Cecil asked my Opinion concerning Lawrence; I said, that if you do not Apprehend Lawrence, it is dangerous, he will flee; if you do Apprehend him, you shall give my Lord Cobham notice thereof. I was asked likewise, who was the greatest Man with my Lord Cobham: I answered, I knew no Man so great with him, as young Wyat of Kent.

As soon as Cobham saw my Letter to have discovered his Dealing with Aremberg, in his Fury he accused me, but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented him, and said, he had done me wrong. When he came to the end of his Accusation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to Jersey, that I would have Delivered him to the King. Mr. Attorney, you said this never came out of Cobham's Quiver, he is a simple Man: Is he so simple? No: He hath Dispositions of his own, he will not easily be guided by others, but when he has once taken Head in a Matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no Babe. It is strange for me to Devise with Cobham, that he should go to Spain, to persuade the King to Disburse so much Money, he being a Man of no Love in England, and I having resigned my room of chiefest Command, the Wardenship of the Stanneries: It is strange for me, to make my self Robin Hood, or a Kett, or a Gade; I knowing England to be in better Estate than ever it was. I knew Scotland United, Ireland Quietted, Denmark Assured, which before was Suspected. I knew, that having a Lady whom Time had Surprized, we had now a lawful Successor. The State of Spain was not unknown

The Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh.

known to me. I had Written a Discourse, which I intended to present unto the King, against Peace with Spain. I knew the Spaniards had six Repulles, three in Ireland, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at Calais, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was Discouraged and Dishonoured. I knew the King of Spain to be the proudest Prince living; but now he cometh Creeping to the King my Master, for Peace. I knew whereas before he had in his Ports 6 or 7 score Sail of Ships, he hath now but Six or Seven. I knew of Twenty Five Millions he had from his Indies, he hath scarce one left. I knew him so Poor, that the Jesuites in Spain, were Feign to Beg at the Church-Door. Was it ever Read or Heard, that any Prince should Disburse so much Money, without a sufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of London, would not Lend her Majesty Money without Lands in Mortgage. I knew the Queen did not Lend the States Money, without Flushing, Brill, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought, he would let Cobham have so great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord Cobham's, but about matters of his Profit, as the Ordering of his House, Paying of his Servants Board-wages, &c. I had of his when I was Examined, Four Thousand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchase; a Pearl of Three Thousand Pound, and a Ring worth Five Hundred Pound: If he had had a fancy to Run away, he would not have left so much to have Purchased a Lease in Fee Farm, I saw him Buy Three Hundred Pounds worth of Books, to send to his Library at Canterbury, and a Cabinet of Three Hundred Pound to give to Mr. Attorney, for drawing the Conveyances and God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to Travel. But for that practice with Arabella, or Letters to Aremberg, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him, if I knew any of these things, I would absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge my self worthy a Thousand Deaths.

Cobham's Examination Read.

The Lord Cobham being required to Subscribe to an Examination, there was shewed a Note under Raleigh's hand, whereupon, when he had perused it, he pawled, and after brake forth into these Speeches: Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! I will now tell you all the Truth: And then said, His purpose was to go into Flanders, and into Spain; for the Obtaining the aforesaid Money, and that Raleigh had appointed to meet him in Jersey as he returned Home, to be advised of

him about the Distribution of the Money. Popham, Lord Chief Justice. When Cobham answered to the Interrogatories, he made scruple to Subscribe, and being urged to it, he said, If he might hear me affirm, that a Person of his Degree ought to set his Hand, he would; I lying then at Richmond, for fear of the Plague, was sent for, and I told he ought to Subscribe; otherwise it were a Contempt of a high Nature: Then he Subscribed. The Lords Questioned with him further, and he shewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord Cecil: He desired to see the Letter again, and then said, Oh Wretch! Oh Traytor! whereby I perceived you had not performed that Trust he had reposed in you.

Raleigh. He is as passionate a Man as Lives, for he hath not spared the best Friends he hath in England. My Lords, I take it, he that hath been Examined, hath ever been asked if it be according to his meaning, and then to Subscribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he Accuses a Man, he should give some Account and Reason of it; it is not sufficient to say, we Talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given Cobham some Arguments, whereby to persuade the King of Spain, and answer his Objections. I knew Westmorland and Bobbuck, Men of other Understandings than Cobham, were ready to beg their Bread.

Sir Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury. Did Sir Walter Raleigh write a Letter to my Lord before he was Examined concerning him?

Attorney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great Dispute with my self, to speak in the Case of this Gentleman: A former Dearness between me and him tied to firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Discovery of his Imperfections. I protest, did I serve a King that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this Case I would speak, whatever came of it: But seeing he is compacted of Piety and Justice, and one that will not mislike of any Man for speaking a Truth, I will Answer your Question.

Sir Walter Raleigh was itaid by me at Windsor, upon the first News of Copley, that the Kings Person should be Surprised by my Lord Grey, and Mr. George Brook; when I found Brook was in, I suspected Cobham, then I doubted Raleigh to be a partaker. I speak not this, that it should be thought, I had greater Judgment than the rest of my Lords, in making this hast to have him Examined; Raleigh following to Windsor, I met with him upon the Tarraz, and willed him as from the King, to stay, saying, The Lords had something to say to him: Then he was

G Examined,

Examined, but not concerning my Lord Cobham, but of the Surprising Treason, what he said of Cobham, he delivered unto us in such sort as of a Brother he might: We sent for my Lord Cobham to Richmond, where he stood upon his Justification, and his Quality; sometimes being Froward, he said he was not bound to subscribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. Cobham said, if my Lord Chief Justice would say it were a Contempt, he would Subscribe, wherof being resolved, he Subscribed. There was a Light given to Aremberg, that Lawreny was Examined, but that Raleigh knew that Cobham was Examined, is more than I know.

Raleigh. If my Lord Cobham had trusted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be trusted in the Bye?

Lord Cecil. Raleigh did by Letters acquaint us, that my Lord Cobham had sent Lawreny to Aremberg, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

Lord H. How. It made for you, if Lawreny had been only acquainted with Cobham, and not with you. But you knew his whole Estate, and were acquainted with Cobham's Practice with Lawreny; it was known before that Lawreny depended on Aremberg.

Attorney. 1. Raleigh protesteth against the Surprising Treason. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching Arabella. I would not charge you, Sir Walter, with a matter of Falshood: You say, you suspected the intelligence that Cobham had with Aremberg, by Lawreny.

Raleigh. I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but such as might be Warranted.

Attorney. Then it was but lawful Suspicion. But to that whereas you said, that Cobham had accused you on Passion, I answer three Ways. 1. I observed when Cobham said, Let me see the Letter again; he pawed and when he did see that Count Aremberg was touched, he cried out, Oh Traitor! Oh Villain! now will I Confess the whole truth. 2. The Accusation of a Man on Hear-say, is nothing: Would he Accuse himself on Passion, and Ruinate his Cause and Posterity, out of Malice to accuse you?

3. Could this be out of Passion? Mark the manner of it: Cobham had told this at least two Months before to his Brother Brook, You are Fools, you are on the Bye, Raleigh and I are on the Main, we mean to take away the King and his Cubs; this he delivered two Months before. So mark the manner of the Matter, he would not turn the Weapon against his own Bosom, and accuse himself to accuse you.

Raleigh. Hath Cobham confessed that?

Lord Chief Justice. This is spoken by Mr. Attorney, to prove that Cobham's Speech came not out of Passion.

Raleigh. Let it be proved that Cobham said so.

Attorney. Cobham saith, He was along time doubtful of Raleigh, that he would fend him to the King. Did Cobham fear least you would betray him in Jersey? Then of necessity there must be Trust between you. No Man can betray a Man, but he that is trusted, in my understanding. This is the greatest Argument to prove, that he was acquainted with Cobham's Proceedings. Raleigh hath a deeper reach than to make himself, as he said, Robin Hood, a Kett, or Gade, yet I never heard that Robin Hood was a Traytor; they say he was an Out-law. And whereas he saith, that our King is not only more Wealthy and Potent than his Predecessors, but also more Politick and Wise, so that he could have no hope to prevail. I answer, There is no King so Potent, Wife and Active, but he may be overtaken through Treason. Whereas you say Spain is so Poor, Discouraging so largely thereof, it had been better for you to have kept in Guiana, than to have been so well acquainted with the State of Spain. Besides, if you could have brought Spain and Scotland to have joynd, you might have hope to prevail. For his six Overthrows, I answer, He hath the more Malice, because Repulses breed desire of Revenge. Then you say, you never talked with Cobham but about Leases, and Letting Lands, and Ordering his House; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchen, &c. If you had fallen on your Knees at first, and Confessed the Treason, it had been better for you. You say, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of Three Hundred Pound, perhaps he thought by those means, to have Anticipated me therewith. But you say, all these are Circumstances. I answer, all this Accusation in Circumstance is true: here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he Subscribed not to the Accusation.

Lord H. How. Cobham was not then pressed to Subscribe.

Attorney. His Accusation being Testified to the Lords, is of as great Force, as if he had Subscribed. Raleigh saith again, if the Accuser be alive, he must be brought Face to Face to speak, and alledges 25. Edw. 3. That there must be sufficient Witnesses that must be brought Face to Face before the Accused, and alledgeth 10. and 13. Eliz.

Raleigh. You try me by the Spanish Inquisition, if you proceed only by the Circumstances without two Witnesses.

Attorney. This is a Treasonable speech, Raleigh.

Raleigh. *Everete hominem Justum in causa sua, Injustum est*: Good my Lords, let it be proved either by the Laws of the Land, or by the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witnesses appointed; yet I will not stand to defend this Point in Law, if the King will have it so: it is no rare thing to be falsely Accused. A Judge Condemned a Woman in Sarum, for killing her Husband, on the Testimony of one Witness; afterwards his Man confessed the Murder, when she was Executed. Who after, being toucht in Conscience for the Judgment, was used to say, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in Vita sua Pargaret*. It is also Commanded by the Scripture, *Dent. 17. In Ore duorum aut trium Testium, &c.* and 19. *Non stabit unus testis, contra aliquem, &c.*

If Christ requirer it, as it appeareth, *Matth. 18. If St. Paul, 2 Cor. 13. St. John 8c.* If by the Statute, Civil Law, and Gods Word, it be required that there must be two Witnesses at the least, bear with me if I decline one.

I would not desire to Live, if I were privy to Cobham's Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool, if I had endeavoured to set up Arabella, and refused so Gracious a Lord and Sovereign: But, urge your Proofs.

Lord Chief Justice. You offered Questions on divers Statutes, all which mention two Accusers in case of Indictments; you have deceived your self, for the Laws of 25. Ed. 3. and 5. Ed. 6. are Repeal'd. It sufficeth now if there be Proofs made either under Hand, or by Testimony of Witnesses, or by Oaths; it needs not the Subscription of the Party, so there be Hands of Credible Men, to Testifie the Examination.

Raleigh. It may be an Error in me, and if those Laws be Repeal'd, yet I hope the Equity of those Laws remains still, but if you Affirm it, it must be a Law to Posterity, the Proof of the Common Law is by Witnesses and Jury, let Cobham be here, let him speak it: Call my Accuser before my Face, and I have done.

Attorney. *Scientia sceleris est mixta ignorantia*: You have read the Letter of the Law, but understand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Randevowze, you trust to Cobham, either Cobham must accuse you, or not accuse you; if he did, then it would not hurt you, because he is but one Witness, if he did not, then you are safe.

Raleigh. If ever I read word of the Law, or Statute before I was Prisoner in the Tower, God Confound me.

Attorney. Now I come to Prove the Circumstances of the Accusation to be true, Cobham confessed he had a Pass-port to Tra-

vel, hereby intending to present Overtures to the Arch-Duke, and from thence to go to Spain, and there to have Conference with the King for Money: You say he promised to come Home by Jersey, to make Merry with you and your Wife.

Raleigh. I said, in his return from France, not Spain.

Attorney. Further, in his Examination, he saith nothing could be set down for the Distribution of the Money to the Discontented, without Conference with Raleigh. You said it should have been for procurement of Peace, but it was for raising Rebellion. Further, Cobham saith, he would never have entered into these Courses, but by your Instigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Schollar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots, that is enough for you to do, that are his Master: You intended to ruin Sir Arthur Savage, whom I take to be a Honest and True Gentleman, but not Sir Arthur Gorge.

Raleigh. All this is one Accusation of Cobham's, I hear no other thing; to which Accusation he never Subscribed nor Avouched it. I beseech you, my Lords, let Cobham be sent for, charge him on his Oath, on his Allegiance to the King; if he Affirm it, I am Guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the Accusation of my Lord Cobham, it is the Evidence against you, must it not be of Force without his Subscription? I desire to be resolved by the Judges, whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

The Judges. It was.

Raleigh. The King at his Coronation, is sworn *In omnibus Judiciis suis Aequitatem, non Rigorem Legis observare*: By the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law, it may be a forcible Evidence.

Lord Chief Justice. That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Justice of the Law, else when a Man hath made a plain Accusation, by Practice he might be brought to Retract it again.

Raleigh. Oh my Lord! you may use Equity.

Lord Chief Justice. That is from the King, you are to have Justice from us.

Andrews. The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they must find you Guilty; for Cobham's Accusation is not only against you, there are other things sufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir Walter Raleigh is satisfied, that Cobham's Subscription is not necessary: I pray you Mr. Attorney go on.

Raleigh. Good Mr. Attorney be patient, and give me leave.

Lord Cecil. An unnecessary Patience is a
G 2 hin-

hindrance, let him go on with his Proofs, and then Refel them.

Raleigh, I would answer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a Table, and Pen, and Ink, you shall.

Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter, which the Lord Cobham did write in July, which was to the effect of his former Examination, further saying, *I have disclosed all; to Accuse any falsely, were to burthen my own Conscience.*

Attorney. Read Copies Confession the 8th of June, he saith, *He was offered a 1000 Crowns to be in this Action.*

Here Watsons Additions were read.

"The great Mass of Money from the
"Count was impossible, saith Brook, &c.

Brook's his Confession read,

"There have Letters passed, saith he, between Cobham and Artemberg, for a great Sum of Money, to Assist a second Action, for the Surprising of his Majesty.

Attorney. It is not possible, it was of Passion; For it was in Talk before three Men being severally Examined, who agreed in the sum to be bestowed on disaffected Persons. That Grey should have 120000 Crowns, and Raleigh should have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

Cobham's Examination, July 18.

"If the Money might be procured (saith he) then a Man may give Penfions. Being asked if a Pension should not be given to his Brother Brook, he denied it not.

Lawrence's Examination.

"Within five Days after Artemberg arrived, Cobham resorted unto him. That Night that Cobham went to Artemberg with Lawrence, Raleigh Supped with him.

Attorney. Raleigh must have his part of the Money, the afore now he is a Traytor. The Crown shall never stand one Year on the Head of the King (my Master) if a Traytor may not be Condemned by Circumstances. For if A. tells B. and B. tells C. and C. D. &c. you shall never prove Treason by two Witnesses.

Raleigh's Examination was Read. He confesseth Cobham offered him 8000 Crowns, which he was to have for the furtherance of the Peace, between England and Spain; and that he should have it within three Days. To which, he said, he gave this Answer, When I see the Money, I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle Concepts, and therefore made no account thereof.

Raleigh. The Attorney hath made a long

Narration of Copley, and the Priests, which concerns me nothing, neither know I how Cobham was altered. For he told me, if I would agree to the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I asked him, Who shall have the rest of the Money? He said, I will offer such a Noble-Man (who was not named) some of the Money. I said, he will not be perverted by you, and will extremely hate you for such a Motion. Let me be Pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to bestow the Money on Discontented Persons. I had made a Discourse against the Peace, and would have Printed it: If Cobham changed his mind, if the Priests, if Brook had any such intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the Money before Aremberg came, that is difference of time.

Sergeant Philips. Raleigh confesseth the Matter, but avoideth it, by distinguishing of Times. You said it was offered you before the coming of Aremberg; which is false. For you being Examined whether you should have such Money of Cobham, or not: You said yea, and that you should have it within two or three Days. *Nemo moriturus presumitur mentiri.*

Lord Hen. How. Alledg me any Ground or Cause; wherefore you gave ear to my Lord Cobham for receiving Penfions, in Matters you had not to deal with?

Raleigh. Could I stop my Lord Cobham's Mouth.

Lord Cecil. Sir Walter Raleigh preffeth, that my Lord Cobham should be brought Face to Face. If he ask things of Favour and Grace, they must come only from him that gives them. If we Sit here as Commissioners, how shall we be satisfied, whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the Judges speak?

Lord Chief Justice. This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of Treasons should flourish: The Accuser may be drawn by Practice, whilst he is in Person.

Judge Gawdy. The Statute you speak of, concerning two Witnesses, in case of Treason is found to be inconvenient; therefore by another Law it was taken away.

Raleigh. The common Trial of England, is by Jury and Witnesses.

Lord Chief Justice. No, by Examination: If three Conspire a Treason, and they all Confess it; here is never a Witness, yet they are Condemned.

Judge Warburton. I marvel, Sir Walter, that you being of such Experience and Wit, should stand on this Point; for so, many Horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be Condemned without Witnesses. If one should

should rush into the Kings Privy-Chamber, whilst he is alone, and Kill the King (which God forbid) and this Man be met coming with his Sword drawn all bloody; Shall not he be Condemned to Death? My Lord Cobham hath, perhaps, been Labour'd withal; and to fave you, his old Friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath said.

Raleigh. I know not how you conceive the Law.

Lord Chief Justice. Nay, we do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

Raleigh. Indeed where the Accuser is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my Accuser may, he is alive, and in the House. Susanna had been Condemned, if Daniel had not cried out: *Will you condemn an innocent Israelite, without Examination or Knowledge of the truth?* Remember, it is absolutely the Commandment of God: If a false Witness rise up, you shall cause him to be brought before the Judges, if he be found false, he shall have the Punishment which the Accused should have had. It is very sure for my Lord to Accuse me is my certain Danger, and a means to Excuse himself.

Lord Chief Justice. There must not such a Gap be opened for the Destruction of the King, as would be, if we should grant this. You Plead hard for your self, but the Laws Plead as hard for the King. I did never hear that Course to be taken in a Cafe of Treason. There hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumstances agree not with the Evidence, we will not Condemn you.

Raleigh. The King desires nothing but the knowledge of the Truth, and would have no advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a Gracious King, now we have! I hope, as he is, such are his Ministers. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at the Common Law, a Witness must be depofed. Good my Lords, let my Accuser come Face to Face, and be depofed.

Lord Chief Justice. You have no Law for it: God forbid any Man should accuse himself, upon his Oath.

Attorney. The Law presumes, a Man will not accuse himself to accuse another. You are an odious Man: For Cobham thinks his Cause the worse, that you are in it. Now you shall hear of some Stirs to be raised in Scotland.

Part of Copies Examination.

"Also Watson told me, that a special Person told him, that Aremberg offered to him

"a Thousand Crowns; and that Brook said, 'the Stirs in Scotland came out of Raleigh's Head.

Raleigh. Brook hath been taught his Lesson.

Lord H. How. This Examination was taken before me; Did I teach him his Lesson? Raleigh. I protest before God, I meant it not by any Privy Councillor.

Raleigh's Examination.

"The way to Invade England, were to begin with Stirs in Scotland.

Raleigh. I think so still: I have spoken it to divers of the Lords, by way of Discourse and Opinion.

Attorney. Now let us come to those words of Destroying the King and his Cubs.

Raleigh. O barbarous! If they like unnatural Villains, should use those words, shall I be Charged with them? I will not hear it, I was never false to the Crown of England. I have spent 40000 Crowns of mine own, against the Spanish Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the words of these Hellish Spiders, Clark, Watson, and others, against me?

Attorney. Thou halt a Spanish Heart, and thy self art a Spider of Hell, for thou confesseth the King to be a most Sweet and Gracious Prince, and yet halt Conspired against him.

Watsons Examination Read.

"He said, that George Brook told him twice, That his Brother, the Lord Cobham, said to him, that you are but on the Bye; but Raleigh and I are on the Main.

Brook's Examination Read.

"Being askt what was meant by this far gone the Bye and the Main, he said, That the Lord Cobham told him, that Grey and others, were in the Bye, he and Raleigh were on the Main. Being askt what Examination his Brother made of these words, he said, he is loath to Repeat it. And after faith, by the Main, was meant, the taking away of the King and his Issue. And thinks on his Conscience, it was infused into his Brother's Head by Raleigh.

Cobham's Examination Read.

"Being askt if ever he had said, *It will never be well in England, till the King and his Cubs were taken away.* He said, he had answered before, and that he would answer no more to the Point.

Raleigh. I am not named in all this: There is a Law of two Accusers, one of his own Knowledge, another by Hear-say.

Earl of Suffolk. See the Case of *Arnold*.

Lord Chief Justice. It is the Case of Sir *William Thomas*, and Sir *Nicholas Arnold*.

Raleigh. If this may be, you will have any Mans Life in a Week.

Attorney. *Raleigh* saith, That *Cobham* was in a Passion when he said so. Would he tell his Brother any thing of Malice against *Raleigh*, whom he loved as his life?

Raleigh. *Brook* never loved me; until his Brother had accused me, he said nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think, that *Brook* accused you, he was only in the Surprising Treason; for by accusing you, he should accuse his Brother.

Raleigh. He doth not care much for that.

Lord Cecil. I must Judge the best. The Accusation of his Brother was not Voluntary; he pared every thing, as much as he could, to save his Brother.

Cobham's Examination Read.

"He saith, he had a Book Written against the Title of the King, which he had of *Raleigh*, and that he gave it to his Brother: *Raleigh* said, it was foolishly Written.

Attorney. After the King came within Twelve Miles of *London*, *Cobham* never came to see him, and intended to Travel without seeing the Queen, and the Prince. Now in this Discontentment, you gave him the Book, and he gave it to his Brother.

Raleigh. I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember, a little before that time, I received a Challenge from Sir *Amias Preston*, and for that I did intend to Answer it, I resolved to leave my Estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose Papers, amongst which was this Book.

Attorney. I observe there was Intelligence between you and *Cobham*, in the Tower, for after he said, it was against the Kings Title, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. First my Lord *Cobham* confesseth it, and after he had subscribed it, he revoked it again: To me he always said, that the Drift of it was against the Kings Title.

Raleigh. I protest before God, and his Works, I gave him not the Book.

Nota. Sir Robert Wroth speaketh, or Whispereth something secretly.

Attorney. My Lords, I must complain of Sir Robert Wroth; he says this Evidence is not Material.

Sir Robert Wroth. I never spake the words,

Attorney. Let Mr. *Serjeant Philips* testify, whether he heard them.

One of the Commissioners then said, I will give my word for Sir Robert Wroth.

Sir Robert Wroth. I will speak as truly as you, Mr. *Attorney*, for by God, I never spake it.

Lord Chief Justice. Wherefore should this Book be Burnt?

Raleigh. I Burned it not.

Serj. Philips. You presented your Friend with it, when he was discontented. It it had been before the Queens Death, it had been a less matter; but you gave it him presently when he came from the King, which was the time of his discontentment.

Raleigh. Here is a Book supposed to be Treasonable; I never Read it, nor Urged it.

Attorney. This is cunning.

Raleigh. Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh against me is probable.

Attorney. Lord *Cobham* saith, that *Kemish* came to him with a Letter torn, and did with him not to be dismissed, for one Witness could not hurt him.

Raleigh. This poor Man hath been clove Prisoner these Eighteen Weeks; he was offered the Rack to make him Confess. I never sent any such Message to him, I only Writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. *Attorney*; having of his at that time a great Pearl, and a Diamond.

Lord H. Howard. No Circumstance moveth me more, than this. *Kemish* was never on the Rack, the King gave Charge, that no Rigour should be used.

Commissioners. We protest before God, there was no such Matter intended, to our knowledges.

Raleigh. Was not the Keeper of the Rack sent for, and he threatened with it?

Sir William Wade. When Mr. Solicitor and my self Examined *Kemish*, we told him he deserved the Rack, but did not threaten him with it.

Commissioners. It was more than we knew.

Cobham's Examination Read.

"He saith, *Kemish* brought him a Letter from *Raleigh*, and that part which concerning the Lords of the Council, was rent out; that he was Examined, and cleared him of all; and that the Lord *H. Howard* said, because he was discontent, he was fit to be in the Action. And further, that *Kemish* said to him from *Raleigh*, that he should be of good Comfort, for the Witnesses could not condemn a Man for Treason.

Lord Cecil. *Cobham* was asked when he heard from you, he said, Every Day.

Raleigh.

Raleigh. *Kemish* added more, I never bad him speak these words.

Nota. Mr. *Attorney* offered to interrupt him.

Lord Cecil. It is his last Discourse. Give him leave Mr. *Attorney*.

Raleigh. I am accused concerning *Arabella*, concerning Money out of Spain. My Lord Chief Justice saith, a Man may be Condemned with one Witness, yea, without any Witnesses. *Cobham* is Guilty of many things, *Conscientia mille Testes*. He hath accused himself, what can he hope for but Mercy? My Lords, vouchsafe me this Grace. Let him be brought, being alive, and in the House; let him avouch any of these things, I will confess the whole Indictment, and Renounce the Kings Mercy.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a touch of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near Kinwoman of the Kings. Let us not Scandal the innocent by confusion of Speech: She is as innocent of all these things as for any Man here; only she received a Letter from *Cobham*, to prepare her; which she Laught at, and immediately sent it to the King. So far was she from Discontentment, that she Laught him to scorn. But you see how far the Count of *Aremberg* did consent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) being by in a Standing, with the Lady *Arabella*, spake to the Court.

The Lady doth here Protest upon her Salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things.

Lord Cecil. The Lord *Cobham* wrote to my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come to speak with her, and gave her to understand, that there were some about the King, that laboured to Disgrace her; she doubted it was but a Trick. But *Brook* saith, his Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to Write Letters to the King of Spain: But he saith, he never did it.

Raleigh. The Lord *Cobham* hath accused me, you see in what manner he hath Forsworn it. Were it not for his Accusation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the Letter which *Lawrence* brought to him from *Aremberg*. Let me speak for my Life, it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not Excuse me. If you grant me not this Favour, I am strangely used. *Campion* was not denied to have his Accusers face to face.

Lord Chief Justice. Since he must needs have Justice, the Acquitting of his old Friend may move him to speak otherwise than the truth.

Raleigh. I have been the infuser of all these Treasons into him. You Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this, he said I have been

the Cause of all his Miseries, and the Destruction of his House; and that all Evil hath happened unto him, by my wicked Council. If this be true, whom hath he cause to Accuse, and to be Revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as Revengful, as any Man on Earth.

Attorney. He is a Party, and may not come, the Law is against it.

Raleigh. It is a Toy to tell me of Law. I defie Law, I stand on the Fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often Speech (who am inferior to my Lords here present) will make the World think, I delight to hear my self Talk. My affection to you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was not extinguished, but slaked, in regard of your defects. You know the Law of the Realm, (to the which your Mind doth not content) that my Lord *Cobham* cannot be brought.

Raleigh. He may be, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. But do you Challenge it?

Raleigh. No.

Lord Cecil. You say that my Lord *Cobham*, your main Accuser, must come to accuse you. You say, he hath Retracted: I say many Particulars are not Retracted, What the Validity of all this is, is merely left to the Jury. Let me ask you this, if my Lord *Cobham* will say, you were the only Instigator of him to proceed in the Treasons, dare you put your self on this?

Raleigh. If he will speak it before God and the King, that ever I knew of *Arabella's* Matter, or the Money out of Spain, or of the Surprising Treason; I put my self on it, Gods Will and the Kings be done with me.

Lord H. Howard. How if he speak things Equivalent to that you have said?

Raleigh. Yes, in a main Point.

Lord Cecil. If he say, you have been the Instigator of him to deal with the Spanish King, had not the Council cause to draw you hither?

Raleigh. I put my self on it.

Lord Cecil. Then, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, think on God, and prepare your self; for I do verily believe, my Lords will Prove this. Excepting your Faults (I call them no worse) by God, I am your Friend. The Heat and Passion in you, and the *Attorney's* Zeal in the Kings Service, makes me speak thus.

Raleigh. Whosoever is the Workman, it is reason he should give Account of his Work to the Work-Master. But let it be Proved that he acquainted me with any of his Conference with *Aremberg*: he would surely have given me some Account.

Lord Cecil. That follows not. If I set you on Work, and you give me no Account; am I therefore Innocent?

H 2

Attorney

Attorney. For *Arabella*, I said she was never acquainted with the Matter. Now that *Raleigh* had Conference in all these Treasons, it is manifest; The Jury hath heard the Matter. There is one *Dyer*, a Pilot, that being in *Lisbon*, met with a *Portugal* Gentleman, who asked him if the King of *England* were Crowned yet? To whom he answered, *I think not yet, but he shall be shortly*. Nay, saith the *Portugal*, that shall he never be, for his Throat will be cut by *Don Raleigh*, and *Don Cobham*, before he be Crowned.

Dyer was called and Sworn, and delivered this Evidence.

Dyer. I came to a Merchants House in *Lisbon*, to see a Boy that I had there; there came in a Gentleman into the House, and inquiring what Countryman I was, I said an English-Man: Whereupon he asked me, if the King were Crowned? And I answered, that I hoped he should be so shortly. Nay, saith he, he shall never be Crowned, for *Don Raleigh*, and *Don Cobham*, will cut his Throat ere that Day come.

Raleigh. What infer you upon this?

Attorney. That your Treason hath Wings.

Raleigh. If *Cobham* did practice with *Aremberg*, how could it not but be known in *Spain*? Why did they name the Duke of *Buckingham* with *Pack Straw*'s Treason, but that it was to Countenance his Treason?

Consider, you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no Cause so doubtful, which the Kings Council cannot make good against the Law. Consider my Disability, and their Ability: They Prove nothing against me, only they bring the Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, which he hath Lamented and Repented as heartily, as if it had been for a horrible Murder. For he knew, that all this Sorrow which should come to me, is by his means. Presumptions must proceed from Precedent, or Subsequent Facts. I have spent 40000 Crowns against the *Spaniard*. I had not Purchased 40 Pound a Year. If I had Died in *Guiana*, I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always Condemned the *Spanish* Faction, me-thinks it is a strange thing that now I should affect it! Remember what *St. Austin* says, *Sic Judicatur tanquam ab alio mox Judicandi; unus iudex, unum Tribunal*. If you would be contented on Presumptions delivered, to be Slaughtered, to have your Wife and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread; If you would be contented to be so judged, Judg of of me.

Serj. Philips I hope to make this so clear, as that the Wit of Man shall have no Co-

lour to answer it. The Matter is Treason in the highest Degree, the end to Deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treasons are these: First, To raise up Rebellion; and, to effect that, to procure Money; to raise up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a Treasonable Book against the Kings right to the Crown; the purpose, to take the Life of his Majesty and his Issue. My Lord *Cobham* confesseth Sir *Walter Raleigh* guilty thereof. The Question is, Whether he be Guilty as joyning with him, or Ignorant of him? The course to Prove this, was by my Lord *Cobham*'s Accusation. If that be true, he is Guilty; if not, he is Clear. So, whether *Cobham* say true, or *Raleigh*? That is the Question. *Raleigh* hath no Answer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can devise. He useth his bare Denial; the denial of a Defendant must not move the Jury. In the Star-Chamber, or in the Chancery, for matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Question, his denial on his Oath is no Evidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *Propria causa*. Therefore much less in Matters of Treason. *Cobham*'s Testification against him before then, and since, hath been largely disallowed.

Raleigh. If Truth be Constant, and Constancy be in Truth, Why hath he Forsworn that that he hath said? You have not Proved any one thing by direct Proofs, but all by Circumstances.

Attorney. Have you done? The King must have the last.

Raleigh. Nay, Mr. *Attorney*, he which speaketh for his Life, must speak last. False Repetitions and Mistakings must not mar my Cause. You should speak *Secundum allegata & probata*. I appeal to God and the King, Whether *Cobham*'s Accusation be sufficient to Condemn me.

Attorney. The Kings Safety, and your Clearing, cannot agree. I protest, I never knew a clearer Treason.

Raleigh. I never had intelligence with *Cobham* since he came to the Tower.

Attorney. Go too, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the Confidential Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why should you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient, good Mr. *Attorney*, give him leave to speak.

Attorney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage Traytors, and discourage Us. I am the Kings sworn-Servant, and must speak: If he be Guilty he is a Traytor, if not, deliver him.

Nota. Here Mr. *Attorney* sat down and would speak no more, until the Commissioners

missioners urged and intreated him to go forward, and then proceeded.

Attorney. You had intelligence with *Cobham*, within four Days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly *Spanish*, and desired Pension of 1500 Pound a Year from *Spain* that *Spain* by him might have Intelligence, then *Raleigh* is a Traytor. He hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord *Cobham*'s Window; the Contents whereof were this. It is doubtful whether me shall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you shall not be tried. This was to get a Retraction. Oh! it was *Adam*'s Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further, he wrote thus, *Do not as my Lord of Essex did, take heed of a Preacher for by his persuasion he confessed, and made himself guilty*. I doubt not, but this Day, God shall have as great a Conquest by this Traytor, and the Son of God shall be as much Glorified, as when it was said, *Vicisti Galilee*; you know my meaning. Though *Cobham* Retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep, until he had Confirmed it again. If this be not enough to Prove him a Traytor, the King my Master shall not Live three Years to an end.

Nota. Here Mr. *Attorney* produceth the Lord *Cobham*'s Letter, and as he read it, Inserted some speeches.

I have thought it fit, to set down into thy Lords, wherein I profess on my Soul, to write nothing but the truth. I am come now near to the Period of my Time, therefore I confess the truth before God, and his Angels. *Raleigh*, four days before I came from the Tower, caused an Apple (*Eves Apple*) to be thrown in at my Chamber-window; the effect of it was to intreat me to right the Wrong that I had done him, in saying, that I should have come Home by *Fersey*, which under my Hand to him, I have Retracted. His first Letter I answered not, which was thrown in the same manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He sent me word that the Judges met at Mr. *Attorney*'s House, and that there was good hope the Proceedings against us should be staid; he sent me another time a little Tobacco. At *Aremberg*'s coming, *Raleigh* dealt with me, to procure him a Pension of 1500 Pound a Year, for which he promised that no Action should be against *Spain*, but he would give knowledge before-hand. He told me the States had Audience with the King. (Ah, is not this a *Spanish* Heart in an *English* Body?) He hath been the original Cause of my Ruine; for I had no dealing with *Aremberg*, but by his intigation. He hath been also the cause of my Discontentment; he advised me,

not to be overtaken with Preachers, as *Essex* was, and that the King would better allow of a constant Denial, than to Accuse any.

Attorney. Oh damnable Atheist! he hath learned some Text of Scripture, to serve his own purpose, but falsely alledged. He counsels him, not to be Counsellied by Preachers, as *Essex* was: He died the Child of God, God Honoured him at his death; thou wast by when he died, *Et Lupus & Turpes instant morientibus urse*. He died indeed for his Offence. The King himself spake these words; *He that shall say Essex died not for Treason is punishable*.

Raleigh. You have heard a strange Tale of a strange Man; he hath Matter enough to me; but the King, and all of you shall Witness by our Deaths, which of us was the Ruine of other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this purpose; *You know you have undone me, now write three Lines to justify me*. In this I will die, that he hath done me Wrong: Why did not he acquaint me with his Treasons, if I acquainted him with my Dispositions?

Attorney. But what say you now of this Letter?

Raleigh. I say that *Cobham* is a base Dishonourable poor Soul.

Attorney. Is he Base? I return it into thy Throat, on his behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

Nota. Here *Raleigh* pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord *Cobham* had written to him, and desired my Lord *Cecil* to read it, because he only knew his Hand; the Effect of it was as followeth.

Cobham's Letter of Justification to *Raleigh*.

"Seeing my self so near my End, for the discharge of my own Conscience, and freeing my self from your Blood, which else will cry Vengeance against me: I protest upon my Salvation, I never Practised with *Spain* by your Procurement; God so Comfort me in this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject, for any thing that I know. I will say as *Daniel*, *Pernis sum* a Sanguine huius. So God have Mercy on my Soul, as I know no Treason by you."

Nota. This was the last Evidence, whereupon a Man that was Sworn, to keep the Jury private. The Jury departed, and staid not a Quarter of an Hour, but returned, and gave their Verdict Guilty.

Serj. Heath demanded Judgment against the Prisoner.

The Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Clerk of the Crown. Sir Walter Raleigh, Thou hast been Indicted, Arraigned, and pleaded not Guilty, for all these several Treasons, and for Trial thereof, hast put thy self upon thy Country; which Country are these, who have found thee Guilty. What canst thou say for thy self, why Judgment and Execution of Death, should not pass against thee?

Raleigh. My Lords, the Jury have found me Guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing why Judgment should not proceed. You see whereof *Cobham* hath Accused me. You remember his Protestations, that I was never Guilty. I desire the King should know of the wrongs done unto me, since I came hither.

Lord Chief Justice. You have had no wrong, Sir Walter.

Raleigh. Yes, of Mr. *Attorney*. I desire my Lords, to remember three things to the King. 1. I was Accused to be a Practiser for Spain: I never knew that my Lord *Cobham* meant to go thither, I will ask no Mercy at the Kings Hands, if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the Practice with *Arabella*. 3. I never knew of my Lord *Cobham's* Practice with *Aremberg*, nor of the Surprising Treason.

Lord Chief Justice. In my Conscience I am perswaded, that *Cobham* hath Accused you truly. You cannot deny, but that you were dealt with, to have a Pension to be a Spie for Spain; therefore you are not so true to the King, as you have protested your self to be.

Raleigh. I submit my self to the King's Mercy, I know his Mercy is greater than my Offence. I recommend my Wife and Son, of tender Years, unbrought up, to his Compassion.

Lord Chief Justice. I had thought I should never have seen this Day, to have stood in this place against you; because I thought it impossible, that one of so great Parts, should have fallen so grievously. God hath bestowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit, and able to have served the King in good Place. You had brought your self into good State of Living, if you had entered into a good Consideration of your Estate, and not suffered your own Wit to have Intrapped your self, you might have lived in good Comfort. It is best for Man not to seek to Climb too high, lest he fall; nor yet to Creep too low, lest he be Treaden on. It was the Poise of the Wisest and greatest Councillor, of his Time in England, *In medio spatium mediocritas firma locatur*. You might have Lived well with 3000 Pound a Year, for so I have heard your Revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be

discontented; but if you had been Down, you know Fortunes Wheel, when it is turned about, riseth again. I never heard that the King took away any thing from you, but the Captainship of the Guard, which he did with good Reasons, to have one of his own Knowledge, whom he might Trust in that Place. You have been taken for a Wife Man, and so have shewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, &c. If the King had said, it is a Matter that offends my People, should I burthen them for your particular good? I think you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eased, though by your private hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is an eager Ambition, the other Corrupt Covetousness.

Ambition, in desiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before-time; that Grace you had then, you got not in a Day or Year. For your Covetousness, I am sorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth, should become a base Spie for the Enemy, which is the Vilest of all other; wherein, on my Conscience, *Cobham* hath said true: by it you would have increased your Living 1500 Pound a Year. This Covetousness is like a Canker, that eats the Iron place where it Lives. Your Case being thus, let it not grieve you, if I speak a little out of Zeal, and Love, to your good. You have been Taxed by the World, with the Defence of most Heathenish, and Blasphemous Opinions, which I list not to Repeat, because Christian Ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the Authors and Maintainers of them suffered to Live in any Christian Commonwealth. You know what Men said of *Harpoole*. You shall do well before you go out of the World, to give Satisfaction therein, and not to Die with these Imputations on you. Let not any Devil perswade you to think, there is no Eternity in Heaven; for if you think thus, you shall find Eternity in Hell-Fire. In the first Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, I observed his manner of speaking; I protested before the Living God, I am perswaded he spoke nothing but the truth. You wrote, that he should not in any case Confess any thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Essex*, that noble Earl that is gone; who if he had not been carried away with others, had Lived in Honour to this Day among us. He confessed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord, for I am verily perswaded in my Heart, he did a worthy Servant of God. Your conceit of not confessing any thing is very inhumane and Wicked. This is the time of Confessing, that we may be Absolved at the Day of

The Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh.

The Judgment.

of Judgment. You have shewed a fearful sign of denying God, in advising a Man not to confess. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your Accuser Face to Face, for such a one is easily brought to Retract, when he seeth there is no hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traitors should have any Access one to another, or Conference; when they see themselves must Die, they will think it best to have their Fellow Live, that he may commit the like Treason again, and so in some sort seek Revenge.

Now it resteth to Pronounce the Judgment, which I wish you had not been this Day to have received: For if the Fear of God in you, had been answerable to your other Parts, you might have Lived to have been a singular Subject. I never saw the like Trial, and I hope, I shall never see the like again.

But since you have been found Guilty of these Horrible Treasons, you shall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain until the Day of Execution; and from thence you shall be Drawn upon a Hurdle through the Streets, to the Place of Execution, there to be Hanged and Cut down alive, and your Body shall be opened, your Heart and Bowels plucked out, and your Privy Members cut off and thrown into the Fire, before your Eyes; then your Head to be stricken off from your Body, which shall be divided into four Quarters, to be disposed at the Kings Pleasure: And

God have Mercy upon your Soul.

Here follows the Continuation of the Life.

It was observed that before the Lords (principally to my Lord Cecil) at Winchester (for there he was tryed, the Sicknel then reigning at London) he was humble, but not prostrate; dutiful, but not deject: For in some cases he would humbly thank them for gracious Speeches; in other acknowledge that their Honours said true, as in relating some circumstances. And in such points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them, and answer them as in points of Law, or essential matters of Fact. To the Jury he was affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not trusting in them; carefully perswading them with Reason, not desperately importuning them with Conjurations; rather shewing love of Life, than fear of Death. What made ill for Sir Walter, was his discovery of *Laurency* and *Cobham's* frequent private Conferences; which so incens'd *Cobham* that he positively accused him, though the single Evidence of one already convicted of what Sir Walter was but yet impeach'd, could only make a Circumstance, and not convict him. The Judges and the King's Council did what they could to bawl him out of his Life, and since they wanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. If we may believe *Osborn*, several of the Jury-men, after he was cast, were so far touch'd in conscience as to ask of him pardon on their knees.

A further Confirmation of his Innocency may be a passage of his own in a Letter to Secretary Winwood, wherein he tells him, "That the worthy Prince of Wales was extrem curious in searching out the nature of his Offences. The Queens Majesty had inform'd her self from the beginning. The King of Denmark at both times of his being here, was thoroughly fatished of his Innocency; they would otherwise never have moved his Majesty on his behalf. The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King do not sue to sue for Men suspect. Nay, further yet, the Scots themselves declar'd in favour of him, if we may believe him in another Letter of his to Sir Robert Carr, after Earl of Somerset, wherein are these words, "I have ever been bound to your Nation, as well for many other graces, as for the true report of my Tryal to the King's Majesty, against whom had I been malignant the hearing of my Cause could not have changed Enemies into Friends, Malice into Compassion, and the minds of the greatest number then present, into the Commiseration of mine Estate: It is not the nature of foul Treason to beget such fair Passions; neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithful Subjects (especially of your Nation) to bewail his overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal Lord.

Two days after Raleigh's Tryal, were sentenced *Brook*, who pretended his intention was only to try faithful Subjects, and said he had a Commission for so doing, but produc'd it not. *Markham*, who confess the Indictment, pleaded Discontent, and desired Mercy. *Watson*, who confess he drew them all in, holding the King to be no Sovereign till he were crown'd, insinuating in *Saul*, and *Jeroboam*; And *Clark*, who said the like. *Parham* and *Brooksby* were acquitted by the Jury; *Watson*, *Clark* and *Brook* were executed; *Markham*, *Cobham*, and *Grey* brought severally on the Scaffold to dye, and at the instant on the Block, had their particular Executions remitted, by a Letter to the Sheriff under the King's own Hand, without the knowledge of any, save Mr. Gibbs, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, that brought it. However, an evil fate did attend these Men; *Grey* died in the Tower, the last of his Line; the rest were discharg'd, but died miserably poor: *Markham* and some others abroad.

abroad; but *Cobham* (as *Osborn* tells us) in a Room ascended by a Ladder, at a poor Womans house in the Minories (formerly his Landrels) died rather of hunger than a natural disease.

Sir Walter was left to his Majesties Mercy, who thought him too great a Male-content to have his Freedom, and probably too innocent to lose his Life. Therefore in the Tower he is confin'd, but permitted to enjoy *Liberty Custodia*; where he improv'd his Imprisonment to the greatest advantage of Learning and Inquisitive Men. Since his Majesty had civilly buried him, and as it were banish'd him this World, he thought it no Treason to disturb the Ashes of former times, and bring to view the Actions of decess'd Heroes. And certainly none was so fit to comment on their Achievements, and so able to raise excellent Maxims from them, as he who had been brought up in so wise a Court as Queen Elizabeths, and read so many wise Men. After some time past there, he was delivered of that great *Minerva* the History of the World, a Book which for the exactness of its Chronology, curiouness of its Contexture and Learning of all sorts, seems to be the Work of an Age. An History which never yet met with a Detractor, and was the Envy, if some Authors are to be credited, of King James himself, who thought none could out-do him at the Pen. That a Man who had been the greatest part of his life taken up in Action, should write so judiciously, so critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book it self. It still remains a dispute whether the Age he lived in was more obliged to his Pen or his Sword, the one being busy in conquering the *New*, the other in so bravely describing the *Old* World. An History wherein the only fault, or defect rather, is, that it wanteth one half thereof; Which was occasioned, as our Story tells us, thus: Some few days before he suffered he sent for Mr. Walter Bury, who formerly printed his first Volumn of the History of the World, whom taking by the Hand, after some other discourse, he ask'd how it had sold? Mr. Bury returned this Answer, *It sold so slowly that it had undone him*. At which words of his Sir Walter stepping to his Desk, reaches his other unprinted part of his History, which he had brought down to the Times he lived in, and clapping his hand upon his breast, said with a sigh, *Oh my Friend, hath the first Part undone thee? the second Part shall undo no more; this ungratefull World is unworthy of it*: and immediately going to the Fire-side threw it in, and set his foot on it till it was consumed. As great a loss to Learning as Christendom could have sustained; the greater, because it could be repaired by no hand but his. It often happening to Authors, as to great Masters in Painting, their Pieces are not valued till they are dead, and the succeeding Age find the Originals inimitable.

Whilst Sir Walter was thus confined, Death took away his and Effex's mortal Enemy Sir Robert Cecil, after Earl of Salisbury, who had purchased the monopoly of Favour, and being jealous of Sir Walter's Parts, had some fear he might supplant him; which was the cause, according to *Osborn*, that he was brought to the aforementioned Tryal. However Sir Walter outlived his Enemies designs and hatred, and for all his kindnesses, bestowed upon him the following Epitaph, which I am upon very good grounds assur'd to be his. King James was so much taken with the smartness of it, that he hoped the Author would die before him. The Verses are these.

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Here

Here lies Hobinal, our Pastor while ere,
That once in a quarter our fleeces did shear.
To please us, his Cur he kept under clogg,
And was ever after both Shepherd and Dog.
For oblation to Pan his custom was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us.
And through his false Worship such pow'r he did gain,
As kept him 'oth Mountain, and us on the Plain:
Where many a Hornpipe he tui'd to his Phillis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amarillis,
Till Actæos clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,
For flight of his Tarbox he dy'd of the Scab.

If the Reader desires a Key to these Verses, he may meet with it in *Osborn's* Memoirs, who yet for all his Intelligence hath not informed us that his Mistress's name was *Walsingham*.

Fourteen Years Sir Walter had spent in the *Tower*, and being weary of a state wherein he could be only serviceable by his Pen, but not in a capacity of serving and enriching his Country any other way, (Of whom Prince *Henry* would say, that no King but his Father would keep such a Bird in a Cage;) At length he fell upon an Enterprize of a Golden Mine in *Guiana* in the Southern parts of *America*. The Proposition of this was presented and recommended to his Majesty by Sir *Ralph Winwood* the Secretary of State, as a matter not in the Air, or Speculative, but Real and of certainty, for that Sir *Walter* had seen of the Ore of the Mine, and tried the richness of it, having gotten a pound from thence by the hands of Captain *Kemish* his ancient Servant.

Sir *Ralph Winwood's* Recommendations of the Design, and the earnest Solicitations for his Enlargement of the Queen, the Prince, and the *French Leiger*, (with much affection to his Deserts, not without some Politick Designs on *Spain*) together with the Asseverations of Sir *Walter* of the Truth of the Mine, work'd upon his Majesty, who thought himself in Honour obliged, nay in a manner engaged (as the Declaration which he published after the Death of Sir *Walter* tells us) not to deny unto his People the Adventure and Hope of so great Riches, to be fought and achieved at the Charge of Volunteers, especially since it stood so well with his Majesties Politick and Magnanimous Courses in these his flourishing Times of Peace, to nourish and encourage Noble and Generous Enterprizes for Plantations, Discoveries, and opening of a new Trade.

Count *Gondamor* (an active and subtle Instrument to serve his Master's ends) took Allarm at this, and represented to his Majesty the Enterprize of Sir *Walter* to be hostile, and predatory, intending to a breach of the Peace between the two Crowns. But notwithstanding, Power at last is granted to Sir *Walter* to set forth Ships and Men for that Service. However, the King commanded him upon pain of his Allegiance to give him under his Hand (promising on the Word of a King to keep it secret) the number of his Men, the burthen and strength of his Ships, together with the Country and River which he was to enter; which being done accordingly by Sir *Walter*, that very Original Paper was found in the *Spanish* Governours Closet at *St. Thomas*. So active were the *Spanish* Ministers, that Advertisement was sent to *Spain*, and thence to the *Indies*, before the *English* Fleet got out of the *Thames*.

But

But as we have just cause to admire the more than usual Activity of the *Spanish* Agents, so may we wonder no less at the Mis carriage of his Majesties present Ministers, who notwithstanding he had past his Royal Word to the contrary, yet they did help Count *Gondamor* to that very Paper; So much both King and Court were at *Gondamor's* service.

A Commission indeed is granted, but by *Gondamor's* means is limited; that the Fleet should commit no Outrages upon the King of *Spain's* Subjects by Land, unless they began first, with other limitations in the Commission, which for the Readers Curiosity and Satisfaction I have here inserted.

JAMES by the Grace of G O D, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them greeting. Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, intendeth to undertake a Voyage by Sea and Shipping, unto the South parts of America, or elsewhere Within America, possessed and inhabited by Heathen and Savage People, to the end, to discover and find out some Commodities and Merchandizes in those Countries, that be necessary and profitable for the Subjects of these Our Kingdoms and Dominions, whereof the Inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue by Trade and Commerce, some propagation of the Christian Faith, and reformed Religion amongst those Savage and Idolatrous People: And whereas We are credibly informed, that there are divers Merchants and Owners of Ships, and others, well disposed to assist the said Sir Walt. Raleigh in this his Enterprize, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the Profits returned (in respect of the Peril of Law wherein the said Sir Walter Raleigh now standeth:) And whereas also We are informed, that divers other Gentlemen, the Business and Friends of the said Sir Walt. Raleigh, and divers Captains and other Commanders, are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their Lives with him, in this his Journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that We, upon deliberate Consideration had of the Premises, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of Our loving Subjects, and to give our Princely furtherance to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, his Friends and Associates herein, to the Encouragement of others in the like laudable Journeys and Enterprizes, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and furtherance, alwel of the Conversion of Savage People, as of the increase of the Trade, Traffique, and Merchandizes used by Our Subjects of this Our Kingdom, being most famous throughout all Nations: Of Our special Grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successours, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walt. Raleigh, full power

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and

and Authority, and free License and Liberty out of this Our Realm of England, or any other Our Dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead, for and towards his said intended Voyage into the said South parts, or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid) and to Travel thither, all such, and so many of Our loving Subjects, or any other Strangers that will become Our loving Subjects, and live under Our Obedience and Allegiance, as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, habiliments, Victuals, and such Wares and Merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wild People in those parts, Clothing, Implements, Furniture, Cattel, Horses and Hares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his Voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his Company, and Trade with the People there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts to give away, Sell, Barter, Exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same Goods, Merchandizes, and Premises, to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his Company, and such other Person or Persons, as shall be Adventurers or Assistants with, or unto him in this his intended Voyage, and from thence to Return, Import, Convey, and bring into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, such Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, or Merchandizes, or Commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so Returned, Imported, Conveyed, and brought into this Our Kingdom, or any other Our Dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper Use, Benefit, and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and other Persons Adventurers and Assistants with, or to him in his Voyage, without the Let, Interruption, Distraction, and Disturbance of Us, Our heirs or Successors, or any the Officers, or Ministers of Us, Our heirs, or Successors, the full fifth part in five parts to be divided, of all such Gold, and Silver, and Bullion, and Ore of Gold, or Silver, and Pearl, and precious Stone, as shall be Imported over and besides, and together with such Customs, Subsidies, and other Duties, as shall be due for, or in respect of any other Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to be so Imported by the true meaning of these Presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Raleigh may be the more Encouraged to go forward in this his Enterprise, and all Our loving Subjects desirous to be Adventurers with him, or Assistant unto him, may be the more incited to further his Proceedings: We do hereby in verbo Regio, for Us, Our heirs, and Successors, Covenant, Promise, and Grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all other Persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be Adventurers or Assistants with, or to him in this his Voyage, that no Gold, Silver, Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes what-

for-

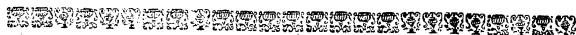
soever, of what kind or sort soever, by him or them, or any of them to be Imported into this Our Kingdom of England, or any other Our Dominions, from any the said South, or other parts of America (possessed or Inhabited, as aforesaid) shall be attached, seized, or taken by Us, Our heirs, or Successors, or to the use of Us, Our heirs, or Successors, or by any the Officers or Ministers of Us, Our heirs, or Successors whatsoever; But that the same, and every of them (the fifth part of the said Gold, Silver, or Bullion, and Ore of Gold and Silver, and Pearl and precious Stones, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid, being truly answered and payed) shall be, and remain to the sole and proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and his said Company, and such Persons as shall be Adventurers with him, or Assistant to him in this his Voyage; any Law, Statute, Act of Parliament, Proclamation, Provision, or Restraint, or any Right, Title, or Claim of Us, Our heirs or Successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And further, of Our more especial Grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, We do hereby for Us, Our heirs, and Successors, ordain, constitute and appoint the said Sir Walter Raleigh to be the sole Governor and Commander of all Persons that shall Travel, or be with him in the said Voyage, to the said South, or other parts of America (so possessed and Inhabited as aforesaid) or in returning from thence. And We do hereby give unto him, full Power and Authority to Correct, Punish, pardon, Govern, and Rule them, or any of them, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall be from time to time Established, aswell in cases Capital and Criminal, as Civil, both Marine and other; So always as the said Statutes, Ordinances and Proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, Government and Policy of this Our Realm of England, and not against the true Christian Faith now professed in the Church of England. And because that in such and the like Enterprises and Voyages, great Inconveniences have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the Mariners and Sailors employed in the same, for want of sufficient Authority to Punish them according to their Offences: We do therefore by these Presents for Us, our heirs and Successors, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, in case of Rebellion, or Mutiny by Sea or Land, to use and exercise Partial Law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our Lieutenant General by Sea or Land, or our Lieutenants in our Counties, within Our Realm of England, have, had, or ought to have by force of their Commission of Lieutenantcy. And we do further by these Presents, give full Power and Authority to the said Sir Walter Raleigh, to Collect, Promote and Appoint, such Captains and other inferior Commanders and Ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the

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better

better ordering and governing of his Company, and the good of the Voyage. And further, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our heirs and Successors, straightly Charge and Command the Warden of Our Cinque-Ports, and all the Customers, Comptrollers, Surveyers, Searchers, Waiters and other Officers and Ministers of Us, Our heirs and Successors for the time being, that they, and every of them do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Raleigh, and all Person and Persons that shall be willing to Travel and Adventure with him in this Voyage with their Ships, Munition, Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes whatsoever out of this Our Realm, or any other Our Dominions, to pass into the said South or other parts of America, (possessed and Inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to return and import into this Our Realm, or any other our Dominions, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever, and there to sell, or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his Company, and such other Persons as shall be Adventurers with him in this Voyage, paying the fifth part of all Gold and Silver, Ballion, and War of Gold and Silver, and of Pearl and Precious Stone imported, and other the Customs and Duties aforesaid. And these Presents, or the Inrolment thereof shall be unto the said Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Customers, Comptrollers, and other the Officers and Ministers aforesaid, for the time being, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. And Our Will and Pleasure is; And by these Presents, for Us, Our heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Sir Walter Raleigh, That these our Letters Patents, or the Inrolment thereof, and all and singular Grants, Clauses, and things therein contained, shall be firm, strong, sufficient, and effectual in Law, according to Our gracious Pleasure and Meaning herein expressed; Any Law, Statute, Act, Provision, Ordinance, or Restraint, or any other Matter or Thing to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. In Witnesses Whereof, &c. Witness Our Self at Westminster, the six and twentieth Day of August, in the fourteenth Year of Our Reign of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the sixtieth.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.



With

With this Commission, and the Company of several brave Captains, and other Knights and Gentlemen of great Blood, and Worth, he set out in Quest of the Mine, with a compleat Fleet of Twelve Sail. Letting fall a Speech at his Departure, which was rather an Argument of his Wit, than his Wildom, *That his whole History of the World, had not the like President: Of a Kings Prisoner to purchase Freedom, and his bosome Favourite to have the Halter; but in Scripture, Mordecai and Haman: Meaning himself and the Duke of Sommerfet.* To which he was told, that the King replied, *He might Die in that deceit;* which he did, for Sommerfet was saved. Of whom was made good, what Sir Walter used to say of Favourites; That Minions were not so happy as Vulgar Judgments thought them, being frequently Commanded to uncomely, and sometimes to unnatural Employments.

On the 17th of November, he Arrived at Guiana, having been much Retarded by contrary Winds, and having lost several of his Volunteers in the Voyage, by a violent Calenture. But of the whole Transactions, Sir Walter hath given us an exact Account, in his Letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary; which I have here Transcribed.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our Proceedings and Passages towards the Indies, so have I no other Subject to Write of, than of the greatest Misfortunes that ever befel any Man. For whereas for the first, all those that Navigate between Cape de Verd, and America, do pass between Fifteen or Twenty Days at most, we found the Wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to Nature) so many Storms and Rains, as we spent six Weeks in the Passage; by reason whereof, and that in so great Heat, we wanted Water. For at the Isle Prano of Cape de Vred, we Lost our Anchors and Cables, and our Water-Casks; and being driven from the Isle with a Hurricane, we were like all to have Perished. Great sickness fell amongst us, and carried away great Numbers of our ablest Men, both for Sea and Land. The 17th of November, we had sight of Guiana, and soon after came to Anchor in five Degrees of the River Galliano; here we stay'd till the 4th of December, landed our Sick-men, set up our Barges and Shalops, which were brought out of England in Quarters, washed our Ships, and took in Fresh-water, being Fed and Cherished by the Indians of my old Acquaintance, with a great deal of Love and Respect. My self being in the hands of Death this six Weeks, and not able otherwise to move, then as I was carried in a Chair, gave order to five small Ships to sail into Orinoco, having Captain Kernith for their Conduktor towards the Mines: And in those five Ships, five Companies of fifty, under the Command of Captain Parker, Capt. North, Brethren to the Lord Montague, and the Lord North, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite Patience, for the Labour, Hunger, and Heat, which they have endured: My Son had the third Company, Capt. Thornix of Kent, the fourth Company, Capt. Chidley, by his Lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Sergeant Major, Captain Piggot, died in the former miserable Passage, so my Lieutenant, Sir Warham Saint Leiger, lay sick without hope of Life, and the Charge conferred on my Nephew, George Raleigh, who had also served long with infinite Commendations; but by reason of my absence, and of Sir Warhams, was not so well Obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the Spaniards began the War, and shot at us, both with their Ordinance and Muskets; whereupon the Companies were forced to Charge them, and soon after Beat them out of the Town. In the Assault, my

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Son

Son (more desirous of Honour than safety) was slain; with whom, to say truth, all the respects of this World have taken end in me; and although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongst them some Twenty or Thirty valiant Adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular Courage; as of my Sons Company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington; his Officers, Sir John Hamblen, Mr. Simon Leak, Corporal of the Field, Mr. Hammond, the Elder Brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mullinax, Mr. Winter and his Brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Captain Hall, and others.

Sir, I have set down the Names of these Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take Notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at Trinidad, having no other Port capable of them near Guiana. The second Ship was Commanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain John Pennington, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea, that England hath. The third by Sir Warham Saint Leiger, an exceeding Valiant and Worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir John Fern. The fifth by Captain Chidley, of Devon. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armada of Spain, which had they set upon us, our Force divided, the one half in Orinoco 150 miles from us, we had not only been torn in Pieces, but all those in the River had also Perished, being of no Force at all for Sea-fight. But we had resolved to be Burnt by their sides, had the Armada arrived: But belike, they stay'd for us at Margaret, by which they knew we must pass to the Indies. For it pleased his Majesty to value us at so little, as to command me upon my Allegiance, to set down under my hand the Country and River by which I was to enter it; to set down the Number of my Men, and Burthen of my Ships, and what Ordinance every Ship carried; which being known to the Spanish Ambassador, and by him, unto the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, and Letters sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames. For his first Letter sent by a Barque of Advice, was Dated the 19th of March, 1617. at Madrid, which Letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour; the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be Intercepted or not. The second by the King, dated the second of May, sent also by a Colonel of Diego de Polonioque, Governor of Guiana, Elderedo, and Trinidad. The third by the Bishop of Perericho, and delivered to Polonioque, the 15th of July at Trinidad. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customes in the Indies. At the same time by that of the Kings Hand sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedy Levying of 300 Souldiers, and ten Pieces of Ordinance, to be sent from Portriche, for the Defence of Guiana. One 150 from Nuevo Remo de Grando, under the Command of Captain Anthony Mufica; and the other 150 from Portricho, to be Conduited by Captain Francis Landio.

Now Sir, if all that have Traded to the Indies since his Majesties time, knew that the Spaniards have Flayed alive all the Poor Men which they have taken, being but Merchant-Men, what Death and cruel Torment shall we expect, if they Conquer us? Certainly, they have hitherto failed grossly, being set out thence as we were, both for Number, Time, and Place.

Lastly, to make an Apologie for not Working the Mine (though I know his Majesty expected it, whom I am to satisfie as much as my self) having lost my Son and my Estate in the Enterprize; yet it is true, that the Spaniards took more care to defend the Passage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the Kings Instructions they might easily do, the Countreies being Alpera & Nemorofa.

But

But it is true, that when Captain Kemish found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Myne by a mile, and where he found a Defcent, a Volley of Muskets came from the Woods upon the Boat, and slew two Rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman of Captain Thomix, of which Wound he languisheth to this day. He, to wit, Capt. Kemish, following his own Advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the Myne; for he gave me this for an Excuse at his return, that the Companies of English in the Town of St. Thome, were not able to Defend it against the daily and mighty Assaults of the Spaniards, that the Passages to the Mines were thick and impassable Woods, and that the Myne being Discovered, they had no Men to spork it; did not Discover it at all: For it is true, the Spaniards having two Gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by Pedro Rodrigo de Parari, the second by Harmian Frotnio, the third of Silver by Captain Francisco, for the want of Negroes to work them; for as the Indians cannot be constrained, by a Law of Charles the 5th, so the Spaniards will not, nor can endure the Labour of those Mines: whatsoever the Bragadocio, the Spanish Ambassador saith. I shall prove under the Proprietors hands, by the Custome Book, and the Kings Quinto, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to my Prince, or State, that will undertake it, how easily those Mines, and and five or six more of them may be Possessed, and the most of them in those Parts, which have never as yet been Attempted by any way by any Passage to them, nor ever Discovered by the English, French, or Dutch. But at Kemish's return from Orinocoque, when I rejected his counsel and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my Credit with the King past Recovery, he slew himself: For I told him, that seeing my Son was slain, I cared not if I had lost 100 more in opening the Myne, so my Credit had been saved. For I protested before God, had not Capt. Whitney (to whom I gave more countenance, than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the Granadoes, and carried another Ship with him of Capt. Woolastons: I would have left my Body at St. Thome; by my Sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mines, so much Gold Oar as should have satisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing; what shall become of me I know not. I am unpardoned in England, and my poor Estate consumed, and whether any Prince will give me Bread or no, I know not. I desire your Honour to hold me in your good Opinion, to remember my Service to my Lord of Arundel and Pembroke, to take some Pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her sorrow for her Son; and I beseech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord Carew, for to a broken Mind, a sick Body, and weak Eyes, it is a Torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of Importance for Discovering the State and Weakness of the Indies, which, if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithful Servant,

WALTER RALEIGH.

Whilst this Action of St. Thome was performed, and the Repulse in the way to the Mine, Sir Walter stay'd at St. Pont de Gallo, the space of nine Weeks, where the unwelcome News was brought him of the Loss of his Son, and the Defeat they met with in their Design upon the Myne. However this ill News could not alter the Resolutions of Sir Walter, of Returning to England, though he knew he should meet with several Enemies there, who had by their Calumnies, rendred the Voyage nothing but a Design; and though several of his Men were for Landing at New-found-Land. For if we may believe himself at the Hour of his Death, the two Noble Earls, Thomas of Arundel, and William of Pembroke, Engaged him to Return; and Sir Walter was resolved, though inevitable Danger threatened him, to keep his Promise.

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No

No sooner had they arrived upon the Coasts of *Ireland*, but the Taking and Sacking of *St. Thome*, and the Firing of the Town, and putting the *Spaniards* there to the Sword (though in their own Defence) was Noised abroad in all Parts, and was by special Advertisement, come unto the knowledge of Count de Gondamor. Who thereupon desiring Audience of his Majesty, said he had but one word to say; his Majesty much wondering what might be delivered in one word: When he came before him, he only Bawled out, *Pyrates, Pyrates, Pyrates*. A very pretty short Speech for an Ambassador. Whereupon his Majesty Published his Royal Proclamation, for the Discovery of the truth of Sir *Walt. Raleigh's* Proceedings, and the Advancement of Justice. But after all this Noise, Sir *Walter* is not questioned for his *Guiana* Action, for it is believed, not without very good Ground, that neither the Transgression of his Commission, nor any thing Acted beyond the Line, where the Articles of Peace between the two Crowns did not extend, could have in a Legal Course of Trial shorned his days.

When Sir *Walter* was arrived at *Plymouth*, Sir *Lewis Steuckley*, Vice-Admiral of the County of *Devon*, seized him, being Commissioned by his Majesty to bring him for *London*; which could add no Terror to a Person who could expect nothing less; and was now forced to make use of all the Arts imaginable to appease his Majesty, and defer his Anger. To which intent, *Mannowry*, a *French* Quack, at *Salisbury* gave him several Vomits, and an Artificial Composition, which made him look Gaskly and Dreadful, full of Pimples and Blisters, and put the Cheat upon the very Physicians themselves, who could not tell what to make of his Urine (though often inspected) being Adulterated with a Drug in the Glafs; that turned it even in their very hands, into an earthy Humour of a blackish Colour, and of a very offensive favour.

While he lay under this Politique Disguise, he Penned his Declaration and Apologie, which have sufficiently proved his honourable Designs in that Voyage, and answered the little Calumnies of his Enemies. When he was brought to *London*, he was permitted the Confinement of his own House, but finding the Court wholly guided by Gondamor, he could hope for little Mercy; therefore he wisely contrived the design of an Escape into *France*, which Sir *Lewis Steuckley* betrayed. But the fate of Traytors pursued him, and brought him to a contemptible End, to die a poor distracted Begger in the Isle of *Lindley*, having for a Bag of Money falsified his faith, confirmed by the Tie of the Holy Sacrament, (if we may give Credit to Mr. *Hemel* who hath given us this Story;) as also before the Year came about, to be found Clipping the same very Coyn in the Kings own House at *White-Hall*, which he had received for a Revard of his Perfidiousness: For which, being Condemned to be Hanged, he was forced to sell himself to his Shirt, to purchase his Pardon of two Knights.

King *James* was willing to Sacrifice the Life of Sir *Walter* to the Advancement of Peace with *Spain*, but not upon such Grounds as the Ambassador had design'd; for he desired a Judgment upon the pretended Breach of Peace, that by this Occasion he might slyly gain from the *English* an acknowledgment of his Matters right in those Places, and hereafter both stop their Mouths, and quench their Heat and Valour. Hence upon his old Condemnation (for having had experience upon a former Trial, they cared not to run the hazard of a second) he was Sentenced: The old Judgment being only Averred against him; and from *Westminster-Hall* he was carried

ried to the *Gate-House*; and from thence the next Morning to the Parliament-Yard, where he had the favour of the Ax granted him. But all Persons have wondered how that old Sentence, that had lain Dormant sixteen Years and upwards against Sir *Walter*, could have been made use of to take off his Head afterwards: Considering the then Lord Chancellor *Venulam*, told him positively, (as Sir *Walter* was acquainting him with that Proffer of Sir *William St. Geor*, for a pecuniary Pardon, which might have been obtained for a less Sum, than his *Guiana* Preparations amounted to) in these words: "Sir, the Knee Timber of your Voyage is Money, spare your Purse in this particular, for upon my Life, you have a sufficient Pardon for all that is passed already, the King having under his Broad Seal made you Admiral of your Fleet, and given you Power of the Martial Law over the Officers and Souldiers. It was the Opinion of most Lawyers, that he, who by his Majesties Patent, had power of Life and Death over the Kings Leige People, should be esteemed or judged *Reus in Curia*, and free from all old Convictions. But Sir *Walter* hath made the best Defence for his *Guiana* Actions, in his Letter to his Majesty, which I have here Inserted.

May it Please your Most Excellent Majesty,

"IF in my Journey Outward bound, I had my Men Murdered at the Island, and yet spared to take Revenge. If I did discharge some *Spanish* Barques taken, without Spoil. If I did forbear all parts of the *Spanish* Indies, wherein I might have taken Twenty of their Towns, on the Sea-Coasts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where without any Directions from me, a *Spanish* Village was Burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the Myne; by your Majesties favour, I find no Reason why the *Spanish* Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder 26 *Englishmen*, binding them back to back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had Traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land without so much as one Sword; and that it may not be lawful for your Majesties Subjects, being Charged first by them, to repel Force by Force; we may justly say, O miserable English! If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeach* and other Places in the *Honduraes*, seated in the heart of the *Spanish* Indies, burnt Towns, killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said to them at their Return, and my self forbore to look into the *Indies* because I would not Offend; I may justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh*! If I spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suffered by Sicknes, and otherwise a world of Miseries; if I have Resisted with the manifest hazard of my Life, the Robberies and Spoils which my Company would have made; if when I was Poor, I might have made my self Rich; if when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men, and Nature it self do so much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if when I was sure of my Life, I rendred it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship and Goods, and put 5 or 6000 Pound in my Pocket, and yet brought her into *England*. I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Majesty had given Liberty and Trust, to a man whose End was but the Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesties Trust. My Mutineers told me, that if I returned for *England*, I should be undone; but I believed in your Majesties Goodness more than in all their Arguments.

M 2

"Sure

"Sure, I am, that I am the first that being Free and able to Enrich my self, have imbraced Poverty and Peril. And as sure I am, that my Example shall make me the last. But your Majesties Wildom and Goodness I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be, your Majesties

Most Humble Vassal,

WALTER RALEIGH.

But this Apology, though never so perswasive, could not satisfie Gondomar's Rage, who was resolv'd to Sacrifice the only Favorite left of Queen Elizabeth, to the Spanish Interest: and who, as Osborn remarks, was the only Person of Essex's Enemies that died lamented, and the only Man left of Note alive, that had helped to Beat the Spaniard in the Year 1588.

Upon Thursday the 29th of October, 1618. Sir Walter Raleigh was Conveyed by the Sheriffs of London, to a Scaffold in the Old Pallace at Westminster, where he was Executed about Nine of the Clock in the Morning of the same Day: Whose Confession and several Speeches there delivered, with his Gesture and Behaviour, were as follows.

His first appearance upon the Scaffold, was with a smiling Countenance, saluting the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with others of his Acquaintance there present; when after a Proclamation of Silence by an Officer appointed, he addrest himself to Speak in this manner.

I desire to be born withal, because this is the third day of my Feaver: And if I shew any weaknes, I beseech you to attribute it to my Malady for this is the Hour I look for it.

Then pawling a while, directing himself towards a Window, where the Lord of Arundel, and the Lord of Doncaster, with some other Lords and Knights sat, with a loud Voice he said as followeth.

"I thank God of his Infinite Goodness, that he hath sent me to Die in the sight of so Honourable an Assembly, and not in Darknes. But by reason the place where they sat, was some distance from the Scaffold, that they could not easily hear him, he said: *I will strain my self, for I would willingly have your Honours hear me.* The Lord of Arundel answered, *We will come upon the Scaffold;* where after he had saluted every one of them severally, he began as followeth.

"As I said, I thank my God heartily, that he hath brought me into the Light to Die, and hath not suffered me to Die in the dark Prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of Adversity, and a long Sickness; and I thank God that my Feaver hath not taken me at this time, as I pray'd God it might not.

"There are two main Points of Suspition, that his Majesty hath conceived against me, and wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to Clear and Resolve you off:

"One is that his Majesty hath been informed that I have had some Plot with France, and his Majesty had some Reason to induce him thereunto. One Reason that his Majesty had to Conjecture so, was, that when I came back from Guiana being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Rochel, which was because I would fain have made my Peace before I came to England. Another Reason was that upon my Flight, I did intend to Flie to France for saving of my Life, having had some Terror from above. A third Reason was the French Agent's coming to me, and it was Reported that I had Commission from the King of France.

But

"But this I say, for a Man to call God to Witnes to a Falfhood at any time is a grievous sin, and what shall he hope for at the Tribunal Day of Judgment? But to call God to Witnes to a Falfhood at the time of Death, is far more grievous and impious, and there is no hope for such an one. And what should I expect that am now going to render an Account of my Faith? I do therefore call the Lord to Witnes, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see Him in his Kingdom, which I hope will be within this quarter of this Hour; I never had any Commission from the King of France, nor any Treaty with the French Agent, nor with any from the French King; neither knew I that there was an Agent, or what he was, till I met him in my Gallery at my Lodging unlooked for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never come into thy Kingdom.

"The second Suspition was, that his Majesty hath been Informed, that I should speak Dishonourably and Disloyally of him. But my Accuser was a bafe Frenchman, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one whom I knew to be Perfidious; for being drawn into this Action at Winchester in which my Hand was toucht, and he being sworn to secrecy over Night, revealed it in the Morning.

"But in this I speak now, What have I to do with Kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them: I have now to do with God, therefore to tell a Lye now to get the Favour of the King, were in vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last Day, I never spake Dishonourably, Disloyally, or Dishonestly of the King; neither to this Frenchman, nor to any other; neither had I ever in all my Life, a thought of ill of his Majesty. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this Frenchman being so bafe, so mean a Fellow, should be so far Credited; and so much for this Point. I have dealt truly, and I hope I shall be believed. I confess, I did attempt to escape, and I did dissemble and fain my self Sick at Salisbury, but I hope it was no sin. The Prophet David did make himself a Fool, and did suffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard to escape the hands of his Enemies, and it was not imputed to him as sin; and I did it to prolong Time till his Majesty came, hoping for some Commiseration from him.

"I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Steuckley, and have received the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean, and I do also forgive all the World. But thus much I am bound in Charity to speak of this Man, that all Men may take good heed of him: Sir Lewis Steuckley, my Kinsman and Keeper, hath affirmed, that I should tell him, that I did tell my Lord Carew, and my Lord Doncaster, of my present Escape; but I protest before God, I never told Steuckley any such thing, neither did I tell my Lord Carew, or my Lord Doncaster of my pretended Escape. It was not likely that I should acquaint two Privy Councillors of my purpose; neither would I tell him, for he left me 6, 7, 8, 9, or 10 Days to go where I listed, while he Rode about the Country.

"Again he Accused me, that I should tell him, that my Lord Carew, and my Lord Doncaster, would meet me in France, which was never my Speech or Thought.

"Thirdly, He Accused me, that I shew'd him a Letter, and that I should give him 10000 Pound for my Escape; but cast my Soul into everlasting Fire, if I ever made him offer of 10000 Pounds, or 1000 Pounds, but merely I shew'd him a Letter, that if he would go with me, his Debts should be paid when he was gone; neither had I 1000 Pound, for if I had had so much, I could have done better with it, and made my Peace otherwise.

N

Fourthly,

'Fourthly, When I came to Sir Edward Pelham, who had been sometimes a follower of mine, who gave me good Entertainment, he gave out that I had received some Dram of Poylon in Sir Edward Pelham's House; when I answered, that I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the House. Now God forgive him, for I do, and I desire God to forgive him; I will not only say God is the God of Revenge, but I desire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.

Then he looked over his Note of Remembrance, 'Well, faith he, thus far have I gone, now a little more, and I will have done by and by.

'It was told the King I was brought per force into England, and that I did not intend to come again, whereas Captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leak, and divers others, that knew how I was dealt withal, shall Witness for me; for the Common Souldiers, which were 150 Mutined, and sent for me to come into the Gun-Room to them, for at that time they would not come to me; and there was I forced to take an Oath, that I would not come into England till they would have me, or else they would cast me into the Sea and Drown me; afterwards they entred my Cabbin and set themselves against me. After I had taken this Oath, with Wine and other things I drew the chiefeft of them to desist, and at length I perswaded them to go into Ireland; then would they have gone into the North parts of Ireland, but I told them they were Redbanks: But at last with much ado I perswaded them to go into the South parts; promising to get their Pardons, but was forced to give them 12 5 Pound at Kinsale to bring them Home, otherwise I had never got from them.

'There was a Report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any Myne, nor intended any such matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majesty and those that went with me, with the rest of my Country-Men: But he that knew the Head of the Myne would not Discover it, when he saw that my Son was slain, but made himself away. And then he turned to my Lord of Arundel, and said, Being in the Gallery in my Ship at my Departure, your Honour took me by the Hand, and said you would request me one thing, that was, That whether I made a good Voyage or bad, yet I should return again into England; when I made you a Promise and gave you my Faith that I would: And so you did (answered my Lord) it is true, they were the last words I spake into you. Another Opinion was, that I carried to Sea with me 1600 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage I intended, only to get Money into my hands, and that I had weighed my Voyage before; whereas I protest I had but a 100 Pound in all the World; whereof I gave 25 Pounds to my Wife: the reason of this Speech was this; there was entered 20000 Pound, and yet but 4000 Pound in the Surveyors Book, now I gave my Bill for the other 16000 Pound for divers Adventurers, but I protest I had not a Penny of Money more than 100 Pound, as I hope to be faved.

'Another Slander was raised, that I would have gone away from them and left them at Guiana, but there were a great many of worthy Men that Accompanied me always, as my Serjeant Major George Raleigh, and divers others (which he then named) that knew my intent was nothing so. And these be the Material Points I thought good to speak of; I am now at this instant to render my Account to God, and I protest as I shall appear before Him, this that I have spoken is true.

I

'I will speak but a word or two more, because I will not trouble Mr. Sheriff too long.

'There was a Report spread, that I should rejoyce at the death of my Lord of Essex, and that I should take Tobacco in his presence; when as I protest I shed Tears at his Death, though I was one of the contrary Faction; and at the time of his Death I was all the while in the Armory at the further end, where I could but see him; I was sorry that I was not with him, for I heard he had a desire to see me, and be Reconciled to me. So that I protest I lamented his Death, and good cause had I, for it was the worse for me as it proved, for after he was gone I was little beloved.

'And now I intreat you all to joyn with me in Prayer, that the Great God of Heaven, whom I have grievously offended, being a Man full of all Vanity, and have lived a sinful Life, in all sinful Callings, having been a Souldier, a Captain, a Sea-Captain, and a Courtier, which are all places of Wickedness and Vice; that God (I say) would forgive me, and cast away my Sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlasting Life. So I take my leave of you all, making my Peace with God.

Then Proclamation being made that all Men should depart the Scaffold, he prepared himself for Death, giving away his Hat and wrought Night-cap, and some Money to such as he knew that stood near him: Taking his leave of the Lords, Knights, and other Gentlemen, and among the rest taking his leave of the Lord of Arundel, he thanked him for his Company, and intreated him to desire the King, that no Scandalous Writing to Defame him might be Published after his Death; saying further unto him, I have a long Journey to go, and therefore will take my leave.

Then putting off his Gown and Doublet, he called to the Headman to shew him the Ax, which being not presently shew'd him, he said, I pray thee let me see it, Dost thou think that I am afraid of it? And having it in his hands, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and smiling, spake to the Sheriff, saying, This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a Physician for all Diseases. Then going to and from upon the Scaffold, on every side he pray'd the Company to pray to God to assist him and strengthen him.

And to being asked which way he would lay himself, on which side the Block, as he stretched himself along and laid his Head on the Block, he said, So the Heart be right, it is no matter which way the Head lieth. And then Praying after he had forgiven the Headman, having given him a Sign when he should do his Office, at two blows he lost both Head and Life, his Body never shrinking nor moving. His Head was shewed on each side of the Scaffold, and then put into a Red-Leather Bag, and his wrought Velvet Gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a Mourning Coach of his Ladies.

The large Effusion of Blood, which proceeded from his Veins, amazed the Spectators, who Conjectured he had stock enough left of Nature, to have Surviv'd many Years, though now near Fourcore Years old. He behaved himself at his Death, with so High and so Religious a Resolution, as if a Christian had Acted a Roman, or rather a Roman a Christian: And by the Magnanimity, which was then Conspicuous in him, he abundantly Baffled their Calumnies, who had Accused him of Atheism. Various were the Repentments of his Death, and several Pasquils (as it always happens on such Occasions) were scatter'd abroad. Of the Gallantry of his Behaviour on the Scaffold, these following Verses may give a Confirmation, and a Taste of the Poetry of those Times.

N 2

Upon

Upon Sir Walter Raleigh's Execution and Death.

Great Heart, Who taught Thee so to Die?
 Death yielding Thee the Victory.
 Where took'st Thou leave of Life? If here,
 How could'st Thou be so far from Fear?
 But sure Thou dyed'st, and quid'st the State
 Of Flesh and Blood, before that Fate.
 Ell'e what a Miracle were wrought
 To Triumph both in Flesh and Thought?
 I saw in every Stander by
 Pale Death, Life only in thy Eye.
 The Legacy thou gav'st us then,
 We'll Sue for, when thou Diest again.
 Farewel, Truth shall this Story say,
 We Died, Thou only Livd'st that Day.

Thus Died that Knight, who was *Spain's* Scourge and Terror, and *Gondomar's* Triumph; whom the Whole Nation pitied, and several Princes interceded for; Queen *Elizabeth's* Favourite, and her Successors Sacrifice. A Person of so much Worth and so great Interest, that King *James* would not Execute him without an Apology. One of such incomparable Policy, that he was too hard for *Essex*, was the Envy of *Leicester*, and *Cecil's* Rival, who grew jealous of his Excellent Parts, and was afraid of being supplanted by Him. His Head was wist on the Secretaries Shoulders, and his Life valued by some at a higher Rate than the *Infanta* of *Spain*; though a Lady incomparably excelling in both the Gifts of Mind and Body.

Authors are perplex under what Topick to place him, whether of Statesman, Seaman, Souldier, Chymist, or Chronologer; for in all these he did Excel. He could make every thing he Read or Heard, his own, and his own he could easily improve to the greatest Advantage. He seem'd to be born to that only which he went about, so Dexterous was he in all his Undertakings, in Court, Camp, by Sea, by Land, with Sword, with Pen. Witness in last, his

History of the World.

History of Guiana.

His Remains.

Judicious and Select Essays, and Observations on the first Invention of Shipping, the Misery of Invasive War, the Navy Royal and Sea-Service, with his Apologie for his Sea-Voyage to Guiana.

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An excellent Manuscript of the present State of Spain, with a most Accurate Account of his Catholique Majesties Power, and Riches; with the Names and Worth of the most considerable Persons in that Kingdom.

FINIS.

Errata. For Andrews through the Trial, Read Lord Chief Justice Anderson. Page 16. put out Edward Littlebury Gent. of the Jury.



THE
 FIRST PART
 OF THE
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 WORLD.

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of
 the same, from the Creation unto *Abraham*.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation and Preservation of the World.

SECT. I.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.



OD, whom the Wist Men acknowledged to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an understanding which it self can only comprehend; an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the Work of the World: In the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he imbraceth,

fillett, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that Glory which cannot be measured; and withal, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven we perceive a shadow of his Divine Countenance; in his merciful Provision for all that live, his manifold Goodness: And lastly, In creating and making existent the World universal, by the absolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdom, and Goodness,

A

being

A:

was created with the Deep (meaning with Waters) as with a Garment, faith David. And if by natural Arguments it may be proved, that Water by condensation may become Earth: the same reason teacheth us also, that Earth rarified may become Water: Water, Air, Fire, &c. and so on the contrary.

Don Ignis substantiam per se in Aquam convertit: God turneth the substance of Fire by Air into Water: For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the same state in which they were created, as touching their Substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of Beauty and Ornament.

*Calum vero & terra in statu creationis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita sit. And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latin Translation simply, and as specific Water: but the same more properly signifieth Liqueur. For (according to *Montanus*) *Eis autem Maim Liqueur geminus, & hoc nomen proprie verborum ponitur, Latine lingua plurali nomen Aquar fecit: For Maim (faith he) is a double Liqueur, (that is, of divers natures) and this name**

word of the Latins, wanting a vice to express it, call it in the Plural, Aquas, Waters.

This *Maim*, or indigested Matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without Form, that is, without the proper Form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the Waters.

And the Earth was void, that is, not producing any Creatures, or adorned with any Plants, Fruits, or Flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the Waters, and wrought this indigested Matter into that Form which it now retaineth, then did the Earth bud forth the Herb, which sedeth Seed, and the fruitful Tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good: which Attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion and adornment. God saw that it was good, that is, made perfect; for Perfection is that in which nothing is wanting. *Et Perfecti Dei perfecti sunt Opera: The Works of the Perfect God are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of *Domogogon*; *Hefiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos: Of which *Ovid*

Ante Mure, & Terræ, & (quod regit omnia) Cælum,

Unus erat toto nature vultus in Orbe, Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,

In all the world one only face of Nature did abide:

Which Chaos high, a huge rude heap.

SECT. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.

AFTER the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without Form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The Seventy Interpreters use the word *superferebat*, moved upon or over: *inquiebat* or *movebat* (faith *Hieronymus*) out of *Basil*

and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meo iudicio, sed vivi cuiusdam Syri sententiam recognoscere* (faith *Basil*;) which words *incubare* or *sovere*, *basil* *Heb.* *am.* *important warmth, hatching, or quickening, have a special likeness. Verbum translatum est ab avibus pulcritudine incubantibus, quævis spiritibus, & plantis incarnantibus, non autem corporali modo: The word is *Translatum* *from birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.**

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volabat: The Spirit of God did flutter: The Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense. Tenus & confectus Dei fuggit: or, as other understand the Chaldean, Flabat, pellobat, removebat: The Wind from the Face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon*

according to the 147. Psalm, *He causeth his Wind to blow, and the Waters increase: but there was yet no Wind nor Exhalation. Aris Montanus in these words, Et Spiritus Elabim Mraethet, est, officiator mutans, confectus, ac agens super facies gentis liquoris: The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and enlivening, quickening and stirring upon the face of this double Liqueur.*

For he maketh four Originals, whereof three are Agents, and the last Passive and Material, to wit, *Causa, finis, free cit, Let it be, or, it shall be. Que vox natura, Verbo Dei prima prolata fuit: Which Voice (faith he) was the first that was uttered by the Word of God.*

The third, *Spiritus Elabim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, Vis quædam divina, agilis ac presens, per omnia peritans, omnia completis: that is, A certain Divine Power, or strength every where active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim*, *id est, Materias ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis: Matter apt to become every thing.* For my self, I am relieved, (*Cum Deus sit super rationalem animi ratione, Scilicet Deus in alia ratione obiectum*) that although the Effects which follow his wonderful ways of working, may in measure be perceived by Man's Understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his Divine Power, could not be conceived by any Mind, or Spirit, compassed with a mortal Body. *Animalis homo que Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts (faith the Lord in *Ezra*)*

are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways. And as the World hath not known God himself, so are his ways (according to *St. Paul*) *past finding out.*

O Righteous Father, the World hath not known thee, faith Christ. And therefore, whether that Motion, Vitality, and Operation, were by Incubation or how else, the manner is only known to God. *Quomodo in omnia sit rebus vel per spiritum, vel per potentiam, intelligit noster non capit: For how God (faith *St. Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquity) is in all things, either by Effluence, Presence, or Power, our Understanding cannot comprehend. Nihil ultra Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana: There would be no difference between God and Man, if Man's Understanding could conceive the Counsels and disposing of that Eternal Majesty: And therefore to be overcurious in searching how the All-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his All-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave Form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who not contented with a known and safe Food, will presume to pass over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their Depths: for to do the one lose his Life, and the other his Understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his Light, as long as we look towards it but tenderly and circumspectly: we warm our*

our selves safely while we stand near the Fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to censure curiously: this is true, That the English word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of Motion proceedeth all Production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this Omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis causæ efficientis*, *The force of the efficient Cause*, *St. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghost: sometimes for a Wind or Breath: *Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, *For a created virtuality*: *Terrentian* and *Theodore* call it also a Breath or Wind: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum sensum intelligibilem*, *A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: *Anaxagoras*, *Motem*: *Tollatus*, *Voluntatem* & *Mentem Dei*, *The Will and Mind of God*: which *Moto*, *Plato* in *Times* maketh *Animam Mundum*, *The Soul of the World*: And in his sixth Book, de *Republica*, he calleth it the *Law of Heaven*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of Things to come*, and the *Presence of things past*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Moto defuit, vox flet, & non mea sentent, sed etiam Angelorum*, *My Mind faileth, my Voice is silent, and not mine only, but even the Voice of Angels*: So may all Men else say in the understanding and utterance of the Ways and Works of the Creation; for to him (faith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed confusantiale illi est, quicquid est, & quicquid est, & whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.*

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the Waters, cannot be taken for a Breath or Wind, nor for any other Creature, separate from the infinite active Power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the Universal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all things; and the same is it which maintaineth all things, faith *Salomon*. *If thou find forth thy Spirit (faith David) they are created.* And *Gregory*, *Deus suo presentia efficit, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum disfluere videretur*: *God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the World was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of God's Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expressed excellently.

Principio Cælum ac Terras, camposque liquentes, Lucentemque Globum Lunæ, Titaniasque, æthere, Spiritus intus alit: totamque infusa per artus, Mens agitatur malum, & magno se corpore miscet.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the Liquid Mayn,

The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Titanian,

A Spirit within maintains: and their whole Mass,

A mind, which through each part infused doth pass,

Fashions, and Works, and wholly doth transpire

All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit which moved in the Universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens, faith

Job. So God moved upon the Waters, and treated in them their spirituality, and natural Motion: Motion brought forth Heat; and Heat Rarification, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby operation to every Nature, while it moved upon the Waters, which were in one indigested Lump and Chaos, disposed to all Forms alike) was begotten Air: an Element superior, as lighter than the Waters: through whose vast, open, subtilty, Diaphanicy, or transparent Body, the Light, afterwards created, might easily transpire: Light for the excellency thereof being the first Creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. The Spirit *Chrysostom* calleth a Vital Operation, *Alpis a Deo infans, ex qua Aquæ non solum motu, sed & vim procedent animalia habuerunt*. He calleth it, *A Vital Operation given by God unto the Waters, whereby the Waters had not only Motion, but also Power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.*

SECT. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material substance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of Motion and Heat annexed unto it.

THESE Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: And this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Instrument of Created Light. For this first and dispersed Light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the Night from the Day, but with a reference to the Sun's Creation, and the uniting of the dispersed Light therein. This is proved by these words, *Let there be Lights in the Firmament, to separate the Day from the Night*: which Lights in the Firmament of Heaven were also made for Signs, and for Seasons, and for Days, and for Years, implying a motion infinitely to follow, by which Days and Years are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which that Time (which was the measure of Motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the Sun's creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any Motion to be measured; and the Day named in the fifth Verse, was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sun's motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the Matter of Air, the Firmament, and of the lower and upper Waters, and of the Seas and Creatures therein; Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Man's Body: So may Light (for excellency-like) be called the Chaos, or material Substance of the Sun, and other Lights of Heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing sensible is that Light it self, *Sive causæ sit, sive lucidiorum, Which is the cause that things are lighted, (though it make it self and all things else visible:)* but a Body most illighted, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the supposed Element of Fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all Bodies living in this our Air. For this Light, *Autem collecta, Volubilitatem & formam omnium Cælestium virtutum, & impressionum: The Conductor and Preface and Nourisher of all Celestiall Virtues and Impressions*; nothing descending of Heavenly Influences, but by the medium, or means of Light,

Autem

Platim.

And in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By what way is the Light parted? and where is the way where Light dwelleth?* We thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under Man's understanding; and there-

*Quemad-
modum
Rex ali-
quis, &c.
Procop. in
Gen. I.*

the Air-lighted: Incorporeal cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the Eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers to effect. Orthus say (as *Purific*) that it cannot be Matter, because no form so excellent as it self is incorporeal: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the Subject: For light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in existence. Secondly, If Light were proceeding from Matter and Form, then either or both must be one of these, * Lucid or Bright, Dark or Opaque, Diaphanous or Transparent; but Dark-ness cannot be parent of Light; and things Diaphanous (being neither Light nor Dark-ness, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the Matter, or Form, or both, be lucid and thinning. Lucid and thinning obtain their being of the Light; and therefore if we derive this

Ficin

Dvid. Met
lib. 1.

*Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia Mundus
Mundi Oculus.*

The World discerns it self, while I the World be-
hold,
By me the longest years, and other times are
told,
I the World's Eye.

Lafily, If we may behold in any Creature any one Spirit of that Eternal Fire, or any far-off dawning of God's glorious Brightness, the fame in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light may be perceived. Therefore was God called *lumen*, *lumen* and the Light, by *Armen*, named *Lux* *Serapis*; and Christ our Saviour fad to be that *Light* which *lighteneth* every Man that cometh into the World. Yet the purity of God's incomprehensible fublimity, and piety, this is alfo true, that God is neither a Mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a Light, luch as can be difcerned. *Don profecto non* Mea est, at vultus fit Mea caelestis; *non* Spiritus, sed caelestis quid Spiritus exeat; *non* Lumen, sed caelestis quid Lumen exeat: God (faith Hermer in Peruand-) certainly not a Mind, but the cause that the Mind lasteth in being; *non* Spirit, but the cause by which every Spirit is *non* Light, but the cause by which the Light exifteth,

Joh. 1. 9.
Ex 14: 46.

So then the *Mist* and *Chaos* being first created void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and Motion, resolved their thinner parts into Air, which God illuminated; the Earth also by being contiguous, and mixt with Waters (participating of the fame Divine Virtue) brought forth the *Moss* of the Earth that feedeth Seed, of which *Moss* and Organisms by which this operative Virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also Motion and Heat; which Heat caused the generation of the *Worm*, which was the first of the *Beasts*.

nuance of those several species, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

Of the Firmament, and of the Waters above
the Firmament : And whether there be
any Crystalline Heaven, or any Primum
Mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the Waters, and Light was created; God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the Waters, and let it separate the Waters from the Waters*; that is, those Waters which by rarefaction and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and

Sea. But these Waters separate above this Extension, which the Latin Translation calleth *Firmamentum*, or *Expanse*, (for to *Vatallu*, *Pagine*, and *Junin* turne) are not the Caylliane Heavens created in the imaginations of men; which Opinion *Erasmo Magnus* calleth a childish position, making in the same place many learned Arguments against this Infancy. For the Waters above the Firmament are the Waters in the Air above us, where the firme is more solid and condense, which God separated from the nether Waters by a Firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vail place: the words *Kapnia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakigia*) and *Shamigin*, being indifferently taken for the Heaven and for Air, and more properly for the Air and *Aether*, than for the Heavens, as the best Hebraicians understand them, *Quae superflua sunt remota ab inferiori crafting disticta, interduca* *bediesque separata, for that whereby the supreme and thin Bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and gross matters; and the waters above the Firmament, exprest in the word *Majim*, are in that Tongue taken properly for the Waters above the Air, or in the uppermost Region of the firme.*

And that the Word Heaven is used for the Air, the Scriptures every where witness; as in the bleedings of *Jofeph*, and in the 104. *Psalm*: * By *thy Springs* hath the *Fowl* of the *Heaven*: and upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* it rained *Brimstone* and *Fire* out of the *Heaven*: and in *Abac*'s Blessing to *God* give thee therefore of the *Dew* of *Heaven*: And in *Deuteronomy* the 11. But the *Land* whither you go to possess it, is a *Land* that drinketh *Water* of the *Rain* of *Heaven*: And in *Job*, *Who* hath ingendered the *Frigs* of *Heaven*? And in *St. Matthew*, Behold the *Fowls* of *Heaven*, for they have not. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament throughout is the word *Heaven* very oft used for *Air*, and taken also hyperbolically for any great Height; as, *Let us build us a Tower, and we will go up* *yeach* to *Heaven*, &c. And in this very place *Basil* avoucheth, that this appellation of *Heaven* for the *Firmament*, is but by way of similitude: his own words be these; *Et quicquid dicitur Firmamentum Caelum, non appellatur aliis vocibus propriis accommodatis, suis autem suis et similitudinibus*. And *God* called the *Firmament Heaven*: this *Appellation* (saith *Basil*) is properly applied to *Aether*, (that is, to the *Starry Heaven*); but to this (that is, to the *Firmament* dividing the *Waters*) it is imposed by similitude. And if there were no other proof, that by the *Firmament* was meant the *Air*, and not the *Heaven*, the words of *Mose* in the eighth Verse, conferred with the same word *Firmament* in the

twenty-

But that the Stars and other Celestial Bodies incline the Will by mediation of the sensitive Appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted; *Corpora Celestia* (saith *Dante*) *constitunt in nobis habitus, complexionem, & dispositionem*; *The Heavenly Bodies* (saith he) *make in us habits, complexion, and disposition*: For the Body (though *Galen* incline it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the Mind, especially Bodies strong in Humour, and weak in Virtues; for those of choleric Complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof, by which they suffer themselves to be transported; where the Mind hath not reason to remember, that Passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless Mind, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortal, as Birds, Beasts, and the like, are left to their natural Appetites; over all which, Celestial Bodies (as Instruments and Executions of God's Providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of Men, who little differ from Beasts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those enforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the Remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his insatiable appetite: *Placuit satum si resistit, vincit si contemnitur*; *His Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect it, it conquers*.

Quint.

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the Minds of Men immediately, it is absurd to think, other than as aforesaid, as the frame by the Body's temper may be effected. *Lumen solis* ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet, & nutrit, & perficit; *The Light of the Sun* (saith *St. Augustine*) *helpeth the generation of the sensible Bodies, moveth them to life, and nourishes, augments, and perfecteth them*: Yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio*; *The Sun is good to serve, not to sway*, (saith *St. Ambrose*). And *St. Augustine*, *De civitate Dei*, *Dei regit inferiora corpora per superiora*; *God ruleth the Bodies below by those above*. But he avoucheth not, that superior Bodies have rule over Mens Minds, which are incorporeal.

Hex. lib. 4. de term.

But howsoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the frame, and weaken their Operation; and *Arifotle* himself confesseth, that the Heavens do not always work their Effects in inferior Bodies, no more than the signs of Rain and Wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times seen, that paternal Virtue and Vice hath his counterworking to these Inclinations. *Eft in juvenis Patrum virtus*; *In the young Offspring the Father's Virtue is*; and to the contrary, *Patrum vitia*; *And herein also there is often found an interchange*: the Sons of virtuous Men by an ill constellation become inclinable to Vice, and of vicious Men to Virtue.

Hex. lib. 4. de 30.

Egregia est soboles fœderata nata Parente:

A worthy Son is born of a wicked Father.

But there is nothing (after God's reserved power) that so much stretch this Art of Influence out of square and rule, as Education doth: For there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up may fashion anew and reform; nor any so well disposed, whom (the Reins being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute Men, may not

corrupt and deform. Vessels will ever retain a favour of their first Liquor: it being equally difficult, either to cleanse the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet favour of virtue first received, when the Mind was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable Constellation, (allowing that the Stars incline the Will) and a virtuous Education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both; thereby it is that Men are found to exceed virtuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: For as the Seeds of Virtue may by the art and husbandry of Christian Council produce better and more beautiful Fruit, than the strength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them; so the Plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into Weeds, by being set in a Soil suitable, and like themselves, are made more unfavourable, and filled with Poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapientis adjuvabit opus Astorum, quædammodum Agricola Terræ naturam*; *A wise Man affords the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the Soil*. And *Proclus* himself confesseth thus much, *Sapienter, & omnia sapientia Medit, dominabuntur Astris*; *A wise Man, and the omniscient Art of a wise Physician shall prevail against the Stars*. Lastly, We ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the rest of the Universal; whose Influence may be called his reserved and unwritten Laws. But let us consider how they bind: even as the Laws of Men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, That a Thief and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without retrograde, to such a severe execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to Judgment, Power, or Confidence: The Law in its own Nature, being no other than a deaf Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do sometimes, for causes to themselves known, and by meditation, pardon offences both against others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himself, which his Substitutes enjoy; God being Mercy, Goodness, and Charity it self. Otherwise that Example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil*; has been no other, but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own Creatures truly) hath assured us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and Desires may not frustrate and break asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon eternal Power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himself should in a kind have thrust up himself therein; *How miserable then were the condition of Man* (saith *St. Augustine*) *left altogether without hope*.

And if this strength of the Stars were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his Creatures; he be Pagan or Christian that do believeth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be deposed of all Worship, Reverence, or Respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finished the Work, which thou gavest me to do*;) and the same God, who hath threatened unto us the Torment and Torment of

Mat. 6. 23

Job. 17. 4.

Offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or Influences of the Stars, or subject our Souls to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Platonius*, that the Stars were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less than their due; and therefore as I do not consent with men, who would make those glorious Creatures of great virtueless: So I think that we derogate from his eternal and absolute Power and Providence, to ascribe to them the frame dominion over our immortal Souls, which they have over all bodily Substances, and perishable Natures: for the Souls of Men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that Divine Light it self, whereof the Sun's clarity, and that of the Stars, is by *Plato* called but a Shadow; *Lumen est Umbra Dei, Deus est Lumen Luminis*; *Light is the Shadow of God's brightness, who is the Light of Light*: But to end this Question, because this Destiny, together with Providence, Preference, and Predetermination, are often confounded, I think it not pertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every Man hath not observed it, though all learned Men have.

Plat. pol. l. 2. p. 1.

S E C T. XII.

Of Preference.

PREFERENCE, or Fore-knowledge (which the Greeks call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præsentia*) considered in Order and Nature (if we may speak of God after the manner of Men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preference is no other than an infallible Fore-knowledge. For whatsoever our selves fore-know, except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preference of God (as it is Preference only) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeeding: Neither doth God's fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will Rise and Set; that all Men born in the World shall die again; that after Winter the Spring shall come; after the Spring, Summer and Harvest; and that according to the several Seeds that we sow, we shall reap several sorts of Grain; is yet not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or constrain the Sun to Rise and Set, or Men to die; for the causes (as Men perceive themselves) are otherwise manifest and known to all. The eye of Man (saith *Boetius*) beholdeth those things subject to sense, as they are; the eye itself that such a Beast is a Horse; it seeth Men, Trees, and Houses, &c. But our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their own Nature. And again out of the same Author; *Divina providentia rerum gerendis non imperat necessitatem, quia si omnia essent ex necessitate, premia bonorum, & pena malorum periret*; *Divine Providence* (saith he) *imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of Evil*.

Boetius de consol.

S E C T. XIII.

Of Providence.

NOW Providence (which the Greeks call *Proνοια*) is an intellectual knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Preference (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith *St. Augustine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: *Memory of the Past; Knowledge of the Present; and Care of the Future*: And we our selves account such a Man for provident, as remembering things past, and observing things present, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himself and his Apostles assure us herof; and besides the Scriptures, *Homer*, *Orpheus*, *Æsop*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Plinius*, and (in effect) all learned Men acknowledge the Providence of God; yea, the *Turks* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other in the most plentiful Difficulties, nor flinch any peril whatsoever, though death therein do manifestly present it self.

The places of Scripture proving Providence are so many, both in general and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Singula Deus* (saith *David*) *constituit* the Heavens with Clouds, and prepares Rain for the Earth, and maketh the Grass to grow upon the Mountains; *and giveth the Beast their Food, and feedeth the young Ravens that cries*: *All these wait upon thee, that thou mayest give them Food in due season*; *And thou shalt drink of the River Cherub* (saith *God to Elisha*) *and I have commanded the Ravens to feed thee there*. Behold the Fowls of the Air, they sow not, nor reap, and yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Again, *Are not two Sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father*: Yea, all the hairs of your head are numbered. And *St. Peter*, *Cave all your care on him, for he careth for you*. And his *Judgments* are written, *And David*, *God therefore, who is every-where present, will fill the Heaven and the Earth, whose eyes are upon the Righteous, and his Countenances against them that do evil*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *Oculus infinitus*, an infinite Eye, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his Power to another: for it is contrary to his own Word, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*; *I will not give my glory to another*. Do Man commandeth in the King's presence, but by the King's direction; but God is every-where present, and King of Kings. The example of God's Universal Providence is seen in his Creatures. The Father provideth for his Children: Beasts and Birds, and all Living, for their young Ones. If Providence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Universal: and if there be a natural loving care in Men and Beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this Nature, and whose Divine Love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Universal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum Universi* (saith *Plato*): *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, Mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobilitate sustentaculum, ac nervorum machine fundamentum*; *The Love of God is the perpetual Knot, and Link, or Chain*.

Psal. 104.

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caral sense? By this Breath was infused into Man both Life and Soul; and therefore this (Soul) the Philosophers call *Animam*, *que vivificat corpus*, & *animat*; *Which doth animate and give Life to the Body*. The *infusion of the Almighty* grew understanding, faith *Job*; and this Spirit which God breathed into Man, which is the reasonable Soul of Man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the Body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Ecclesi. 12. cleftures*; *And Dust shall return to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the Spirit shall return to God that gave it*. Neither is this word (Spirit) usually other-wise taken in the Scripture than for the Soul: As *Job 32. 7. 10* when Stephen cried unto God; *Domine suscipe Spiritum meum*, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*: And in *St. John*, *And Jesus bowed his head and gave up the Ghost*; or Spirit; (which was) that his Life and Soul left his Body dead. And that the immortal Soul of Man diffused from the Souls of Beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest; for it is written, *Let the Waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the living thing, according to his kind, the Beast of the Earth*, &c. But of Man it is written, *Let us make Man in our own Image*, &c. and further, that the Lord breathed in his Face the Breath of Life. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were thence Creatures brought forth, and thence received Life: so that they again be dissolved into the same first Matter whence they were taken: but the Life of Breath evaluating, which God breathed into Man, shall, according to *Ecclesiastes*, *return again to God that gave it*.

SECT. V.

That Man is (as it were) a little World: With a digression touching our Mortality.

Man thus compounded and formed by God, was an Abstract, or Model, or brief Story in the Universal: in whom God concluded the Creation and work of the World, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a Divine Understanding, by which he might contemplate and serve his Creator, after whose Image he was formed, and endued with the Powers and Faculties of Reason and other Abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the World, and all other God's Creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living Natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal: giving to Angels an Intellectual, and to Beasts a sensual Nature, he vouchsafed unto Man both the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto Man: and therefore (saith Gregory Nazianzen) *Homo est utriusque Nature vinculum*, *Man is the bond and chain which tieth together both Natures*: And because in the little frame of Man's Body there is a representation of the Universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof; therefore was Man called *Microcosmus*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnam, atque corporalem, in Terris statuit*; God therefore placed in the Earth the Man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the Flesh of Man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the Bones of his Body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; Of which *David*:

Inde genus durum sumus, experientique Laborum, Et documenta damus quæ sumus origine nati; *Ovid, Met. 1. 13.*

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring pain and care, Approving, that our Bodies of a stony Nature are.

His Blood, which disperseth it self by the Branches of Veins through all the Body, may be resembled to those Waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the Earth; his Breath to the Air; his natural heat, to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it self; which, stirred up by the heat of the Sun, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our natural Moisture, Oil, or Balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the Hairs of Man's Body, which adorn or overshadow it, to the Grass, which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth; our generative Power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our Determinations, to the lights, wandings, and unstable Clouds, carried every-where with uncertain Winds; our Eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our Youth to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the mere puffs of Wind blow them from the Stalks; the thoughts of our Mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called *Mour*, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual Natures, which are always present with God: And lastly, Our immortal Souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the Title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no Man just, or good, or righteous, (for *In Angelis depronuntia est iustitia*, *Rebeld*, *He found folly in his Angels*, *faith Job*); yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the Substance and the Shadow, there may be found a goodness in Men: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called Man the Image and Similitude of his own Righteousness. In this also is the little World of Man compared, and made more like the Universal, (Man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, *saith Aristotle and Pythagoras*): That the four Complexions resemble the four Elements, and the seven Ages of Man the seven Planets; Whereof our Infancy is compared to the Moon, in which we seem only to live and grow, as Plants; the second Age to Mercury, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to Venus, the days of Love, Desire, and Vanity; the fourth to the Sun, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful Age of Man's Life; the fifth to Mars, in which we seek honour and victory; and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our Understanding; the last, and seventh, to Saturn, wherein our days are sad and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the losses which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are Sicknesses, and variable Intimities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when Time hath made unobscurable to others, we become a burthen to our

our selves; being of no other use, than to hold the Riches we have from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as afore said) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal Habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of Death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life: towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking: Neither have those beloved companions of Honour and Riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of Entertainments: but by what crooked Pathsoever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the House of Death, whose Doors lie open at all hours, and to all Persons. For this Tide of Man's Life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: Our Leaf once fallen, springing no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again with the Garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

Redditus Arboribus Flores revolvitur Aëth, Ergo non Homini, quid fuit ante, redit.

To which I give this sense.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old By Winter envious, The Spring-time bounteous Covers again from shame and cold: But never Man repair'd again His Youth and Beauty lost, Though Art, and Care, and Cost, Do promise Nature's help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Sæles occidere & redire possunt: Nobis cum finem occidit brevis lux, Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may rest and rise: But we contrariwise Sleep after our short light One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting-place, or rest, in the course or race of Man's Life, then, according to the Doctrine of the Academics, the same might also perpetually be maintained: but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the Sap and Juice, wherein the Life of Plants is preserved, doth ever-more ascend or defend so is it with the Life of Man, which is always either increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decaying towards rottenness and dissolution.

SECT. VI.

Of the free power which Man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

These be the Miracles which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his Creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with only prohibition, to try his grati-

tude and obedience. God set before him a mortal and Immortal Life, a Nature Celestial and Terrene; and (indeed) God gave Man to himself, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Director, that he might frame or describe unto himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. *God made Man in the beginning* (saith *Sirach*); *and left him in the hands of his own counsel*. *Ecclesi. 15. 14.* Such was the liberality of God and Man's felicity: where as Peasants, and all other Creatures reasonable, brought with them into the World (saith *Lucretius*), and that even when they first fell from the Bodies of their Dams, the Nature which they could not change; and the sensual Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as afore said) God gave unto Man all kind of Sculs and Grades of Life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sensual of Beasts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof whichsoever he took pleasure to plant and cultivate, the same should finally grow in him, and bring forth Fruit agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first Man Adam, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Alexander Athonensis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the Perlon and Fable of *Protes*; who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagoreans, and ancient Poets, wherein it was painted, that Men were transformed into divers shapes of Beasts, thereby to shew the change of Mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other Creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable Passions and Affections of mortal Men; as by Serpents, were signified Deceivers; by Lions, Oppressors, and cruel Men; by Swine, Men given over to Lust and Sensuality; by Wolves, ravening and greedy Men; which also St. Matthew resemblieth to false Prophets; *which come to you in Sheep clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves*: By the Images of Stones and Stocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men: Of which St. John *Mat. 3. 7.* Baptists, O ye Generation of Vipers, &c.

SECT. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good.

IN this Work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a Man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisset effi scilicet vult nihil, to will to make, faith Bede*. Neither did God rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for my Father worketh to this day. *Gen. 1. 18.* (saith *Christ*) and I work; but God rested (that is) he created no new species or kinds of Creatures, but (as afore said) gave unto Man a power generative, and so to the rest of living Creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their Seeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth Creatures according to their several kinds: All which being finished, God saw that his Works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not, the beginning and end be-

fore they were: for God made every Plant of the Field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good; thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing bad, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple purity, and from so excellent a Cause, there could proceed no impure or imperfect Effect. For Man having a free will and

liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of Man's Heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all Creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the Righteous Man, Noah and his Family, with those Creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to replenish the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the Place of Paradise.

SECT. I.

That the Seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that Men should err.

Concerning the first Habitation of Man, we read, that the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he made, Gen. 2.6. Of this Sacred place of Paradise, all Ages have held dispute; and the Opinions and Judgments have been in effect as divers among those that have written upon this part of Genesis, as uppon any one place therein seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the Terrestrial Paradise, withoutall regard of the World's Geography, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Mose* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first Interpretation; or, trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one Error is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things to observe Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, than to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Vadianus*) *Magnos Errores, magnorum virorum auctoritate persusos, transmittimus; ut ipsi errorum grossi errores, per auctoritatem grandis non sed et persusos.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wiser from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I myself presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by Truth: for they were Men *Et hominum et errorum.* And to the end that no Man should be proud of himself, GOD hath distributed unto Men such a proportion of Knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: *Nihil inquam desit omnia Deus; God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one.* St. Paul confess'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himself acknowledged thus much, that neither Men nor Angels knew of the latter Day; and therefore, feeling knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to St. Jude) who is only wise. *Sapientia ubi incertum, (saith Job) ?*

But where is Wisdom found? and where is the place *Jude* Ep. 1. 2. of Understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the Living, and therefore King David found folly in his Angels. Mens Judgments (which inhabit the Houses of Clay) cannot be without their mistakings; and so the Fathers, and other learned Men, excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our Salvation depended not.

SECT. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradise.

Now touching Paradise; first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a Paradise or no? or whether *Mose's* description were altogether mystical and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philos*, *Fran*, *Georgius*, and others have affirmed; and that under the names of those four Rivers, *Pison*, *Gihon*, *Euphrates*, and *Parath*, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge, there were delivered unto us other Mysteries and Significations; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) *Oil*, *Wine*, *Milk*, and *Honey*. This Allegorical understanding of Paradise by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciscus Georgius* received (saith *Sixtus Senensis*); whose frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 24 Annotation of his fifth Book, *Joh. 228*, the last Edition.

St. Ambrose also leaned wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set Paradise in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, *et in nobis principia*, which is, as I conceive it, in mente, or in our Souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or Garden of Paradise, was meant the Soul or Mind; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or, Understanding; by *Eve*, the Sence; by the *Serpent*, Delicacy; by the Tree of Good and Evil, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the Virtues of the Mind, or in the Mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the *Corinthians*, c. 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a Celestial and Terrestrial Paradise; the one into which St. Paul was wrapt; the other, into which

which *Adam* was put by God, *Aug. Aug.* *Chrysostomus* was of Opinion, that a Paradise had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the Earth; the same being not only defaced, but without the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

The *Manichees* also understood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth; to which Opinion *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words in two several places. First, upon this, *Fill the Earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. *Hic ipso etiam quod dicit, Replete terram, dominum universis animantibus, suscipite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram exstantem, et omnigenis (ut tam erat) fructibus constare, sedem et portum illam Adæ, et in quibus God said, Bring forth Fruit, and multiply, and fill the Earth, and subdue it, and rule over every Creature, do clearly show, that the Universal Earth, set or filled with all sorts of Fruits, (as then it was) was the Garden and Seat of Adam, and of his future Posterity. And afterward he acknowledged the place, out of *Acts* 17. 26. *Apollonius ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum idem factum docet, ut habitaret super universam faciem Terre: tota igitur Terra Paradisi esse erat;* The *Apollonius* (saith he) *habebat, that God hath made of one Blood all Mankind, to dwell over all the face of the Earth: and therefore all the Earth (saith he) is meant that Paradise.* Which Conjectures I will answer in this Opinion, but yet he acknowledged that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Georgius* hindeth near the River of *Acquis*, in the Confinnes of *India*.*

Part. 16. 126.

Tertullian, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make Paradise under the Equinoctial; and *Pestellus*, quite contrary, under the North Pole: The *Chaldeans* also for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the Opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make Paradise a Figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this sensible World, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Air: *Strabo* and *Rabanus* were both sick of this Vanity, with *Origen* and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Peter Comestor*, and *Mose* *Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Mossius*. But as *Hephias* says of *Philo Judæus*, that he wondered, *Quo malo genio afflatus, by what evil Angel he was blown up into this Error:* So can I but greatly marvel at the learned Men, who so foggly and blindly wandered; seeing *Mose*, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the Point of the Compass upon which it lay, in respect of *Judea* or *Canaan*.

Re: in Gen. Part. 16. cap. 3. Mos. Barceph. de Ind.

Nicodemus also upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, believeth that all the Earth was taken for Paradise; and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, *Pison*, *Gihon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these Rivers, of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, (wherewith the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Mysopotamia* and *Armenia*;) could rise out of one Fountain, were it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

SECT. III.

That there was a true local Paradise Eastward, in the Country of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the Earth, the words of *Mose* make it manifest, where it is written, And the Lord God planted a Garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had made: And howsoever the vulgar Translation, called *Jerom's* Translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantavit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis a principio, The Lord God planted a Paradise voluptuous a principio, The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and (from the beginning) for Eastward:* It is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of the Region. For, what sense hath this Translation (saith our *Hephias* in his Treatise of Paradise) that he planted a Garden in Pleasure; or, that a River went out of pleasure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, The Paradise of Eden; and do both the *Chaldean* Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a Place, or for a Noun Appellative: which Region, in respect of the fertility of the Soil, of the many beautiful Rivers, and goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their Leaves, was called Eden, which signifieth in the Hebrew, Pleasance, or Delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the Country, opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: And this is the mistaking, which may end the Dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, That as *Florida* was a Country, so called, for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was Eden a Region, called Pleasure, or Delicacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: And as *Florida* signifieth Flourishing, so Eden signifieth Pleasure; and yet both are the proper names of Countries for Eden being the proper name of a Region, (called Pleasure in the Hebrew) and Paradise being the choicest Seat of all that Region, Paradise was truly the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for *Eastward*, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrary to the Translation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodore*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabbins*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latins, *Serapion*, *Damasceus*, &c. who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Eastward) for *ad initium*; for *Damasceus's* own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei minimus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter constructus; Paradise is a place marvelously planted by the hands of God in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guthelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned Man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of later times, do both understand these words of Eden, and of the East, contrary to the vulgar Translation; *Parisensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis* directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words; After this I will begin to speak of Paradise, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hec incipiam loqui de Paradiso Terrestri, quem plantavit Deus ad initium vel ad Orientem, &c. And then *Senensis* follows *Mose* *enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum a Deo constium in Terce Terre Orientalis, que dicitur Heden: Heden autem est proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto Capite Gen. ubi legitur, Cham habitasse ad Orientem plagam Heden: For Mose (saith he) doth show most clearly, that Pa-*

radise

radise was planted of God in a Region of the East Country, which is called *Heden*: and *Heden* is a proper Name; it appears by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we read, that Cham dwelt on the East-bordr of *Heden*. Pererius endeavourerh to qualitie this Translation; for this Particlle (saith he) *ab initia*, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to thevery first day; alleging this place of Christ, that although the Devil was said to be a *Man-slayer* from the beginning, yet that meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better Judgments) the Devil was from the infant of his fall a *Man-slayer* in disposition, though he had not wherewith to practise till Man's Creation. And for conclusion, *Sc. Hieron* (if that be his Translation) advieth himself better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (*E-don*) by (*ante*) and not (*a principio*) as, *God did set a Church in before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante Paradysum voluptatis Churban*; and Pererius himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew, *Psalm* a parte Orientali bori *Heden Churban*; He set on the East-side of the garden of Eden a Church; *Bacarus* affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (*E*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text teacheth this sense; That God planted a Garden with Pleasures, (I say so by way) of pleasures. And *Bacarus* followeth this interpretation, only to the end to find *Paradise* upon the River of *Eden*; for so there he hath heard of the *Indian* Figure in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-tree; which Consent of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because *Paradise* was feated by *Majus* toward the East, thence came the custom of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*; and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, and so to the Point where the Sun riseth in March, which is directly over *Paradise* (faith *Damasius*): affirming, That we always pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out: and yve the Temple of *Solomon* had the Priests and Sacerdotes, who turned themselves in Service and Divine Ceremonies, always towards the West, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places : (for although *Paradise* were East from *Judea*, yet it was West from *Perfia*) and the ferving of God is every-where in the World: The matter is not great which way we turn our faces, for our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray turning our selves towards the East, may remember thereby to be- lieve God, that as by *Adam's* fall we have lost the *Paradise* on Earth; so by *Christ's* Death and Passion we may be made Partakers of the *Paradise* on Hea- ven, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, there was no such mystery in adding the word (East) to *Eden* by *Moses*, than to shew that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* dwelt, was, lay Eastward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures always called the People of those Na- tions, the Sons of the East which inhabited *Arabia*, *Myssopamia*, *Chaldeæ*, and *Perfia*: Of which *Ovid*,

*Furus ad Auroram, Nabathæaq; regna recessit
Persidæque, & radiis juxta subditæ matutinis.*

The East Wind with *Aurora* hath abiding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Persian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* first salutes at his first rising.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the Prophet, threatening the destruction of *Jerusalem*, doth often make mention of *Northern Nations*, it is to be noted, that the *North* is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed *Nabuchodonozor*, and of whom the greatest part of his Army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it self stood *North* from *Jerusalem*, though inclining from the *East* towards the *North*.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giveth best satisfaction: for he useth the word *From the beginning*, that is, from the first part of the *World*, (*a principio*) id est, (saith he) *a primæ orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *a principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the same signification: *From the beginning and Eastward is all one; a principio idem est avoc ad Orientem.*

To return to the proof of this place, and that this story of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 24 Chap. and the 9th ver. in these words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for Meat, &c.* So as hith it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere as in the World at large, and then put him into the Garden: and the end why is expressed, that he might dress it and keep it: *Paradise* being a Garden, or Orchard, filled with Plants and Trees of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withal) good for Meat: which proveth that *Paradise* was a Terrestrial Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical construction, he affirmeth that it was a Garden beautified with a River: expressing also the Region out of which this River sprang, which he calleth *Heden* 5. and that *Heden* is also a Country near unto *Charan* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezekiel* 47. 23.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, Epiphonemal answer in these words: Si Paradisum non est *Infestibit*, non est *etiam fons*; si non est *fons*, non est *flumen*; si non est *flumen*, non sunt *quatuor principes*; non Pison, non Gihon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates; non est *ficus*, non *folia*, non *comeditur Eae de Arbore*, non est *Adam*, non sunt *Homines*, sed *veritas* jam *Fabula* est; et *omnia ad Allegorias revocantur*: If *Paradise* be not *festible*, then there be no *Fountain*, and then no *River*; if *no River*, then no *four Heads* or *Branches*, and then not any *such River*, as *Pison* or *Gihon*, or *Tigris* or *Euphrates*; no *such Fig-tree*, or *Fruit*, or *Vine*, or *Fig-tree*; *Eadam*, did not eat of the *Fruit*, neither was there any *Man*; *Adam*, *Man*, the *truth* was but a *Figure*, and all things *of the Scripture* are but *Allegories*. Words to the same effect hath *St. Thomas* upon *Daniel's Confessionarius verum deliramenta*, qui non *Arbra* et *imagines* in *coram fideles*, ipsam *comentari* *evetere veritatem*, ad *Paradisum* et *Flumina*, et *Arbores* *punt Allegorie Legibus* *se debere subducere*: Let the *datage* of them be *silent*, who following *Shadow* and *Imager* in the *Truth*, endeavor to *subvert* the *Truth* it self, and think that they ought to *bring* *Paradise*, and the *River*, and the *Trees*, under the *Rules* of *Allegory*.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more manifest. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of Knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth Verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the Fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all Beasts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these Beasts were neither in the third Heaven, nor near the Circle of the Moon, nor Beasts in Imagination: for if

If all these things were Enigmatical or Mythical, the fame might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezekiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, useth this speech; *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enticed him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated, to be Terrestrial: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant Men, and he was more large and precise in the Description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture: of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulous and Stubborn Ages, whom he knew (out of the gifts of Providence) to be full of fabulous Inventions; and that if he had not described the Region of *Eden*, and the Rivers, and how it flowed from *Paradise*, many of the unbelieving *Jesuites*, and others after them, would have misconstrued this Story of Mankind. And, is it likely there would have been so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the fame had been an *Utopia*? For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodom* and *Gomorrath* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unreasoning sin purchased) compared to the *Paradise of God*; and like to the Land of *Egypt* toward *Parais*: In which the *Jesuits* have referred to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonian* was created: which proverbially, that *Paradise* it self excels; in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof; being compared to a Seat and Soil of far exceeding excellency.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous Gardens*, as *Justin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? Gen. 2. And whence are their praises of the *Elisian Fields*, but out of the Story of *Paradise*? To which also appertain those Verses of the *Golden Age* in *Ovid*:

*Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.*

The joyful Spring did ever last,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet Flowers by his gentle blast,
Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Hesiodus, and Homer*; and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras and Plato*, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the stolen Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane Additions, and disguised by poetical Conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own Speculations and Contemplations.

But besides all these Testimonies, if we find what Region *Hodu* or *Eda* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the fame afterwards was divided into four Branches; together with the Kingdoms of *Havila* and *Cush*; and that all these are Ealtwater from *Canaan*, or the Defarts of the *Amorites*, where *Mofes* wrote; I then confesse that there is no Man that will doubt, but that the Allegory was true. And yet I do not exclude the Allegory, because the Scripture is for as well in this there were many things to be said, as in all the Old Testament throughout, and thus being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose, (saith St. Augustine) *Tres sunt de Paradiso corporales*: una est *eorum*, qui tuncmundo corporaliter *Paradisum* intèger voluerunt: alia *eorum*, qui spiritaliter *Paradisum* (videlicet) Ecclesiam: tertia *eorum*, qui utroque

*mundo Paradisum accipitis; (that is) There are three Opinions of Paradies: The one of those Men, which will be it altogether Corporal; a second of those which conceive it altogether Spiritual, and to be a Figure of the Church; the third of those, which take it in both sence: which third Opinion St. Augustine approveth, and of which Suidas giveth this allowable Judgement: *Quendammodo Homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum ueneris sensibile finis: & intelligibile, & duplici specie gaudetrum;* (that is) As Man was created at one time, both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, and ended with a double form.*

S E C T. IV.

*Why it should be needful to intreat diligently
of the place of Paradise.*

But it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*; and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, then by the place proved, the fame is also made necessary to suppose. We should conceive that *Paradise* lay not out of the East, as some have thought, as the Moon; or that it were beyond the firmest of the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known World; lifted up whence *Adam* was fald to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few Men in the World that would give credit to the Story. For what could seem more ridiculous than the notion of a place so far off, and so what maketh this Seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Paphlagonia*, *Ginger*, which watereth the East *India*; and *Golconda*, which enricheth *Egypt*: And these two Rivers to far distant, as (except all the World were one) these Streams can no way be comprised thence.

Secondly, If the Birth and Works, and Death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such Country, of which no Man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of Men: for Times and Places are approved witnesses of worldly Actions.

Thirdly, If We should reite, or giue place to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of *Gensiv*, (though otherwise for their Doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence in any way that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a peece of the World so fit by itself, and separated, as to hang in the Air under the Circle of the Moon? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganger*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall down and run under all the Ocean, and rise up again in this our habitable World, and in those places where they are now found? Which left any Man think that I enforce, or strain to the world, these are *Peter Comenius's* own words; *Ejz autem locus amantissimus, longo terra & mari traditu & nefra habitabiles Zona speranda, unde cleuatur, ut siqae ad hmanam gloriam attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a most pleasant place, situate from our habitable Zone, by a long

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long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so, that it reaches to the Globe of the Moon.

And Moses bemoaned upon this place writeth in this manner, *Dirivis hoc quæque refugium volumus, Paradisum vultis habitabilem posuimus esse regione, atque hæc nobis exat terra, quæ non in illius per precipitum delictatæ fuerit tunc cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimeret non posset, quæque impetu impulsu perfugium sub Oceanum exat respirant, modo rursus perfugium exaltantique in hoc a nobis culta vide: which have this sense; Furthermore (saith he) we give this for an answer, That Paradise is fit in a Region far raised above this part which we inhabit; a region it comes to pass, that from thence the Rivers fall down with such a bounding violence, as we see, even as we see with that force to impetuosity and speed, they are carried under the deep Ocean, and do again rise and beat up in this our habitable World: And to this he addeth the Opinion of Ephraim, which is this; Ephraim dicit, Paradisum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita posuimus esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdat Regione, non aliter atque Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit (which is) That Paradise doth compass or embrace the whole Earth, and so far beyond the Ocean Sea, as it encompasseth the whole Orb of the Earth on every side, as the Orb of the Moon doth embrace the Moon. To the end therefore that these ridiculous Explications and Opinions do not bring Question unto Truth it self, or make the same Subject to Doubts or Difficulties, it is necessary to discover the true place of Paradise, which God in his wisdom appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as Nid. million says) in parte Terre mediorum, in the best part thereof, that from thence as from a Center, the Universal might be filled with People and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the World's inhabitation: For near unto this did the Sons of Noah alio dispense themselves after the Flood, into all other remote remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous desire in Men, to know from whence their own Forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first Ancestor from whence all the Strains and Branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that such a place there was as Paradise, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several Opinions before remembered, by the Truth it self, and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common Reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God hath planted this delightful Garden.*

SECT. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradise, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

And first, whereas it is supposed by Ang. Chyfa, or rather, that the Flood hath altered, defaced, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no Man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which Opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other strange effects) For mine own Opinion, I think neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the Face of Paradise

was after the Flood withered and grown old, in respect of the first beauty (for both the Ages of Men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had been no sign of any such place, or if the Soil and Seat had not remained, then would not Moser, who wrote of Paradise about 850 years after the Flood, have described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after Moser, would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it self were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of Time made it one common Field and Pasture with the Land of Eden, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remain the same Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, we are sure to find in what Longitude Paradise lay; and learning out of one of these Rivers, which afterward doth divide it self into four Branches, we are sure that the Partition is at the very border of the Garden it self. For it is written, that out of Eden went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four Heads: Now, whether the word in the Latin Translation (*Inde*) from thence, be referred to Eden it self, or to Paradise's yet the division, and branching of those Rivers, must be in the North or South side of the very Garden, (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore these Rivers yet remaining, and Eden manifestly known, there could be no such dividing by the Flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood that the place could be so altered, as future Ages knew it not, so is there no probability that either these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new Rivers created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as afterwards) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what descent of Waters could there be in a Spherical and round Body, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of Waters is either by the strength of Wind, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Flood of the Sea. But that there was any Wind (whereby the Seas are now enlarged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, Therefore God made a Wind to pass upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased. So as it appeareth not, that until the Waters sank, there was any Wind at all, but that God afterwards, out of his goodness, caused the Wind to blow, to dry up the abundant slime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanse the Air of thick Vapours, and unwholesome Mists: and this we know by experience, that all down-right Rains do evermore differ the violence of outrageous Winds, and beat down, and level the swelling and mountainous Billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Floods there could be none, when the Waters were equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Gulfs to receive a Flood, or any descent, or violent falling of Waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as afterwards: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the Waters rather stood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, Josephus avoucheth that one of those Pillars erected by Seth, the third from Adam, was to be seen in his days; which Pillars were set up above 1426 years before the Flood, counting Seth to be an hundred years old at the creation of them; and Joseph himself to have lived some forty or fifty years after Christ: of whom, although there be no cause to believe all that

he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seen. Now, that such pillars were raised by Seth, all Antiquity hath avouched. It is also written, that Boreus (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of Enosh, built by Cain about the mountains of Libanus was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruins thereof, Ananias (who commented upon that fragment of the faith, were to be seen in his days, who lived in the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, and if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this City of Enosh, he concluded in this sort: *Cujus maxime & ingenio multa fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, vicinis Cais, at ingeni mercatoris, & peregrini refectus.* The foundation of which huge mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cais, as both our Strangers and Merchants report. It is also avowed by Pomponius Mela (to whom I give name credit in these things) that the City of Joppa was built before the Flood; over which Cephus was King: whose name, with his Brother Eleuther, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was fund given upon certain Altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruins of this other City, called Enosh by Ananias, might be seen, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first City of the World, built by Cain: the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that the waters of the Flood were engorged by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountains. And Masius Damascenus, speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Myriadam excelsus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo consurgunt milites, sermo est, Diluvii tempore liberatus. Adnup Myriada there is a high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is said, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon.* Now, though it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saved than eight persons, (which Masius doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such Mountains were before the Flood, which were afterward, and ever since, known by the same names, and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark rested: but ultimately, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount Sion (though by another name) was known before the Flood; as the Thalmudists report, that many Giants saved themselves also; but, as Ananias saith, without all Authority, either divine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not to turn upside down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that when Noah first saw the Flood the second time, he returned with an Olive leaf in his mouth, which he had plucked, and which (until the Trees were discovered) he found not: for otherwise he might have found them floating on the water; a manifest proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters: for it is written; *folium, Olive rapitum, ex decerpum, a leaf plucked, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off.* By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seen to succeeding Ages, especially unto Moser, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds

Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

SECT. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers.

This conceit of Ang. Chyfaenes being answered, who only gives his opinion for reason; I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of Novimagus, Valentinus, Gorgopius, Ercanus, and all these that understood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, this Universality will appear altogether improper. The places which Valentinus allegeth, bring forth fruit and multiplies fill the Earth, and subdue its Rule over every Creature, &c. with Acts 17, this of the Acts, And hath more of one blood all mankind, 251 to dwell on all the face of the Earth, do no way prove such a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now, although all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and Adams Posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to Adam, to dress and cultivate, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had been no other choice, but that Adam had been left to the Universality; Moser would not then have said, *Edwards in Gen. 3. 24.* Eden, being the World hath not East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been set to keep the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after Adams expulsion, if the universal had been Paradise? for then must Adam have been chased all out of the World. For if all the Earth were Paradise, that place can receive no better construction than this, That Adam was driven out of the World into the World, and out of Paradise into Paradise, except we should believe with Metastasis, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, *That in so large a field, as the Universe, there shall grow but one Thistle.* Novimagus upon Beda, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three Rivers, Ganges, Nileus, and Euphrates, (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four Rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that Pison was fallibly taken for Ganges, and Gidon fallibly for Nileus, although Ganges be a River by Havillat in India, and Nileus run through Ethiopia. The Sundry write Chut for Ethiopia, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of Novimagus, Gorgopius, and Valentinus, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more probable, than that of Ephraim, Cyrillus, and Athanasius. That Paradise was located far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that Adam walked through it, and at last came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at Mount Calvary in Hierusalem. And certainly, though all thought of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Flood, yet Adams thin-bones must have contained a thousand fathoms,

and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

SECT. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* faith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*hinc à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Petrus* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Sirabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*) and whereas *Rapertus*, in his Geography of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated next or nearst Heaven's. It may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it self, into which the Souls of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for fear of the Aëropagites (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one only powerful God; and therefore did the Devil himself him the wisest.

Justin Martyr affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *S. Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian, and it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*.

Solinus, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthful, upon the top of Mount *Atho* (called *Aëropolis*) which being above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many years) are called *Macchis* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is used, for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Isidore* and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Souls were preserved till the last Judgment: which *Irenaeus* and *Justin Martyr* also believe. But this opinion was of all Catholic Divines reproved, and in the Florentine Council damned; of which *Saint Augustine* more modestly gave this Judgment: *Sicut certum est, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est* (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live, so where they live, in Paradise, or elsewhere, is uncertain*. But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all the other weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of *India*, *Egypt*, and *Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately

by *Hopkins*, and *Petrus*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inventor.)

It is first thereof alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolemy* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole Earth for a Basis and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the Sun's light all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortify the former opinions, *Tolstus* addeth this, that those people which dwell near those falls of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like those that dwell near the *Catadupa*, or over-falls of *Nihus*. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the *Indies*, far greater water-falls, than those of *Nihus*, and yet the people dwelling near them are not deaf at all. *Tolstus* (the better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrósio* together, to whom *Petrus*, *Sed ego hæc apud Basilium & Ambrosium in cornu scriptis, quæ nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*: But I do not remember (saith he) that *Tolstus* read those things either in *Basil* or *Ambrósio*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his Wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *Saint Paul*) but all shall be changed: in which change *Enoch* and *Elias* was cast to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the Earth, saving eight persons; and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tolstus* his own opinion, who feared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle Region of the Air, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scorus* and other latter School-men also believed; for, say they, there were no fountains in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to over-whelm it: this is also contrary to the express letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven. And were it otherwise, then might we see Gen. 7:19. well give credit to *Mafius Damascenus*, and the Thalmudists, who affirm, that there were of the Giants that saved themselves on the Mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scorus* being (as the rest of the School-men are) full of distinction, saith, that the waters flood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the Flood was not natural, so was *Paradise* saved by Miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that *Paradise*

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was

was so seated, as *Beda* and others seem to affirm in words, but by *Hypothese* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty so resembled. But this I dare avow of all those School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their followers to shift, then to resolve, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tolstus*, I confess that it is written, that the Mountains of *Olympus*, *Athos*, and *Arctus*, over-arch and surmount all winds and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountain-tops, do not find the *Athes* (remaining of their sacrifices) blown thence, nor thence wash'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath relieved us, that these reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountains is far under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these self Hills the Air is so thin (saith *S. Augustine*, whom herein I millitru) that it is not sufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any resistance of Air to mount her self by.

SECT. VIII.

Of their opinion that seat Paradise under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climates.

THose which come nearer unto Reason; find *Paradise* under the *Æquinoctial* line, as *Tertullian*, *Boaventura*, and *Durandus*: judging that the most pleasant and most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soil: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the temperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sun. But this is (*non causa pro causa*) for although *Paradise* could not be under the Line, because *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tygris*, or *Ganges* under it (Ganges being one of the four Rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees nearer the Tropicks, and so toward the *Æquinoctial*, did so much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those Countries which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and so did *Avicenna*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those days it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are who go against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and nearest to the Line it self. For hereof Experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not be by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed, it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the World, that such inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by trial and the witness of mens travails, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless

Jump to fashion out the rest. For God himself (saith *Ezra*) *that formed the earth and made it, that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited*. Now we find that these hottest Regions of the World, seated under the *Æquinoctial* line, or near it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easterly wind (which the Spaniards call the *Brisa*) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the down-right beams of the Sun cannot so much maffier it, that there is any inconsequence or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equal, by reason of the just interposition of the earth, as for those places which my self have seen, near the Line and under it I know no other place of the World of better, or equal temper: Only there are some Tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this Air and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soils we find also in all other parts of the World. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have by many goodly Rivers, Fountains, and little Brooks, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees, cutting shade, to many forts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with blossom and fruit both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, they are crept not under ground to the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* any time despite her withered Husband *Vernus*, in his Winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vinifera*, *Vineous Countries*: for Nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringing forth no other fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that, to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas* who misliked this opinion, and followed a work, and (to say the truth) all the School-men were gross in this particular.

SECT. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Calosyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved, out of Eisa. 37. and Ezek. 27.

THese opinions answered, and the Region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under *Terrida Zona*, it followeth that now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this. That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well Antient as Modern.

Besides, we find that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (Cyrus only and a few other excepted) fought to extinguish the Hebrews. The Grecians hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the Romans despised, once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those nations, Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transform the names of all those principal Places and Cities in the East: And after them, the *Turks* hath fought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the antient memory of those people, which he hath subjected and intrahled.

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Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two Considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petraea*; but in this Region was *Mesopotamia* itself when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*; neither have any of the *Arabians* any such Rivers, as are express'd to run out of it: So as it followeth that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petraea*, and *Deserts*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it self, and by the fertility, and the Rivers only described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isaiah*, I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words, spoken in the person of *Sennacherib* by *Babylonia*: *q. b. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as Gofan, and Haran, and Kelpch, and the Children of Eden, which were in Telassar?* And in *Ezekiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrrians*: *Ty of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Abhur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants, &c.*

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*; one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembereth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces; whereof the first maketh *Syria Damascus*, or *Diaplasia*: the second part is that Valley called *Acenez*, otherwise *Comallu*; or the Tract of *Chamamah*, where *Affrica* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where *Ptolemy* placeth the City of *Aravia*: and the third is known by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Calo-Syria*, otherwise *Vallis cara*, or the *Jordan Valley*, because the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *cale* in Greek is *Cava* in Latin. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seek: neither doth this Province lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little City therein called *Paradys*, the *Tyr*ers believed this *Calo-Syria* to be the same which *Moses* described. For the same cause doth *Huglin* in his Treatise of *Paradys* represent *Berwald*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden* with the other *Eden* of *Paradys*, though, to give *Berwald* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Huglin*, and to all other later Writers, saying, That he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether mis-understood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gihon*, as shall appear hereafter.

Now to find out *Eden*, which as *Moses* teacheth us) lay Eastward from the *Desarts*, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red-Sea; we must consider where those other Counties are found, which the Prophet *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* joyneth with it. For (saith *Isaiah*) *Gofan, Haran, and Kelpch*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telassar*. Also *Ezekiel* joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who together with those of *Sheba*, *Abhur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezekiel*) *The Mark of the people for many Yers*. And it hath been the custom, that the Persians conveyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterranean* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterwards to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Ifficus*, now *Lajazzo*. *Ezekiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding Trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Mart-Town of that part of the World, reciteth both the People, with whom they Commerce, and also what commodities every Country yielded; and having counted the several People and Countries, he addeth the particular Trade, which each of them exercised: *They were thy Merchants* *Yefez*, (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things; in payments of blue Silk, and of broyded works, fine Linens, Coral, and Pearl*: And afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Ramamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: *The Merchants of Sheba, and Ramamah were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the chief of all Spices, and with all precious Stones, and Gold*. Now, these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yield: and because *Sheba* and *Ramamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Bersan Gulf*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, Sweet Gums, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded: and (withall) having Trade with their Neighbours of *India*, had from them also all sorts of Spices, and plenty of Gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shibans*, or *Arabians* entered by the mouth of *Tygris*, and from the City of *Teredon*, (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonosor*, now called *Rasfira*) thence sent up all their rich Merchandizes by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reached within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over Land they paid to *Tyre*, as they did afterwards to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now, the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezekiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this Trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of *Persia*, which bordereth them. Saint *Hierome* understandeth by *Canneh*, *Selencus*, which is seated upon *Euphrates*, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Selencus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hieronymus* thinks it to be *Cisephon*: but *Cisephon* is seated down low upon *Tygris*, and *Canneh* cannot be on that side. I mean, on the East-side of *Tygris*, for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Pliny* placeth the *Schenuta* upon *Euphrates*, where they play the game to be fordoable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where the River of *Euphrates* reffecteth from the *Desart* of *Palmyra*: for these People of *Canneh* (afterwards *Schenute*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves, from their own City of *Canneh* in *Shinar*, Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Thebes*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the *Foords* of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenute* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Selenciis, & Babylonianis omnibus iter est per Schenuta*. The Merchants which travel from *Syria* to *Selencia* and *Babylon*, take their way by the *Schenute*. Therefore those that take *Canneh* for *Charran*, do much mistake it. For *Charran*, was to wifich *Abraham* came 31. from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by *Geod*) and thence alfoin *Mesopotamia*; not upon *Euphrates* it self, but upon the River of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distantly named with those of *Canneh* in *Ezekiel* (as) *Ty of Haran and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Abhur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants*. Wherefore *Charran*, which is sometimes called *Charr*, and *Haran*, and *Aras*,

Aras, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aras*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*; or *Aras*, *fluviarius*, the Greek word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, A Country between Rivers: for *Mysos* in Greek, is *medius* in Latine, and *Potamos*, *fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aras*, it is then taken for the City it self, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as aforesaid). For *Strabo* in his description of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Calofyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenute*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in after ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Batanea*, and the North part of the *Desarts*, stretching themselves toward the inhabited solitude of *Palmyra*, which lyeth between *Syria*, and *Arabia* the *Desart*. So as these of *Canneh* lay in the very high-way from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were Neighbours (indifferent) to *Charran*, and to *Eden*: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezekiel* coupled together, *Ty of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden*, &c. But *S. Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneh*, or *Chabur*, by *Selencia*: for *Selencia* was antiently called *Chalanne* (wifich *Aprian*) and so *Kabanus Minus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Genesis*: the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalor*, or *Canneh*, to *Chalanne*: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Selencia*, and almost the next unto it (as) *Thebe*, *Canur*, and *Mann*. *Canur*, the one a little to the West of *Selencia*, and the other opposite unto it; where these Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain fact thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in so many Ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Thebe* and *Mann* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other City joyned with *Eden*, as *Haran*, *Jdg. 1* or *Charran*, *S. Hierome* on the *Judges* speaketh therein in these words: *Cunquo revertentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quae est in medio itinere contra Niveum, uadecimo die*; When they returned they came to *Charran* (which is the mid-way against *Niveus*) the eleventh day.

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (speaking to the High-Priest): *Te Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran*. But the feat of this City is not doubted of; for it is not only remembered in many Scriptures, but withall exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craffus* the Roman, who for his unsatiable greediness, was called *Gorgias avaritia*; The Gulf of *Avarecia*. Whereof *Lucan* 1.

Affrican *Latui maculosis sanguine Carras.*

With Roman blood thy Affrican Carre he defil'd.

But this City *Canne*, or *Chabur*, is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod*, *And the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chelch, in the Land of Shinar*, or *Shinar*: where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the *Babylonian* Empire, and what Cities and People were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the said Valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that

Tract afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth it self, *Chaldea*, *Babylonia*, *Sinar*, *idem sunt* (saith *Complut*). Three names of one Country: which Region of *Babylonia*, took name of the Tower *Babel*; and the Tower of the confusion of Tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode: in which Plain Babylon was built* (as aforesaid).

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia* and *Canneh*, in the first beginning of *Nimrod's* greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneh* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezekiel* coupleth with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants which traded with the *Tyrans*: and *Israh* in the threats of *Sennacherib* saith *Tyrans* 7. (with other Nations that *Sennacherib* named the children of *Eden* which were at *Telassar*). But before I conclude: where *Eden* it self lyeth, it is necessary to describe those other Countries, which *Ezekiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembered, as, those of *Sheba* and *Ramamah*.

It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moresor the Sons of Ham were Cush, &c. And the Sons of Cush were Seba, & Havila, & Sibra, & Ramah &c. And the Sons of Ramah were Sheba, &c. and anon after: asb begit Nimrod: for as Sheba was the grand-child of Cush, & Nimrod the Son of Cush, whose elder brother was Seba; though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in value and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Ramamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoining to *Shinar*, toward the Sea side and Persian gulf (called afterwards *Ramamah* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which welled it.) For (saith *Ezekiel*) the Merchants of *Ramamah* and *Sheba*, were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all Spices, and all precious Stones, and Gold. So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Country, which parcellt *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Felix*, *Strabo*, and which joyneth to the Sea where *Tygris* and the *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean.*

This part, and the adjoining Country, *Strabo* calleth *Chabarra*, where the belt Myrrh and Frankincense is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elana*, lying on the East-side of the Persian gulf. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, (spoken of by *Ezekiel*, and said to have been the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elana*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatics, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reppreth out of *Erythræus*, *In Persia ex initio Isule est, in qua multi & pretiosi summi signatur: in alia vero, clari & perulicidi Lapilli*. *Erythræus* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, In the beginning of the Persian Gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining Stones. Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Ramamah*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*) and *Sheba* with (*Schiv*): but whatsoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are divers. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the Persian Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboureth the Red-Sea; and so that place of the 72 *Plains* expounded *Reges Arabum* & *Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this fence: *Reges Sheba & Saba*.

The *Shebars*, *Ezekiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited upon the Out-let of the same River, upon which the *Edenites* were fenced; and so of those of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-Coast, and upon it, forth up the Country, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being joynted in one main stream, and to through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tygris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their Merchandise toward *Tyris*. And as the Cities of *Charan*, and *Channeh*, border *Eden* on the West and North-west, so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilman* on the North-east: *Chilman* being a Region of the higher *Medis*, as appeareth in the Chaldean Paraphrasis; which Country, by the Geographers is called *Comitena*, (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the *Hebrews* also often use.

Thus much of those Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telassar*: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telassar* lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyris*. Now, to make these things the more plain, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death, these Monarchies were utterly destroyed.

For it appeareth both in *Ezra* 37, and in the second of *Kings*, by the Threats of *Rabshake*, the while the Army of *Affria* lay before *Jerusalem*, that the Cities of *Gofan*, *Haran*, *Refeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telassar*, had re-visited the *Affrians*: though by them (in a fort) mastered and recovered. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed, as *Gofan*, and *Haran*, *Refeph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telassar*? But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib's* death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Ezra-haddon* held *Affria*, and *Mero-dach* *Babylon*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabshake* which lay before *Jerusalem* (*Hezekiah* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angel of God destroyed; the King of *Babel* sent to *Hezekiah*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Affrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himself was slain by his own sons in the Temple of his Idols. *Ezra-haddon* succeeding him in *Affria*.

To the *Babylonian* Ambassadors sent by *Mero-dach*, *Hezekiah* shewed all his Treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* to undertake the recovery of his conquest and subversion. So as, the supposition of War exceeding between *Babylon* and *Affria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Affria*, were employed to bear off the incursions of the *Affrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Telassar*: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Tyrius*, signifying as much as a Bulwark against the *Affrians*. This place *Hierosolymianus* takes for *Refem*, others for *Selucia*: but this *Telassar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellianus* in the History of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprise of *Perfia*) calleth *Thilaba* instead thereof in his 24 Book: It is fenced in an Island of *Euphrates* upon a steep and unscalable Rock, in so much as the Emperor *Julian* durst not attempt it, and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the *Affrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Country adjoining were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Terdida*, having

Refeph which he calleth *Refepha* (on the left hand) and *Cannab*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; not far from whence, is also found the City of *Mausa-Canne*, upon *Tygris*; and all these seated together, as *Israhel* and *Ezekiel* have fortified them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Affria* (which the Chaldeans call *Assuria*) and *Mesopotamia*, were of olden confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Dominions. *Affria* & *Mesopotamia* in *Babylonia* names transferred (saith *Niger*), *Affria* and *Mesopotamia* took the name of *Babylonia*. Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charan* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; also by *Cannab* and *Refeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place *Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hominem in Eden, ab Oriente*, the Lord God planted a Garden in *Eden* Eastward: that is (saith he in his Annotations) *Justitiam nescit ubi in Eden, Regione Orientali, insubstanti Arabie & Mesopotamie*; He commanded Trees to grow in *Eden*, an Eastern Region in the borders of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*.

SECT. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of *Eden*, and that this is the *Eden* of *Paradise*.

And for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seems by the two Epistles of the *Nestorian* Christians, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*: which Epistles in the year 1552 they sent to the Pope about confirming their Patriarch, and *Andreas* *Abbas* hath published them, translated out of *Syria* into *Latine*. By these Epistles (I said) it seems we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have said about the Region of *Eden* in those parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Island of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at least, *Tygris* in both these Epistles is called the River of *Eden*. This Island, as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, The Island, by an eminency) I hath (saith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island *Eden* may (doubtless) remain to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing Kingdoms of *Mesopotamia*, *Affria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of *Eden* hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Hasan-Cepha*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath *Mosul* or *Mosul*, from which (as in that which followeth it) shall appear out of *Mosul* (I it is not above twelve miles distant. Neither is it to trouble us, That *Mosul* or *Mosul*, by *Marinus Niger* is remembered among the Cities higher up *Tygris*, in these words, *Justa autem Tygris Civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quae nunc Mosul dicitur; magne Jani, &c.* (that is) By *Tygris* are these Cities: *Dorbeta* near unto mount *Taurus*, which is now called *Mosul* (which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mosul*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I say) needs not here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwell there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Mosul* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Mesopotamia* and *Affria*, seated upon *Tygris*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Nineve*; and that it is the famous *Selucia Parthorum*. The *Nestorian* Christians in their former Epistle, call it *Assur* in these words:

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Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis que sunt circum Civitatem Mosul (hoc est) Assur, in vicinia Ninive; Of all the Cities and Towns which are about the City of Mosul (that is) Assur, in the Neighbourhood of Nineve. Also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Cesiphon* a City thereabout to be called *Assur*, (which is the same as *Assur*, after the Dialer of those Nations, which change *S* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Cesiphon*, (which is not far off *Selucia*) for *Selucia*, to be *Assur*. By this then we may come somewhat near the end of our purpose. For the life of *Eden*, which lieth in the breast of *Tygris*, is but twelve miles from *Mosul*, and that ancient City, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineve*; *Philostrophus*, and *Simon Sethi*, *Mosula*, and *John Leua*, *Mosul*, others *Mosul*, (though it be not the same with *Mosul*) is far but a little higher upon the same River of *Tygris*, near *Mosul*: so that we are like to find this life of *Eden* hereabout. For the fame *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it above *Mosul*, makes it to be below *Hasan-Cepha*, which is upon the same River of *Tygris*.

The only difficulty is this, that some perhaps may think, that the words of the *Nestorian*, in both their Epistles, speak not of any life in *Tygris*, called the life of *Eden*, but of an life in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more improbable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not only *Euphrates*, but also *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been subject to the same change, that all other Kingdoms of the World have been, and hath by conquest and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South-west of *Eden*, which stretcheth over *Euphrates*, was after the Flood called *Shinar*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Affria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Selencia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Abbas* maketh mention, (not that latter *Abbas*, Disciple of *Gallicanus*, otherwise by *Plutarchus* and *Athenaeus* called *Abi*, who lived in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Phyladelphus*; but another of that name, who lived in the time of the Greek by Saint *Eliotus*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copy it be written in *Abbas*, *Adonis*, for *Edenis*: yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phoenicia*, cannot be understood to be the Region named by *Abbas*. For *Abbas* makes it a Country, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, calling the Land of *Chus* *Armenia*, after the Vulgar and Septuagint. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions (saith *Abbas*) felleth into the Gulf of *Perfia*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name imposed for the swiftness thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden; both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them travel through *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaves are always green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. *Alfo Stephanus, de Urbibus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*; and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amos*'s time, though he spake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Calde-Syria*. But to the end I

may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (once joyned together, and afterwards separate) are two of those four heads, into which these Rivers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise*, were divided: whose courses being known, *Eden* (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the *Septuagint* and all others convert *Perath* and *Euphrates* to *Hiddekel*, *Tygris* omni expostum; And all men understand *Hiddekel* by *Tygris* (saith *Vatablus*). And because that which I have said the life of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-denial, I have here-under set down the words out of the two general Epistles of the *Nestorian*, as *Masius* (ad verbum) hath converted them into *Latine*. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Affria*, *Perfia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Marys* time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called *Selucia Parthorum*, or *Mosul* upon the River of *Tygris* having no sufficient Authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552, (as above-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto such Election, and themselves had: having three hundred years before that, upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had forced to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same stock and kind, who aspired to the same dignity which his Predecessors had held; the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the general Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the fifth Epistle; *Verum nos non acceptavimus, nec proclamavimus istum; sed fidei communem ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & pagis que sunt circum civitatem Mosul (hoc est, Assur) in vicinia Ninive, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arabia, ex Israhel que est in medio Tygris, sumimus Eden, &c.* I.e. 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Now this Island of *Eden*, *Mafius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Ne-jirani* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (till he be better understood). And after he hath distinguished the four sorts of Christians in those parts (the World, and in the South part of *Avicia*, which he callith *Nisyrans*, *Tarbitans*, *Maronites*, and *Cephis*, he goeth on to these words: *Mos, audita illius morte, conuersisse ab hoste transiit in illam quam uocat Tigris* *Idem, quia de decem circiter passibus sua media continet, muris undique cincta, & apertis aëris circum Christiatis hominibus habitata*: which is, Now bearing of the death of the *Paradise*, (as those that came to *Rome* reported) they ran tumultu ously together into that Island of *Tygris* or *Eden* before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above *Mosul*, containing very near miles in compass, and every where inuironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Christians. And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches, among the rest, he addeth the Isle of *Eden* by the name of *Gefora*, *Isola Tigris*, *Isle Gefora*. Furthermore, describing the City of *Hofa*, *Gefora*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædittam Tigris*, *in saluam, uoti spera impunitam*; Above the afore-said Island of *Tygris*, being seated on a steep Rock. Of this Island of *Gefora*, *Andrew Theset* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: *Gefora* ou *Gefre* est une milice de la Rivere du Tigris, & possé que est une terre des plus fertiles de l'Asie. L'Asie, *Gefora* ou *Gefre* is in the middle of *Tygris*, tho' by the most fertile of all Asia.

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* lieth, and of that *Eden* which lieth Eastward from *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desert* where *Mos* writeth, and that *Eden* which he adreth *Caran* according to *Ezechieh*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the affection of the said Prophet, and conuined with the Nations of *Rosib*, *Cannah*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Affrica*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edemites* in *Abdallur* were garfished to refuse the *Affirians*, whose diplantation *Sirao* scrib vaunteth of (as above writen). And lastly, the same *Eden*, which enbraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

SECT. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text which seemeth to make the four Rivers to rise from one stream.

BUT it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a River went out of *Eden*, and not Rivers in the plural: which Cruple *Matthew Broadbent* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The *Latine* Translation, Gith he, hath these words: *Et fluxus egressus de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum*, quid inde derivatur in quatuor capita: *Quæ uero melius consentiunt cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explanatione, fit ita reddendum: Et fluxus erat egressus ex Edene (hoc est) fluxus procedens ex Edene regione ad irrigandum pomonem: & inde derivabatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water *Paradise*, and thence was divided into four heads; Which words (saith *Broadbent*) do better agree with the Narration and Explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a River was going forth of *Eden*, (that is) Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of *Eden* to water the Orchard, and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads.*

The *Tygrine* differs from the *Vulgar* or *Latine*; for it converts it thus, *Et fluxus egressus de loco voluptatis, et a River went out of the place of pleasure*: And so the word (*Plax*) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightful and fertile, and so all the word (*inde* and *thence*), was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden*, and not to the Garden itself.

And for the word (*River*) for *Rivers*, it is usual among the *Hebrews*: for it is written, *Let the Earth I. I. send the seed of the Herb that seedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree, &c.* Here the *Hebrew* useth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb and Tree*, for *Herbs and Trees*: And again, *We eat of the fruit of the Tree*, instead of (*Trees*): And thirdly, The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God: In medio ligni *Paradisus*. In the middle of the Tree of the Garden, for (*Trees*). And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Varabius*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrews* do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud*, for *monumenta*; *Illorum*; and he gives an instance in this question it self, as *A River*, (for *Rivers*) went out of *Eden*.

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may not without good reason, be given to the Objection. That *Mos* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may suppose the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (*River*) Vase the tenth, for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yieldeth four notable passages into several Countries, though not all the way down stream, (for this is now where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River down stream, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Affrica*) were up *Tygris*.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddel*, as it riseth from the River of *Eden*, doth not say, it compasseth or watheth the whole Region of *Affrica* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Affrica*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nabur-mulcha* (by interpretation) *Basilus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tygris* under *Amasia*; whence riseth the name of *Pisu-Tygris*, as it were *Pisu-Tygris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Harla* or *Sassana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in *Historians* is *Nabur-tror* or *Nerargis*, for *Nabur-tror*: both which names signify flumen derivatus (a River derived), also *Acer-came*, quasi *Rosarius*, for reason of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: This *Gehon* leadeth to the first Seat of *Chet*, about the borders of *Chaldaea* and *Arabia*, and is so lit at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddel*, may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison*, or *Basilus*, which runneth into *Hiddel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tygris*) above *Seleucia*, where it sheweth a passage up *Tygris* into *Affrica*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddel* or *Tygris*, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place callith it *Hiddel* from the beginning. The fourth *Parab*, or *Euphrates*, is called *per* exultation, being the body of the River *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* and *Orta*. But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not far from these Rivers: for that *Parab* in *Mos* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that *Hiddel* is *Tygris*. For *Hiddel* goeth (saith *Mos*) Eastward towards *Affra*, as we find, that *Tygris* is the River

Word.
Chal. l. 1.

River of *Affrica* proprie dicta, whose chief City was *Ninereb*, as in *Genesis* the Tenth it is written, That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Affra*, and builded *Ninereb*, which was the chief City of *Affra*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. *Caput aquæ* (saith *Vlpianus*) illud est, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascatur, fons; si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a main River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaith the main stream, called the head of the River.

SECT. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the *Babylonian* Soyl, as it is certain that *Eden* was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of *Eden*, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as *Eden* the seat of *Paradise* was; which, if it be denied, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same virtue to any Plant thence growing, that they had before the Flood: and therefore the Region of *Eden* may be now no such flourishing Country, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self: for the Isle of *Eden* is but twelve miles, or thereabout, from *Ninereb*, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Nini sita erat. Hæc Regio, omnium quæ nos videmus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tygris*, not far from the place where *Ninus* is seated. This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent: and he addeth afterward; *Cerealis autem fructu procerando addit ferax est, ut nunquam nisi fructu ducere reddat, &c.* (that is) It is so fruitful in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold. The least of Wheat and Barley, being almost four fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and *Sesame*, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the Country of *Babylon*. They have commonly in all the Country Palm-Trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig-Trees. Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this Palm-Tree, so much admired in the *East-India*, *Strabo* and *Niger* add a fourth excellency, which is, that it yieldeth bread, *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*: Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vinegar. But *Antoninus* the *Eremitic* findeth in this commodity, not inferior to any of those four, which is, that from this self-same Tree, there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in *East-India* they prepare the Cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, *Athenæus* in the

life of *Antoninus* the *Eremitic*, confesseth, saying: *That he received a garment made there from the Eremitic himself, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees which the *East-India* so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yieldeth no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper *Babylon*, or Region of *Eden*, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *Strabo*) *palmæ per omnem Regionem palme sive spinos nascentes*; There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord. Of this place, *Antonius Curtius* maketh this report: *Eunius à parte levis Arabie (ad orientem fertilissime nobilis) regio campotris arebit, inter Tigrim & Euphratem jacens, nam ubere & pingui solo, in a pastu repelit pecora dicuntur, ne satietas perimat*; (that is) As you travel on the left hand of *Arabia* (known for plenty of Trees Odours) there lieth a Champaign Country placed between *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, of so fruitful and fat a soil, that they are said to drive their Cattle from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. Bit in anno friget *Babylonis* fructus; The *Babylonians* eat their Corn twice a year (saith *Niger*). And as Countries generally are more fruitful to the Southward, than in the Northern parts; so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of *America*, which is the North-border of *Eden*, or a part thereof. His words be these in the *Latine*: *Tota enim hæc regio fragibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus*. This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and Trees always green: which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the *Indies* only, by reason of the Sun's neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, I say that is the fertility of the ground, that the people there are constrained twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry the *Spaniards*, wanting in the Valley of *Mexico*, for the first forty years, could not make our kind of Wheat bear seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees; and was fruitless. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds (saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that soil, That the second year, the very stubble (or rather falling down of the seeds again) yieldeth them a harvest of Corn without any further labour: his words are these, *Uberatius tamte sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restituis sat feger*.

Pila. Nini.
lib. l. 10.
c. 17.

SECT. XIII.

Of the River *Pison*, and the Land of *Havilah*.

AFTER the discovery of *Eden*, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tygris* and *Euphrates*: For, that the knowledge and certainty of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me; seeing necessity it self (and *Tygris* and *Euphrates* being known) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tygris*; or both, be that River or Rivers of *Eden*, which water *Paradise*; and *Tygris* or Rivers, *Mos* witnesseth afterward divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon*, &c. Could there be no stranger fancy in the World, than when we find both these (namely) *Tygris* and *Euphrates* in *Affrica* and *Melopotamia*, to seek the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two Rivers as far distant as any of fame known or discovered in the World: the

Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into four branches; and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witness. There is no error which hath not some flippery and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who study to be singular) find out (fraining Reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the World matter of contention and jangling; not doubting, but in the variable deformity of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectaries, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and fied for the River of Pi-
son) seemeth to have grown out of the not-dif-
guishing of that Region in India, called *Havilah*, from
Havilah which adjoyneth to *Babylonia*; afterward
known by the name of *Susiana*. For *Havilah* upon
Tygrii, took name from *Havilah* the Son of *Cush*
and *Havilah* in India, from *Havilah* the Son of *Jethan*
the one remembered by *Moses*, in the discription of *Pa-
radise*, the other where *Moses* setteth down the gene-
rations of *Noah* and his Sons after the Flood. For the

Gen. 10. 7. Sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Subti* and *Raamah* 3
and the Sons of *Javan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, &c.,
of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the
Sons of *Javan*, that Island of *Ophir*, (whence *Solomon*
had Gold) and *Havilah* adjoining, had their names.

Gen. 10.
29. Now, becaule *Ganges* is a great and a famous River
of the *East India*, and *Havilah* a Country of the same,

Gen. 2. 11. To water the Land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps, it was supposed; that those four Rivers named by *Mose*, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the World; whence? (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous River after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*) they chose out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in themselves they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*: I mean the River *Indus*, for its fertility, for beauty, for greatness, and for ability, giving no less fertility to *Ganges*, but exceeding it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be of the four heads; seeing *Indus* cometh between it and *Tigris*; and between *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Perfis*, consisting of many Kingdoms. And again, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between those two proud Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*; now called that of the *Indians*; and so to be said *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Perfis*, then how little *Ganges*; which filleth into the Ocean, little less than forty degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, whosoever readeth the Story of *Alexander*, shall find that there is no River in *Asia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth; as was *Araxes*; thereon in great *Gabtes* transported himself, and the great *Araxes* was then in falling down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof to great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as sweet as it, having besides this, the Rivers of *Coos*, of *Asiutus*, *Acephir*, *Adris* (otherwise *Hiratis*), *Hindus*, and *Zadus*, all which make but one *Indus*; and by it are swallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all encompassed and made one stream, it crooketh athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambai* vieth the Ocean Sea.

But because *Pifw*, which compaffeth *Hanilab*, as
 allo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cafte*, mult fomewhere be Gen. 2. 15.
 joyned with the reft in one body, or at leaft be found
 to proceed out of the fame Country of *Eden*, out of
 which the other two heads do proceed; it out of doubt
 they cannot either the one or the other be *Ganger*, or
Nilus: for *Nilus* rifeth in the uttermoft of the South,
 and runneth Northward into the *Mediterrane Sea*, and
 the River *Ganger* rifeth out of the Mountain *Ina-*
ur, or (as others will have it) out of the Mountain *Ma-*
ur, or (as others will have it) out of the Mountain *Ma-*
 the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and which divides
 North to South into the *Indean Ocean*. And as for
Peiath and *Hiddel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*) the
 one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana*
 or *Iberia*, the other is not far off in the fame *Arme-*
nia by the *Georgian* Mountains: fo as *Ganger*, who only
 travelleth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethi-*
opia and *Aegypt*, may divide the land of *Eden*, or joyned
 themfelves in one channel, and therefore divide
 or with either of the other, and therefore divide
 at any time from thence be feparated, or divided in-
 to four heads or branches, according to *Moft*.

Therefore the River *Pifon*, which in Hebrew *Havilah*, is the fame which by joyning it self with *Tygris*, was therefore called *Pifi-Tygris* or *Piffo-Tygris*, of *Pifon* and *Tygris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, Gen. 2. v. 12. which *Havilah* the fon of *Cafp* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, to whom of *Havilah* the Son of *Yedion*, the Son of *Yem*, his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Havilah* of the Country of *Arabia*, *Beldium*, and the *Oxyx* fcone. This *Beldium* is a Tree of the bigness of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum sweet to smell to; but bitter in taste, called also *Beldium*, The *Hebrews* take the Loadstone for *Beldium*. *Be-rudiah* alfirmeth, that *Bela* in *Hebrew* fignifieth Pearl: to doth *Yedion* and *Hieron* call it *Olagter*: be it what it will, a Tree of *Arabia*, or of *Perfian* or *Sufiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Sufiana* or *Havilah*, fretcheth it felf towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Perfian* Gulf, on the Eaft fide thereof: from which Eaft fide had the *Arabians* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Jerome*) their great plenty of Gold: v. which *Strabo* alfo witeffeth, as was fhewed before.

The Greek had a conceit, that *Pisón* was *Danubius*: *trach.*
the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aven-Ezra* (which *Eph.*
kins) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, translateth *Pisón* into *Nilus*:
But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges*
doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellspont*, and
all *Asia* the fells between it and *Tygris*. Now *Pisón*,
which runneth through *Havilah* or *Susiana*, doth to
this day retain some signe of this name, for where it
and *Tygris* embrace each other under the City of *Apa-*
mia, there do they agree of this name compounded
name, and are called *Pisogamis*. And it is thus I have
found me, that from so great antiquity there should be
found remaining any resembling found of the first
name: for *Babylon* it self, which I dwelt in so near these
Rivers, is by some writers known by the name of *Ban-me-*
das, as by *Ptolemy*: by *Cassiodorus*, of *Baldace*: by *Bari-*
us, of *Bagdad*; and of *Bagbedus*, by *Andrew Thevet*:
and yet all those that have lately felt it, call it *Bag-*
dad. To this River of *Pisón* *Ptolemy* indeed with many
others, as *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Herodotus*, *Josephus*, and *Gibbon*
think it their *Mahablar* or *Maas*, or *Regius*, and *Pliny* think
it *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain of *Amara*:
and *Pliny* call *Phicrator*: by *Jonius*, *Puckehar*, out
of the *Hebrew* (that is) The profluvion, or coming forth
of *Exoprates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain
Taurus, it takes the name of *Omyra*, — *Phitarch* calls

Totvet.
Cosmog.
Asia tab.

SECT. XIV.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Cush, and of the ill translating of Ethiopia for Cush, 2. Chron. 21. 16.

NOW as *Haushah* in the *East India* drew *Pison* so far out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seventy translated *Ethiopia*) force *Cen* into it, for *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latins* follow, *Gebon* consequently was esteemed for *Nileus*. But *Ethiopia* are, as much as *black* or *burntfaces*, whose proper Country called *Thebaid*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. of which point *C. 2. g.* See more
And although there be many other Regions of *Egypt*. *point C. 2. g.*
pian, and far South in *Africa*, yett those of *Thebaid* *Seck. 12.*
are those fo often remembered in the *Egyptian* *Stories*, and out of which Nation they had many times their *Kings* of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopia* are very near, or cle directly under the *Equinotial* line, which is very far from this Land inhabited by the *Chusites*, where are neither black of colour, nor in any fort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the *Sepтуагинт*, *Perevius* doth qualine in this manner: There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia's*, the *East*, and *West*: and this division he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Perevius* will make *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petraea*) and part of *Arabia* the *Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the *East* *Ethiopia*.

[illegible]

Gen. 13
v. 11.
Exod. 17. 8.
Exod. 10.
19.

E 2 and

and the *Philistines* were no *Aethiopia*. And latly, *Mose* himself, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these words, *Thou border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gazar*: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gazar* by *Gaza* towards the South. But indeed, howsoever *Pererius* doth, with an honest excuse, false this Translation of *Chus* for *Aethiopia*; yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* did altogether mis-understand this place. And first, for *Homers* East and West *Aethiopia*, they are both found elsewhere: For *Pliny* in his ninth Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homers* for an Author of these two *Aethiopia's*. But the East *Aethiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Aethiops* under *Prophetas*. And the West *Aethiopia* is that which joyneth it self with the *River Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are these *Aethiops* called *Perofis*, *Danarietis*, with divers other names, which *Pliny* numbeth. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the Deserts thereof, faith *Pliny* out of *Homers*, *Agrippa*, and *Juba*; which Regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Prophetas* John, and the *Trogodytes*) lie due East and West. But as for *Cush*, and the Region of the *Immanuelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Aethiops*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding gross herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of *Mose* when he served *Pharaoh*, in the Wars against the *Aethiops*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Aethiops*) the true word *Madian* by miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and stretch it in *Aethiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that *Gebon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greek Copy, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the Prophet *Jeremias*: And what hast thou now to do in the way of *Egypt*, to drink the water of *Nilus*? *Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, in bibis aquam Gehon*? To this faith *Pererius*, *perfecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichon, quae significat Nigrom & turbidum*: Truly (faith *Pererius*) the word *Gehon* in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but *Sichon*, which significeth black and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable Argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for *Aethiopia*. *Moses* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the Greek and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Aethiopsian*, as (with *Iosephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it help it a little with a Marginal Note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Country of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petraea*, bordering the Red Sea; as it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that *Moses fled from Pharaoh into the Land of *Madian*, and late down by a Well, &c.* And again, in the third of *Exodus*: *When Moses kept the Sheep of Jethro, his Father-in-law, Priest of Madian, &c.* Indeed, these four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell consociately together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Immanuelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all, in one general word, *Arabians*; and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in *Gen. 37. v. 25, 27, 28.* that *Ioseph* was sold to the *Immanuelites*; and in the same Chapter, *v. 36.* it is written, that the *Madianites* sold *Ioseph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh's* Steward. The *Genevians*, in a Marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who took the *Madianites* and *Immanuelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not al-

ter any man's opinion, he wrote the truth; and these were all *Arabians*: and so in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandize, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their Camels were laden with Spiceries, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the Trades of *Arabia Felix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East Indies, all the World is served with Myrrhe and Frankincense, and their Spices they received from the East side of the *Arabian* Gulf, as afore said. And in the 39. Chapter, it is said, That *Potiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the *Immanuelites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now to make this the more manifest, it is written, *Judg. 6.* That when *Israel* had fown, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the East, and came upon them: They of the East were *Arabians* of the Desert; so as where before in the buying of *Ioseph*, the *Madianites* and the *Immanuelites* are confounded, here the *Madianites* and the *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of *Gideon*, the *Madianites* only are named, as comprehending both Nations; as in the Eighth Chapter, *vers. 24.* these Nations are called *Immanuelites*, and neither *Amalekites*, nor *Amalekites*, *chap. 7. v. 25.* *Gideon* desired that every man would give him the golden Ear-Rings, which they had taken after the Victory against *Zebai* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 17000 Shukels of Gold, it is written; For they had golden Ear-Rings, because they were *Immanuelites*. And these *Immanuelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Maurus* cites *contra omnes, & manus omnium contra cum*; His hand faith God, of *Israel* shall be against all men, and every man's hand against him. Of these *Immanuelites* come the *Madianites* *Arabians*, though some Writers think *Mabomet* to be of the *Schuzia*. And the *Immanuelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Deserts of *Sin* and *Pharan* (faith *Iosephus*) use pysson upon their Arrows, as the *Indians* do. Toward the South-East are the *Madianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them towards the Deserts of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*, and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, The ill Translation of *Aethiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made most apparent in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *Jehoram* the Spirit of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine the *Aethiopsians*; so *Jerome* reads it: The *Geneva* Translation hath it, Which were besides the *Aethiopsians*. Now, how far it is off between the *Philistines* and the *Negros*, or the *Aethiopsians*, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* do mix and joyn with the Land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Aethiopia* about 32, or 33. degrees; and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the Desert of *Sin* and *Pharan* are between them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have been translated in these words: So the Lord stirred up against *Jehoram*, the spirits of the *Philistines*, and the *Arabians*, which confine and border upon the *Chusites*, who indeed are their next Neighbours. Nulla sperabit dubitatio quin *Stroph. Immanuelites in facie literis sit Arabia propinqua*; *Quae Arab. in remanet non dubio (faith Strophius) but Aethiopia in Gen. c. 2. the Scriptures, is taken for that Country which joyneth to Arabia.*

Now, may we think, it is probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named *Gebon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gebon*. Surely, if *Mose* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gebon*, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon Reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) a River of *Egypt*, *Exod. 2. v. 15.* wherein

plu. l. 9.
c. 1. v. 23.
v. 3. c. 2.
v. 18.

wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gebon*. And if *Mose* had told the *Israelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradise*, they might justly have thought, that he had decided them: for they had lived there all days of their lives, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof, except we shall believe the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (faith *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wild Olives instead of good Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichon*, once in *Isaiah* and once in the Prophet *Jeremias*, and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of *Aethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Immanuelites* had never any communion or affairs with the *Aethiopsians*, nor any intelligence or trade beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Immanuelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*; who being often governed by many little Kings, or Regents, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers or Heads of those Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Calo-Syrians*, with the *Magegians*, *Indolites*, and others their adherents. And finally, within themselves, the Nations which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-Coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ashdod*, and many others; yet, *Jerusalem* it self was withheld from *Israel*, from the days of *Mose*, even unto the time of *David*, by the *Jehusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of *Gebon* was therein that part of *Arabia* the Stony, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and this in this Desert it was, that *Matt. Beraldim* loth him to be in this Desert: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gebon* and *Nilus*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Hevralab*; for I find none such in *Yeremias Natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia* the Desert.

And as he well proved that *Pisbon* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gebon* *Nilus*; so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly, this River of *Gebon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterranean* at *Gaza*, and whose Springs he findeth far East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary; for the Current by *Gaza*, is but a small stream, siting between it and the Red-Sea, whose head from *Gaza* it self is little more than twenty English miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken, who did conclude of the habitations of *Israel* in the flood, and when it flourished, being then their next Neighbours, and never looked back to the first Cause and Plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his Children never retired, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself, with his Sons, first inhabited. *Hevralab* took the River-side of *Tygris* chiefly on the East, which after his own name he called *Hevralab*, (now *Susiana*): *Ruamab*, and his Son further down the River, in the entrance of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gebon*, which falleth in the Lakes of *Chaldea*; and in process of time, and as their People increased; they drew themselves more Westward towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence *Mizraim* pass over into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for

many years after. Now, because there could be no such River found in *Arabia* the Stony, which they might entitle *Gebon*, they translated *Chus*, *Aethiopia* and *Gebon*, *Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that the *Immanuelites* or *Chusites* that first peopled this Island, had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and called the Island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*; and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brit* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entitled by the same name of *Britannia*, after Ages might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Herodotus*; and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River of *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as the first discoverers shall we in like sort resolve that *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Mose* in his description of *Gebon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chusites* should, or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit; being in after-times they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (by purchase) have been Nations in times (as the *Saracens*), which came of them, of a great part of the World. For, though the *Babylonian* Empire which took beginning in *Ninrad* the Son of *Chus*, consisted of the first but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalaze*; yet we find, that his Successors within a few years after, commanded all the whole World in effect; and the fame of *Babel* confirmed the memory of *Chus*. For of this Tower of *Confusion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*; and the greatness of that Empire founded by *Ninrad* a younger Son, obscured the name and Nation of his Father *Chus* in those parts, until they crept farther off, and in places not yet entitled, and farther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which they retained to the Soil and Territory, by themselves afterward inhabited and held. And we may not think, that *Chus*, or any of his, could in half creep through those desert Regions, which the length of 130. years after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Bush and Bryar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themselves (as it were) into one main Body and Forrest. For if we look with judgment and reason into the Worlds Plantation, we shall find, that every Family fed themselves as near together as possibly they could; and though necessity enforced them, after they grew full of People, to spread themselves, and creep out of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*; yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times resort and succour one another by River, as the Fields being then (without all doubt) impassible. So *Ninrad*, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, fate down in the very confluence of all those Rivers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was, to which the greatest troops of *Noah's* Children repaired; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increase. The first Father of men, *Adam*, had therein his former habitation: The second Father of Mankind, *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Ninrad* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of *Babel* (as afore said), which both *Tygris* and *Emphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did *Hevralab* place

place himself up in *Pis-Tygris*; *Rasab* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the same River, on the Seacoast of *Arabia*: *Chub* himself upon *Gebon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves further off, yet they always followed themselves to the Rivers sides: for *Ninive*, *Charan*, *Reseph*, *Cannab*, *Or* in *Chaldea*, and the other first-peopled Cities were all founded upon these Navigable Rivers, or their branches; by which the one might give succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembered.

SECT. XV.

A conclusion, by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

BUT now to conclude this Dispute: It appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scripture, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram juxiorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Aequinoctial*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate, the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyl, Grain of all sorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this said soil and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palm-Trees, without the care and labour of man. For whereinsoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can most vaunt that they have excelled; yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: This Tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggett at Nature's hand. And though it may be said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West-Indies, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay down by those pleasures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earth-quakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no comparison between one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradise* had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may safely think, that how much *Adam* exceeded all living

men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Universal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, and of Knowledge, Plants only proper and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so grand a Lord.

The fun of all this is; That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have been dim-lighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our known World: some, above the middle Region of the Air: some, elevated near the Moon; others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Chalks in the Air, and in men's fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*) Eastward in respect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden; which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from thence divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* do join in one, and afterward taking ways apart, do water *Chus* and *Hazab*, according to *Moses*, the true fountains of *Chus* and his sons being then in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pisus* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joined, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gebon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility; and this River is a greater stranger to *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tygris* and *Ganges* above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountains of the Moon, almost as far off as the Cape of Good hope, and falleth into the Mediterranean Sea; and *Euphrates* distilleth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the Gulf of *Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North; the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, therefore and three degrees the one from the other. In this last following, I have added a Chronographical description of this Terrestrial *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labour may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP.



CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

SECT. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken, that Man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to death.

FOR eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*. In exilium vite temporalis, hinc the beginning of temporal life, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospel) it is not doubd by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World, an imaginary doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrews*) hath a Plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, The Tree of lives, because the fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam's* transgression) had prolonged his own days, but also given a durable continuance to all his posterity; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to think, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his Creatures; Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrudging life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And, as before the Flood the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and soon after the Flood of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed God's first and easy Commandment, the lives of men on Earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first Age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrystom*, *Rupertus*, *Tilstat*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adam's* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite Wildom of God, as he foreknew that the Earth could not have contained Mankind; or else, that millions of Souls must have been ungenereted, and have had no being, if the first number wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: And therefore that of *Chrystom* must be understood of immortality of bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or Species this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a mere Allegorie; taking their strength out of *Solomon*, where Wildom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life: as out of the *Apocalypse*, I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of life which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place *Saint Augustine's* answer may suffice, (which

is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a Terrestrial *Paradise*, so there was a Celestial. For although *Agar* and *Sarah* were Figures of the Old and New Testament; yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meer foolishness. And so in this place, the sense of the Scripture is manifest: For God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to the sight, and sweet to the taste, the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden: Which sheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesper*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, steal the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of *Paradise* they took the Platform of the Orchard of *Akincum*, and another of the *Hesperides*; and from the Tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young; and *Ambrosia*, immortality; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the gods.

SECT. II.

Of Becanus his Opinion, That the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica:

NOW, for the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, some men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever guess at, whereas *Goropius* much marvelled. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely, howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he surmounteth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he fetcheth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the Tree, and the regions wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his Treatise of *Paradise* (the first Part, and fol. 48. saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, The Indian Fig-tree; of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acemes*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies; in or near the Kingdom of *Persia*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigness of a great Pear, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) somewhat bigger; and that it is a Tree, *So fomer from, Always planting it self*: that it spreadeth it self so far abroad, as that a troop of Horle-men may hide themselves under it. *Strabo* faith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no less than a shield. *Aristobolus* affirmeth, that fifty Horle-men may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. *Onesirius* raiseth this number to four hundred. This Tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceeded all other in bigness, which also *Pliny* and *Onesirius* confirm: to the trunk of which, these Authors give such a magnitude, as I shalme to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this *Indian* Fig-Tree is not so rare a Plant as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, because he found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradise* to the Tree, and set it by the River *Aescopus*. But many parts of the World have them, and I my self have seen twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the soil) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or stem: for from the utmost end of the head-branches, there issueth out a Gummy juyce which hangeth downward like a cord or fiewe, and within a few moneths reacheth the grounds, which is no sooner toucheth, but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it self a Tree exceeding height. From the utmost boughs of these young Trees, there fall again the like cords, which in one year and less (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become also Trees of the bigness of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight as Art or Nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the World can do. Now, one of these Trees considered, with all his young ones, may (indeed) throug four hundred or four thousand Horle-men, if they please, for they cover whole Valleys of ground where these Trees grow near the *Scindabado*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, shooting always downward to find root under water, are, in those Seas of the *Indies* where Oylsters breed, intrangled in their beds, so by pulling up one of these cords out of the Sea, I have seen five hundred Oylsters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, that Oylsters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Groenius* *Becanus*: This Tree (saith he) was good for meat, and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is desired to be.

Secondly, This Tree having so huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themselves from the presence of God; for no other Tree (saith he) could contain them. But first it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or stem: for among ten thousand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the rest, and these are all of a mean size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *In medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters understood in the plural number (that is) *in the midst of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephais*) word for word, is, That when *Adam*

and *Eve* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it self was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew near it: because *Adam* being possid'd with shame, did not run up and down the Garden to seek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it self; and these leaves of all other were the most commodious, by reason of their largeness, which *Pliny* avoweth in these words, *Latitudo foliorum plantæ effigium Amazonia habet; The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of an Amazonian shield*: which also *Theophrastus* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Ducit Amazoni um lunatis agmina pelvis
Penthesilea furens.

Virg. Æn.
l. 1. 454.

The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield
Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that read him, to give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather choleric) speech, *Quis erit iam impudens obstanti, si hæc a nobis, de sic hæc, ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Moysis narratione comparat, ex antea dicere, Adam arborum inveniri potest, ut cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses, as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith? But for my self, because I neither find this Tree, sorting in body, in largeness of leaves, nor in fruit to this report; I rather incline to the opinion of *Philis*, That the Earth never brought forth any of these Trees, neither before nor after. But I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; only thereby, and by the easie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon, it pleased God to make trial of his obedience: *Prohibita non propter aliud quam ad commendandum pure ac simpliciter obedientiam; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple Obedience.**

Aven. de Civit. Dei.
l. 13. c. 20.

SECT. III.

Of *Becanus* his not-univally allegorizing of the Story of his Ficus Indica.

BUT in this I must do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it self to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few words. As this Tree (saith he) did Man grow straight and upright towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree; Earth, which all the rest of *Adam's* Posterity after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt World. The exceeding unbragfulness of this Tree, he compareth to the dark and shadowed life of man, through which the Sun of Justice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climb the Tree of the Cross for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth,

beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaves, may be compared (saith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived Knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the World most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into chol. and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrows and repentances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little; in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shows, and publick ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seek for the fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigness of the smallest pebble, to all the World apparent: goodness, as the leaves, body and boughs of this Tree, by so much exceed all other Plants, as the greatness men of power and worldly ability surpass the meane: so is the little fruit of such Men, and such Trees, rather sitting and becoming the unworthiest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing itateliness, and magnificence. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedness and shame, fought for leaves to cover himself with: thus man serve to put us in mind of his and our first, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we use so many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

SECT. IV.

Of the names of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil: with some other Notes touching the Story of *Adam's* sin.

NOW, as touching the sense of this Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the first fruit thereof had, and as touching the property of the Tree it self, *Miser Bar-Cephais*, an ancient Syrian-Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giveth this judgment: That the fruit of this Tree had no such virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noteth: *Arbor scientia boni & mali (id est) experientia boni & mali ab eventu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the *Hebrew* phrase) by the workmanship of God's own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or Spirit of God; he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of God's Commandment was the fearfullest Evil, and the observation of his Precepts the happiest Good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sickness is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the

proof thereof in himself another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glass of his own guilty soul, he beheld therein the horror of God's judgments; so as he then knew, (he feelingly knew) and had trial of the late grief, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evil, which could not be expres'd. He then saw himself naked both in Body and mind, that is, deprived of God's grace and former felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledge, and not because the first thereof had any such operation by any self quality or effect: for the same Phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to ads performed, and things done. In such sort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledge, because of the event, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contentment therefore called *Ephraim*, and the Well of hatred *Sinath*, because the Hearersmen of *Isaac* and *Esau* contended for them: and the heap of Stones called the *Heap of witness*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the Stones bare witness, but for a remembrance of the Covenant. So *Jacob* called the House of God *Behel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, *Vivens*, *videns*.

Num. 20. 13
Gen. 26. 20.

Gen. 31. 48.
Gen. 28. 19.
Gen. 28. 19.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affection, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himself, and looking but slightly (as all his issue do) into the miseries and sorrows, incidents and greatly afflicting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tasting the fruit forbidden: he was transported and blown forward, by the gentle wind of pleasing persuasions, unawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtle arguments of Satan, who laboured to poyson mankind in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the false ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

Gen. 3. 22.
l. 2.

But what means did the Devil find out, as what instruments did his own subtilty present him, as what and aptest to work this mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; so as by *Adam's* hearkning to the voice of his Wife, contrary to the express Commandment of the living God, Man-kind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being made for a comfort and companion, but not for a counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife, &c. (saith God himself) *Cursed is the Earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts into whom the Devil entred and perwaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience? even a desire to know what was most unfitting for her knowledge, an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yield to her persuasions? Even the false cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent; namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the Son of *David*, God's chosen servant, and himself a man ended with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the persuasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding Ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the persuasions of their Wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit pallion of dissimulate sorrow and uneasiness.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things, between the Fall of Adam, and the Flood of Noah.

SECT. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cain's sin: and of his going out from God.

The fame Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possessed Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (envious of the acceptance of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first Manslayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural murder, although it pleased God to mitigate, when Cain cried out that his punishment was greater than he could bear: For the same offence (where-with the Sons of Adam, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all Mankind, but Noah and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God: of which in the same place, Moses giveth a reason: for faith he, The Earth was filled with cruelty: and anon after, God himself made the cause known unto Noah, saying; An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men only, but in all sorts of Injustice and Oppression. After this Murder of Abel, Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden: in which words, The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alienis temporibus, sed utrumque simul.* God (saith S. Augustine) is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by interchanged times, but all at once: And that this is true, David witnesseth: *If I be in Heaven (saith David) thou art there; if in Hell, thou art there also.* But what is meant thereby? *Exiit a facie Dei (saith Chrysostom) Cain went out from the presence of the Lord: (that is) he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.*

SECT. II.

Of Cains dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.

This word Nod or Naid, S. Hierom and many others understand to signify wandering, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, saith Junius; but the Security covert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Country, and so doth Josephus. But it seemeth to me, that Cain was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else; and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murder committed, justly fearing, (by his own words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me.* Now, that Nod or Naid was a Region wherein Cain

inhabited, appeareth by the word *(dwelt)* for dwelling signifieth an Abiding: and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East-side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after Cain departed from the presence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the first-born, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortify himself against revenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that Cain and Abel were figures of Christ, and of the Jews; and that as Cain after that he had slain Abel unjustly, had thenceforth no certain abiding in the World: so the Jews, after they had crucified the Son of God, became Rummages; and it is true, that the Jews had never since any certain Estate, Common-wealth, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of Nod, Junius taketh to be in Arabia Deserta, a Region of the Nomades; but Arabia the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soever, which in old time lived by Pastorage, and fed (as we call it in Ireland) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greke *Nomades*, and by the Latine, *Agriores*; as the Northern Tartarians, the Gessians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Britains, and Norfolks; till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandry of Tillage, used at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of *Affrica*, called by *Plinius*, *Calecia*, which also might be derived of *Caraca*, the Country of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in these parts, it may be gathered by the first position of his Father Adam; for thus it is written, *Genf. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth* *Genf. 3.* whence he was taken: and in the Verse following, *Thou shalt eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and shalt dwell therein: but of the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat thereof: for in the day that thou shalt eat thereof, thou shalt surely die.* Thus he sent him forth to till the Earth, and to dwell therein: but of the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat thereof: for in the day that thou shalt eat thereof, thou shalt surely die. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do signify *profection*, that is, a fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of Cain, then till he built the City of *Enoch*, the first defence, or (as *Josephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as, for mine own opinion, I am content with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word *Vagabond*, which Cain useth himself, it seemeth by the perclose

of the fame Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein understood for such an one as travellet in fear of revenge: *For whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.*

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the City of *Enoch*; were the first society and civil assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these People (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in memory of Noah and his Sons: so that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some virtuously, some impiously disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) these People, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place it self, where *Enoch* flood before the Flood, and whereof Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or foundation of *Joppa* did) gave occasion to the Planters of that place, to call themselves by the same name: for of these *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Thracia*, *Sogdiana*, and *Bactria*; of the same name many Mountains, as those which are otherwise called *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath covered over, or defaced, we may (according to the count of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoice, and therewith satisfy our selves, if of so great, and almost worn-out Antiquity, of the eldest Peoples names and nations, there remain any Print or foot-steps to Posterity.

In *Pliny*, *P. Melas*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochians*, described, though diversely written: as in *Pliny*, sometimes *Henochi*; in *Mela*, *Enochi*; in *Flaccus*, *Henochi*; in *Lucan*, *Enochi*: All which inhabit upon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East side of Eden, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from Eden. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exact and precise, as sometimes he useth the word *East*, or South without borrowing or addition; at other times with borrowing, as Eastward, or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genf. the eleventh*, he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East; they found a Plain in the Land of *Shinar*; but in this of Cain, he addeth the word (towards) as, in the land of Nod, towards the East side of Eden; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two, either to the North, or to the South of the East.

But, as we may conjecture, that these Nations took name of *Enoch* the City of Cain; or of the Region wherein it stood, when the fame was re-peopled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochians* of *Calecia*, and other parts adjoining, were not the first of that name after the Sons of Noah began to fill the World again; because, had this *Enoch* the City of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Pontus*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Henochi*, *Polony*, *Zani*; beyond which an hundred and fifty mile Eastward, he findeth another Nation of them about *Berka* and *Albonia*; and beyond these he again discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountains of *Para-pamis*; between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochians* are doe East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very Garden it self.

And although we cannot be assured that these *He-*

nochis took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly; yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all Noah's Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable than that of *Adam* the Frier, who sets *Enoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrary to *Moses* word: *Phenicia* from all parts of Eden, being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the *Henochis*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the *Steph. 4.* same also in the East, with diverse mountains about *Hel.* *Gedras* and *Sogdiana*, of the same name. Only the *Gedras* (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word (*Henochis*) which which signifieth Cart or Coach-men, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of *Cassia* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphiter* and *Telchime*, who attended them in the interpret of *Jafin*, into *Calecia*, *Genf. 11.* And though I do not deny, but that *Jafin*, with other *Greeks*, ranged the coasts of *Asia* the left, in an open Boat or kind of small Gally, * of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no man doubted but that the second calf of the golden Fleece was for the most part Poetico-falsely and without, that in such an open Boat, which this first there was no place, and less use, of Coach-horses or 13 *Strab. 11.* Waggoners.

SECT. III.

Of Moses his omitting sundry things concerning Cain's Generation.

But of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of *Enoch* in prophane Story, thus much may suffice: Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certain particulars in the 4 and 5 Chapter of *Genf.*: against which, for the first, is demanded, How it was possible for Cain (having no other assistance than his Son *Enoch*) to go to perform such a Work as the building of a City, to erect a mass of all sorts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of Cain (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it beft agreeeth with his divine Reason, seeing that he contained the whole Story of the first Race, which lasted, by the least account, 1056 years, in five short Chapters: Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakest Reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generation of mens lives so long a measure as 800, and 900 years, that in such a space Cain had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as *Enoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soever: for in what Age of Cain's life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whole times, and the times of his Issues, *Moses* had the least care. And as it is said of Cain, that he built a City: so it was said of Noah, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the process of time required, is to be understood: which advice, seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of Abel, and the oblation of Cain, he spake it in this sort, *Fais autem post-die mulier, or a fine daughter, (that is) In process of time, it came to pass that Cain brought an oblation.* And therefore it is like sort to be understood of Cain, that many years foregone, and when

his people were increased, he built the City of *Enoch* or *Hnoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, *fo* of *Solomon*, that he built the Temple of *Jerusalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he employed in that Work 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, the King invaded, when he caused an invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing that we find that *Cain* had no regard to the Ages, Birth or Death of *Cain*'s Issues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he also pathed over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner; *Cain also begot Heth, who conceived and bare Hnoch, and he built a City, and called the name of the City after the name of his Son Hnoch. And to Hnoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Methusael, and Methusael begat Methusael, and Methusael Lamech.*

Now, of *Seib*, *Moses* writeth far otherwise, and in this manner: *And Seib lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enosh, and Seib lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and forty years, and begat Sons and Daughters: so as all the days of Seib were Nine hundred and twelve years, and he dyed*: As for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbered in *Libro vintium*, fifth *Cyrl*. But in *Seib* was the Church of God established; from whom *Christ* defended, as touching his Manhood; and therefore this way and work *Moses* walked in, and finished it with care, palling over the reprobate Generation, (as afore said.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembereth but Eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seib*, ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

2 <i>Cain</i> ,	7 <i>Lamech</i> , who by
3 <i>Hnoch</i> ,	<i>Adab</i> had
4 <i>Irada</i> ,	8 <i>Jubal</i> and <i>Tubal</i> : and
5 <i>Methusael</i> ,	by <i>Silla</i> , <i>Tubal-Cain</i>
6 <i>Methusael</i> ,	and <i>Noema</i> .

I. ADAM.

2 <i>Seib</i> ,	7 <i>Hnoch</i> ,
3 <i>Enosh</i> ,	8 <i>Methusael</i> ,
4 <i>Cainan</i> ,	9 <i>Lamech</i> ,
5 <i>Mabaleh</i> ,	and
6 <i>Jared</i> ,	10 <i>Noah</i> .

These be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Josephus* giveth unto *Lamech* Threefore and seventeen Sons and Daughters, by his two Wives, *Ada* and *Silla*: and to these sons of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the invention of Fallowage, of Musick, and the working in Metal; for it seemeth that *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Doves: *Tubal* invented Musick, and *Tubal-Cain* the working in Brass and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees, of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of *Seib* began the degrees of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

SECT. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they began their Children.

A Second scruple hath been made. How it came to pass that the Patriarchs began their Children at so divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cetan* at seventy years, *Mabaleh* and *Enosh* at Threecore and five years, whereas *Jared* began not any of his until he was 122 years old: *Methusael* began at 187; *Lamech* at 182, and *Noah* at 500 years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methusael*, or *Lamech* obtained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abstinence, seeing that *Enosh* who was Translated by God for his singular Sanctity, began Children before he was Threecore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first-begotten and eldest Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of *Noah* from *Seib*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestours, were they elder, or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Hnoch* was not the eldest of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Methusael*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sons before *Sibem*, *Hana*, and *Tapher*, though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were reserved to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we find *Mabaleh* to be begotten by *Kenan* at Threecore and ten years, who was the first Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methusael* began *Lamech* in the One hundred and eighty seventh year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Methusael* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noah*, as afore said. Of this Saint *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first Age, and so to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him; so doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of *Christ*, not by the eldest Sons, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Evangelist nameth *Jasar*, and not *Jsmael*, Mat. i. 2. though *Jsmael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jasar* the younger, and not *Ejan* the elder: neither is *Christ* derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Judas* a fourth Brother, and so from *David* a younger Son of *Jesse*; and lastly, we find, that the Kingdom it self of *Judas* was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to the Heir of Grace, namely *Solomon*.

SECT. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late memory.

THE third Objection is, that the great difference of years between those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well near ten a thousand years, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-Ages, seeing that

that soon after the Flood, men lived not a third part of that time; and in succeeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that have hereon resolved that those years were but Lunar years (to wit) of a month or thereabouts, or Egyptian years, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seib* began *Enosh* in the year of his life an hundred and five, if those years be taken but for months, then had *Seib* lived but eight years and one month when he began *Enosh*; and if the time of *Enosh* have the same allowance when he began *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time have been but six years and forty eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of the text, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this was too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at six, seven, or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being defended from *Adam*, the Workmanship of God's hands, and begotten and born in the strong youth of the World, had length of dates, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunar years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of Nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of Fourcore and ten and odd years; which were not only less by far than the Patriarchs lived after the Flood, but short of many men's lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourcore, and some an hundred years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen. 25*, That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former account were of Lunar years) makes but seventeen and an half of our years.

And if we seek for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equal strength, or little differing: for of the first and purest feed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfulllest plants. Secondly, the Earth it self was then much less corrupt; which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmful quality, as since that time the curse of God, for the cruelty of man's heart, brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the Flood infused such an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of strength, and another of weakness, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: so Time it self (under the deathly shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath waited and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea the Heavens themselves, being of a moist pure and cleaned matter, hath wax old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferior Creatures, who by the Ordinance of God receive operative Virtue from the superiour.

But besides the old Age of the World, how far doth our education and simplicity of living differ from that old time? The tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nourished with the Milk of a strange Dugge: an unnatural curiosity having taught all women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them. The hasty Marriages in tender years, wherein Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her self hath not

yet any root sufficient to maintain her own top; and such half-price feeds (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxuriousness of this glutinous Age, wherein we press Nature with over-weighty burthens, and finding her strength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of strong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucas* hath these Elegant verses:

— O Prodigia rerum

*Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratis;
Et quæstorum terra pelagique ciborum;
Ambrosia fumes, & laus gloria mensæ,
Discite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrribaque bibunt: sed gurgulis puræ
Vitis redit: Jussu est populi, fluviusque, Cerefusque.*

O walfall Rite never well content

With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far stretch and hint;
Vain-glory of a Table sumptuous.

Learn with how little life may be preferred.
In Gold and Myrrh they need not to carouse,
But with the Brook the peoples thirst is served;
Who fed with Bread and Water are not served.

The Egyptians affirm, that the longest time of man's life is an hundred years, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Brontion* to an hundred and seventeen years. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number, and review of the eighth Region of *Italy*, there were found in the Roll (fifth *Pliny*) four and fifty persons of an hundred years of age: seven and fifty of an hundred and ten; two of an hundred and five and twenty: four of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and five and thirty, or an hundred and seven and thirty years old: and last of all, three men of an hundred and forty; and this farth was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father, and the Son.

The simple diet and temperate life of the *Essenians*, gave them long account of many years: so did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies: to the *Perfians* Magicians, and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Nisier* lived three Ages, and *Thersites* fix, *Sybillæ* three hundred years, *Endymion* the less *Asia*, little less: *Allo* *Masanissa* of *Nimidia* lived very long, and *Dandis* of *Byria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (fifth *Epiphanius*) *Heliandus* affirmeth of the *Epicians*, that some of them lived full two hundred years; and so doth *Dionysius Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that these reports are not fabulous, *Josephus* bringeth many witnesses with himself; as *Mabonius*, *Berossus*, *Manus*, *Ephorus*, *Hieronymus*, *Epiphanius*, *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570, there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, General of the *Turks* Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I may tell knew the old Countess of *Desmoud* of *Indochina* in *Manfiter*, who lived in the year 1589, and many years since, who was married in *Edward* the fourth's time, and held her Joynture from all the Earls of *Desmoud* since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Manfiter* can witness.

Silvanus *Siageia*, out of *Torquatus*, *Maflus*, and the like Authors, telleth of men: that have not only far exceeded the term prefcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, it we note but the difference between the ability of men in those days wherein *Galen* the Physician lived, it may easily prove unto us, what Needs we are in respect of those Cedars of the last Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Blood fix pound weight, and *Plinius* for the most part, six pound weight. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Confections) which are the natural caufs of a long and healthful life; to wit) strong Parents, a pure and thin Air, and temperate use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring fione, cannot fland long upright; on Air we feed all-ways and in every infant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink under the burthen of her own excess. And for a good constitution, a pure Air, and a temperate use of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

SECT. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition : and that Enoch Writ before the Flood.

A Fourth scruple hath been made, How the certain knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men fought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jews of infinite price, fearing the irreverent confusion of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publick dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wife unto a posterity equally Zealous; *Ex animo in animam* (says Isteri, more intercedente verbo: from mind to mind, without Letters; by way of Tradition or word of mouth, &c.) And it was thought by Eldras, Origen, and Hilarinus (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but (withal) *secretorum & verum leges enarrationem*; a more secret and true explanation of the Law; which (faith he, out of the fame Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Japhan*, and *Japhan* to the Elders: for, to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the multitude, were two other *quædam dare familiam canibus, et alia dare hominibus*; that is, to give holy things to Dogs, and to call Beasts before Sanctuary, &c. succeeding times, this understanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and letters bearing the form of Beasts, Birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to such as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the Jew was imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *Receptio* in Latine, and a *Receiving* in English. And this custom was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our

ancient *Brittain*, and of latter times by the *Irish* Chronicles called *Rimers*. If then I say as would seem reasonable in the use of reason, will not acknowledge that the story of the Creation or beginning of all things was written by inspiration, the Holy-Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by Tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain premonition, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity have had preferred and left to their successors: which cannot be denied to the *Hebrews*, who were the first of our wife men (as they term them) did lay up and defend, from the injury of the time and other hazards. For *Seth*, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his Children and Successors, which cannot be denied, of it, manifest that *Methuselah* lived together with him, himself two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* *Methuselah* no less than five hundred years; and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledge by an elastic and ordinary way might come to *Israel*, and so to *Moses*.

But belid this Tradition, it is questionleſs, that the uſe of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by ſeveral Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch* of which *Jofephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained ſtanding in his times (meaning belike ſome ruine or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are aſcribed to *Seth*. But of theſe Prophecies of *Enoch*, *St. Jude* teſtifieth, and ſome part of his Books (which contained the names of the Stars, their names and motions) were after- ward found in *Arabia Felice*, in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba* (ſiſh *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had ſeen, and read ſome whole Pa- ges. It is not therefore strange, that *Mofes* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and ſtory of the firſt Age, ſeeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letter, had not the ſpirit of God inſtigated and in- ſpired him aſide did : (which alſo his many and ſtrange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifeſt.)

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, how terrible some men *Orig.*
make mention of them, I am that I will show. *Orig. 26.*
Origen, Augustine, Beda, Procopius, Gasen, & *Ysaac* *Ysaac. 6.*
(others) cite them in their writings: although *Medi-* *comment. li.*
na, for an argument to prove them unwritten *Tradi-*
Traditions, allegeth that *Pope Gelasius* among *Tradition*
the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) na- *15.*
med not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was
remembered out of them, the same was delivered by
Tradition from the *Jews*. But I rather think with
Pererius, that such a Book there was, and that the
same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles,
and many things added therunto by Hereticks, who
took occasion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of
that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil
about the body of *Moses*, to frame and add therunto
many inventions of their own. One of the greatest
arguments against these Books, is, that neither *Philos-*
ophus nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity)
make mention thereof. But against it I will let this
opinion of *St. Augustin, Scripſitque eodem nomina di-*
uina Enoch, illum Epinuchum a Adam, negare non pos-
sunt. That Enoch the seventh from *Adam*, did write
divers divine things, we cannot deny. Now these
writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected
because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, sup-
posed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by
to much the more, because no such Book was found
amongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the dili-
gence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Judaico* (faith
Terstilianus) who yet affirmeth, that this Book might
be preserved by *Nubis*, Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the

Terst. de
hebræis
libris.
libran.

The Prophecies

Prophecies remembered by *Jude*, no man can deny how they were delivered to posterity. I know not whether by *Jehonadab Cabala*, or by what other means the time is but to be concluded. And Certainly by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures of the planets of the Stars; and afterwards to knowledge and conjunctions of the Stars, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this book. For it is not likely, that to exorcise knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented; and Francis Bacon, but left by *Seib* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Adam*, as hath been said before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Seib* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*, it is not so strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by *Letters*, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof then self-authority.

SECT. VII

Of the men of renown before the Flood.

NOW let us consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cains* children : and of *Adam* by *Seth*, ten : *Seth* being given by God in stead of *Abel* : and, of *Seth* was Engh begotten, in whose time men began to profess Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* intrusted his Children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel* : yet it seemeth that after the death of *Enoch*, men began publicly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord ; and thereby were the Sons of God, or the Godly, distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enoch* the Son of *Seth*, to the time of *Hezech* the Son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their piety, the birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Hezech*, Gen. 5, 24, noob it is written : That he walked with God, and he was no more seen : for God took him away. By that, that he walked before God, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah* ; *Noah* was a just and upright man in his time, and *Noah* walked with God. The Seventy convert it, *Enoch, placuit Deo* ; *Enoch* pleased God. And although *Adam*, *Ezer*, and others, understand this place, (*tulit cum eo*) *seculum*, *mortuus est* ; God took him away, (that is) he dyed, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Seventy, and with our manner of speech to this day. For God took him away when he died ; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the piety of *Hezech*, and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Hezech* was not distressed as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* useth these words, And he dyed : but of *Hezech* he speaketh otherwise, saying only, He was missing, or, he was not seen. *Etenim invenimus* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrews) *quia Deus eum transiit* ; And he was not found, for the Lord took him away. In the same place it is expressly added, that he saw not death.

But whether this taking away of *Henach* were not with the same kind of changing which *St. Paul* promiseth, when he saith, that, *when the end the end shall*

come, we shall not all die, but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After Enosh, Moses passeth over to Methusalem and Lamech, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death : saying that Lamech prophesied of his Son Noah, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of Noah, Moses writeth more amply than of any of the rest of Adams children by Seth, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the War, Peace, Government, and policy of these strong and mighty men, to abide both in body and wit, there was no number: maintaining: wholy florides, if they had been preferred, and what else was then performed in that newweld of the World: there could nothing of more delight have been left to Posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the fame add of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of aftertimes: especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we can never begin to know, but we begin to die: according to *Proverbs*: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus præcepti* (wherein) *Life is short, art is long, time is heeding*. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*: *These were mighty men, which in old times were men of renown*. But these men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their own abilities, as they forgot altogether the power of *Sin*, and the ways wherein *Heaven* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil and continually evil. And this wickedness was not only found in the *giants* and *Sons*, but was then universal, when the children and mischief of *God* (or of the godly) were corrupted and mislead by their idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, loving themselves and the World only.

That these *Sons of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of Women, accompanied them, and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, *Latinians*, and *Enchirius*, misled by *Josaphus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterwards changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needfuls: the question being incapable of dispute, especially since *S. Chrysostom* and *S. Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture: and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who as Christ himself beheld the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Jacobi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnels to imagine.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moses so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also, divers in later times.

OF these Giants which Moses calleth mighty men, Gorgias Beaman an *Amoritan* (who thought his own wit more Gigantical than the bodies of Nimrod, or Hercules) hath written a large Discourse, intitled, *Gigantomachia*; and trained his brains to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may find them in the Treatise before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirm shamelessly, That the Giants have in elder times, not only cast up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up Hills, and making War with the gods, no doubt but that the fame was borrowed out of the Story of *Nimrod*, as before remembered; and even out of this Scripture. That the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, — that conceit taken from *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the Sons of the Heaven and the Earth, meaning by the Heavens the Sons of God, and by the Earth, the Daughters of Men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cellam* (who hath written a very witty Discourse of this Subject) thus changed into Latine:

*Nomine callosos illos dixisse Gigantes,
Orti quod terra furoris & sanguine celi.*

From th' Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven,
they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opinators, and self-believing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have been in all times since, seeing the Scriptures avow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superfluous training of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body, and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppress, than say, That they were called Giants only, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himself calleth them mighty men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous actions. And if the same stature of body, and ability, had not been found among divers Nations after the general Flood, then might this place of *Moses* have more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will referre to accompany the Giants of *Albion*, in the Story of *Britany*) the Scriptures do clearly, and without all Allegorical construction, avow, That besides *Nimrod*, there were feared of the Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Abraham's* the *Zuzai*, or *Zuzaimis* in *Hani*, and the *Emim* which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moad*; whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims* which dwelt in *Hebron*: for they also were taken

for Giants as the *Anakims*. Likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he useth these words: That also was taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-time: and, whom the *Amoritanes* call *Zanzumimis*; a people that was great, and many, and tall as the *Anakims*. And these Giants called *Rephaim* in *Affrica* and *Kennam*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzumimis*, *Chedorlamer* King of *Elam*, overthrowed, slayed by other Kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Amoritanes* men of Giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Cedars, and whose strength to the Oaks: and the Prophet *Ezekiel*, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war. Particularly, it is written of *Og* King of *Basjan*, that his bed was of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for only *Og* King of *Basjan* remained of the remnant of the Giants who commanded the Kingdom of *Basjan* four hundred years after the Expedition of *Chedorlamer*. Moreover, those Discoverers and Searchers of the Land of *Ironis* (sent by *Moses* from *Cadababim* in *Paran*) made report at their return of the great stature of those people in general, and especially of the Sons of *Anak*, in these words: All people which we saw in it, are men of great stature: for there we saw *Nam*, Giants, the Sons of *Anak*, which come of the Giants, so that they seemed in our fight, like *Goliaths*, and so we were in their fight, (that is) the Searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the *Anakims* and themselves: inasmuch that the *Israhelites* were so stricken with fear, as they rather fought, and desired, to return again into *Egypt*, and were not willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearful Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliath* the *Philistine* of *Gath*, was a Giant of six Cubits and a span long: the Armour which he wore, weighed five thousand shekels of Brass: the shaft of his spear was like a Weaver's beam, and his spear head weighed six hundred shekels of Iron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*, surnamed *Gethu*, because he was of *Gath*, and of these other Giants; of which the first was slain by *Jonathan*, *David's* Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, even four and twenty.

Also that *Samson* was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after slew thirty of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Ass: And lastly, he took the Gates of *Azubah*, and the two poles, and lifted them away with the bars, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before *Eben*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both Nature, and the Heavens was old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it self) infected and almost worn out the virtue of all things, then I say, That asin all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautiful, than it did in after ages: so also these Giants, those mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembered by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successors, as the ordinary proportion of men in general, soon after the Flood, and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born, in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth Age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newness of the World.

But the wickedness (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God thought

by the Flood, gave end to all flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his Family. And God rewarded him that he had made man: which Saint *Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Natus enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui prout, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa prescientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiariter infusa omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & pervertat superbie, & exciet negligentes, & exerceat*

querentes, & alii intelligentes, God (with he) dash not repeat him of any thing which he hath done, (as men use to do) but if the Scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) infuse it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrify the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of the truth, and nourish those that understand.



CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the World; and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

SECT. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find some signs of more ancient Truth.

HERE, before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider how the Greeks, and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical fence, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof, and have hoped, that after ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixed Discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolen out of the Books of God. But as a skillful and learned Chymist can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpful Medicines out of poison, as poison out of the most healthful Herbs and Plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those that seek after God and Truth, find out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively express.

For as the Children of *Shem* did inherit the Virtues of *Set*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*, so the Son of *Cham* did possess the vices of the Sons of *Cain* and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldeans* began, soon after the Flood, to ascribe Divine power and honour to the Creature, which was only due to the Creator. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phoenicians* did not only learn to leave the true God, but created twelve several Gods and divine powers, whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Heraclitus* saith, *Dundecim Deorum Nomen, id est nomina primi Aegyptii in usu habuisse, atque Graeci ab Aegyptiis illis cepisse mutatur, esseque prius Aera, & Insuper, & Tempa Diis, sibi creasse*; The *Egyptians* (saith he) first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the Greeks received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.

SECT. III.

That in process of time, these lesser errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the grofs Superstitions of the Egyptians.

BUT as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: so did these grofs and Blind Idolaters, every Age after other, descend lower and lower, and shrink and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortal men only, but they gave divine reverence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Air, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Passions and Affections of the Mind, to Paleness, Sickness, Sorrows, yea, to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, *Rhodus Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

G

Eodem

Gen. 14. 5. fr. of *Jofiah*, and of *David*, namely, the *Rephaim* in *Affrica* the *Zuzai*, or *Zanzumimis* in *Hani*, and the *Emim* which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moad*; whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims* which dwelt in *Hebron*: for they also were taken

*Bovem colit, ego Dei multo bovem.
Tu maximum Anquillum Deum putas: ego
Obfusiorum credidi sacrosissimum.
Carnes scissas tu cures, at gaudeo
His maxime: caven colit, quin verbero
Edentem ubi deprebendo fore obfusum.*

I sacrifice to God the Beef which you adore.
I broyl th' Egyptian Eccles, which you (as god) im-
plore:
You fear to eat the flesh of Swine; I find it
sweet.

You worship Dogs; to beat them I think meet,
When they may flout devout.

And in this manner Juvenal.

*Porcum, aut cepe, nefas violare aut frangere mosu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Namina!*

The Egyptians think it sin to root up, or to
bite

Their Leeks or Onions, which they serve with ho-
lly rite:

O happy Nations, which of their own sowing
Have store of gods in every Garden growing!

SECT. IV.

*That from the Relicks of ancient Records among
the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and
Fables were invented: and the first Jupiter
was Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain, &c.*

BUT in so great a confusion of Vanities, where a-
mong the Heathens themselves there is no agree-
ment or certainty, it were hard to find out from what
example the beginnings of these Inventions were bor-
rowed, or after what ancient Pattern they erected
their Building; were it not certain that the Egypti-
ans had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatso-
ever was done therein, partly from some Inscriptions
upon Stone or Metal remaining after the Flood; and
partly from Mizraim the Son of Cham, who had
learned the name of Cham, and Cham of his Fa-
ther Noah: For, all that the Egyptians write of
their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fal-
sed: and though other Nations after them had by imi-
tation their Jupiters also, their Saturns, Vulcans, and

Mercuries, with the rest, which St. Augustine out of
Varro, Eusebius out of many profane Histories; Ci-
cero, Diadema Stellas, Arnobius & many more have ob-
served to write; Phenicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greeks,
and other Nations, yet was Cain, the Son of Adam, (as
some very Learned men conceive) called and repu-
ted for the first and ancient Jupiter; and Adam
for the first Saturn: for Jupiter was said to have in-
vented the founding of Cities; and the first City of
the World was built by Cain, which he called Enoch,
of whom were the Henochites, before remembered. And
so much may be gathered out of Plato in *Protogoras*,
which also *Hymnus* in his 275 Chapter confirmeth.
For besides that many Cities were founded by divers
men: *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissi-
mo love adificatam*; yet the first and largest was built
by the first and most ancient Jupiter, seated in the East
parts, or in India, according to that of *Moses*: And
Cain dwelt towards the East-side of Eden, &c. where
also the Henochites were found after the Flood. And
therefore was Jupiter by the *Athenians* called *Polo-*

cus, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an Inco-
ler or Strengtheners of Cities) by *Phornutus* and *Pan-
sanius*; and that to Jupiter *Herceios*, there were in
very many places Altars and Temples erected.
And, that there were Cities built before the Flood,
Plato also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his
affirming, that, soon after Mankind began to in-
crease, they built many Cities; which, as his mean-
ing, he delivereth in plain terms in his third
Book of Laws: for he saith, That Cities were built
an exceeding space of time before the destruction by
the great Flood.

This first Jupiter of the *Ethiacks* was then the
same Cain, the Son of Adam, who marrying his own
Sister (as also Jupiter is said to have done) inhabited
the East, where *Sesephanus de Urbibus* placeth the City
Henochia. And besides this City of *Henoch*, *Philo Ju-
denus* conceiveth that Cain built fix others, as *Maich*,
Torid, *Telo*, *Jesfa*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*; but where *Phi-
lo* had this, I know not. Now, as Cain was the first
Jupiter, & from whom also the *Ethiacks* had the inven-
tion of Sacrifice: so were *Tubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubal-Cain*
(Inventors of Pastorage, Smith-craft, and Musick)
the same which were called by the Ancient prophane
Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollus*. And as there
is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*:
so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema*, or
Nasmath, the Sister of *Tubal-Cain*, to signifie *Venus*,
or beautiful, *Voluptas*, or pleasure; as the Wife of *Vulcan*,
is said to be *Venus* the Lady of pleasure & beauty. And
as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturn*; Cain, the
eldest Jupiter; *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Noema*, or *Nas-
math*, the first *Venus*: So did the Fable of the divi-
ding of the World between the three Brethren,
the Sons of *Saturn*, arise from the true Story of the
dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren,
the Sons of *Noah*: So also was the fiction of those
golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the
Serpent which tempted *Eva*: So was *Paradise* it
self transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made
the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the Prophecies, that
Christ should break the Serpents head, and conquer
the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of *Hercules*
killing the Serpent of *Hesperides*, and defending
into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: So out of the
taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the con-
version of their *Hermes* (the Inventors of Religion,
and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into
Stars and heavenly Signes, and (withal) that leav-
ing of the World, and ascension of *Astrea*: of
which *Orus*,

Ultima caelestium terras Astrea reliquit.

Astrea last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethiacks* would under-
stand Justice it self to have failed, as it is a virtue ab-
stract, and may be considered without a person; yet
as it is usual among the ancient Poets to describe
as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Lust
by *Venus*; so do they also the persons of men by like
Virtues and Vices: and therefore by Justice and
Astrea, *Enoch*; the Justice and Piety of *Enoch*, being
in the same manner express'd, as that of *Noah* was
by *Moses*: for *Noah* was said to be a just man: And
Noah walked with God. And of *Enoch* it is written,
That he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for
God took him away.

From this Story also of the first Age, and from
that part where *Moses* remembereth the Giants begot-
ten by the Sons of good men upon the Daughters of
the

Aug. l. 19.
c. 22. de Ci-
vitate Dei.
Euseb. l. 1.
de Prep.
Evangel. c. 7.
et l. 2.
c. 23.
Cic. l. 2.
de nat. Deo-
rum.
Arnob. 4.
contra
Gent.

Orid. lib.
1. 1.

Nat. con.
l. 2. c. 1.

Gen. 9.
Gen. 16.

the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they steal those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerful Giants; and again, their War undertaken against the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as *S. Augustine* termeth him. Which War of their Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth:

*Tentaverit (nisi) olim devorare mundo
Sydera, captivum Jovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & villo leges imponere caelo.*

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Against the Stars, to thrust them headlong down;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperial Crown,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, should bury them under the moisture of a second Flood, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it self. Also the making of Leagues, Peace and Covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Aeneid* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod. 24.* who, when he read the Book of the Covenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

We find also many remembrances of *Seib*, the paternal Ancestor of *Honch* and *Nab*, for *Amemphis* the same King of *Egypt* which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the Children of *Israel* (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his Son and Successeur *Seib*, of *Seib*: and of *Seib* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seibes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seib* most manifestly preserved, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seib*, as their most ancient Parent, and of the first Tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province *Seibetia*. We also find in *Bithynia* the City of *Seibia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Egyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kind of Theologie; though they scorned to acknowledg any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same names to their own Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

SECT. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters, and the strange Story of the third.

BUT of all those Armies of *Jupiters*, remembered by the Antients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who fought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Acther* and *Dier*, so called, because the one had reference to his Celestial conditions (for *ether* is as much as shining or pure fire;) the other discovered his natural virtues, which days and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the Son of *Calam* or

Heaven, for the same former respect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Aibent*.

The third, of whom all the *Grecian* Fables were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candia*), the Son of *Saturn* and *Opis*. The name derived from the Latine is taken out of *Jovans pater*, from the Greek word *Zeus*; it signifieth life, but somewhat strained. *Boetius* in his Genealogy of the Gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that Star had such a name before the time was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving and faithful, (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howsoever they were, or were not with those virtues enriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Surnames: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world (howsoever deferred) as the worthiest that ever were, acquired by their well-deservings. *Titus* omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The Antients called all Kings Jupiters, as *Tacitus* in his *varia historia* confirmeth; Reges olim Joves vocarunt omnes, In old times all Nations call'd their Kings Jupiters. But where this last and most remembered *Jupiter* was born, it is uncertain. Some there are, that make him of *Crete*: others, that he was but sent thither by his Mother *Opis*, or *Opis*, to *Nat. Com.* be fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: because it was conditioned between *Saturn* and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titan's* permission, he should put to death all his male Children, lest the *Titans* might be interrupted by any one of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturn* performed in his first-born, it is feigned that *Saturn* devoured his own children. Heretofore *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

*Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filius.*

Saturn to be the father is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*, *Sybill* also witnesseth in these words;

*Conceptis verbis, Titan jurare coegit
Saturnum, de se natum ne nutriat ullum,
Quod possint regnare, senis post fata, Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturn* swear
No Son to nourish, which by reigning might
Usurp the right of *Titan's* lawful heir.

But *Opis* the Mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Lysanias*) into *Crete*, as she did afterwards his two Brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnosus*, the chief City of that Island by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curretes*, a People and Nation thereof.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes* and a *Theban*: others call him an *Arcadian*; others make him of *Messina*. The like contention is found among the *Greeks* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirm that he was fed by *Hony-bees*: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God; others, that he was nourished by *Bears*: others, by *Goats*: and of all these the idle *Greeks* have many

pretty tales. But in the end, when *Titan* had knowledge that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he let on him, and took him and his wife prisoners, whom *Jupiter* again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the less powerful, fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdom in Greece to his Son. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many virtues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after he was once fettered, and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to pallardize and adultery, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by him as do ascribe the Actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the sin of *Sodom* with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not only begin with incest, marrying his own Sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame; *Niohe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphytrion*; by whom he had *Peleagus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Targete* he had *Targeteus*, of whom the Mountain *Targete* took name; with another Son called *Saon*, of whom *Saonias*; by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Cassio* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemnestra*; by *Danae*, *Perseus*; by *Jordana*, *Deucalion*; by *Charon* (the daughter of *Eubolus*) *Briemarin*; by *Protagene*, he had *Didorus* the Father of *Eudymion*; and by *yo* (the daughter of *Isachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Mempbis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus*, married *Lybia*, of whom that Country took name, for to the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He ravished *Aegina* the Daughter of *Alopus*, and carried her into the Island *Oenopia* or *Oenopia*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeneas*; by *Torribia* he had *Archeptus* and *Carbus*; by *Ora*, *Calceus*; he had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanius*, afterward *Troy* or *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talies*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Heacbus*. He had besides these (if they be not their chief god) *Phileus* and *Pilemnus*, inventors of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be Father to all these, who were born in Ages so far differing. And of these his several ravishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens Wives, Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Grecian forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monster *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Book *de natura Deorum* affirm, that he deserved nothing less; and in his Oration, *pro domitia*, reproacheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*). *Crete* is not solum natum apud se, & sepulchrum invenisse, sed etiam sepulchrum eius ostendunt; *The Crete*, or *Candian*, do not only avow that *Jupiter* was born and buried among them, but they show his Grave and Sepulchre: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Jupiter*. This, *Callimachus* in his *Hymns* also witnesseth; but, as offended thereat, faith thus:

The *Creteans* ever liars were, they care not what they say:

For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'st away.

Didorus Siculus tells by way of report from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as he faith) by some *Greek* Writers, that the original of these gods was from the Western parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantide* reigned one *Uranus* (which signifieth Heaven) called so, for his great skill in *Astrology*; and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives Forty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Tites*, he had Seventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name, the *Titanes*. Of *Tites*, likewise it is said, that the for her goodness was Canonized as a Goddess, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was styled Heaven. But of all the Children of *Tites*, her Daughter *Befilia* (which name founding as Queen in *English*, she is by the *Latine* Translator of *Didorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as far in virtue as in years, was by general consent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to husband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom she bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardsness of these children moved her Brethren to envy, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they took the Boy and drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Pot*. The loss of this child, caused his sister to break her own neck; and the loss of both her children, made the Mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, about the isle as if she had vanquished away. Here she died, her Son (as the Fable hath signified unto her in a Dream, that he and his sister, by the providence of God, should become immortal; that also the *Sun* and *Moon* should be called by their names, and that their death should be revenged upon the Murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withal held her self as a goddess; and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilst they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other Sons of *Uranus* divided the Kingdom. Of these, *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a Just and Wise Prince, deeply skill'd in *Astrology*; and, for invention of the *Spheres*, said to have supported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Hesperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was said to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in the midst of his contemplations; and his name, in honour of him, imposed by the people upon the morning Star. The seven Daughters of *Atlas* were also said to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or registered among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in quality to those that begot them. Of these it is held, that the Seven Stars called *Pleiades*, took name. *Saturn*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africa*, and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the Sons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten Sons, which he called *Curetes*: he called that *Island* after his Wives name, *Idea*; in which Isle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if these Fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturn* (as these *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keep his people in subjection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Flammion*, who reigned in some part of *Africa*. *Flammion* loving others as well as his wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, near

to

to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He also begot on *Anallibia*, a Son, called *Bacchus*, whom he cauled secretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nysa*, and *Island* in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain *Nymphs*. To *Anallibia* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in form like a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Anallibia's* plentiful Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these news, she fled from her Husband to her brother *Saturn*, who, not only entertained her as a sister, but took with him to wife, and at her instigation, made war upon *Flammion*, vanquished him by the assistance of the *Titan*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiter's* children before mentioned, held the *Island* at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Flammion*, after the name of *Crete* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to wife, and had with her (women, as may seem, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and many things else commodious for man-kind, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore, hearing report of all that had happened, and that *Saturn* was coming against him with the *Titan*; he leaved an Army, to which the *Amazons*, living not far from *Nysa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entered into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they set forward against *Saturn*, met him, and overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titan* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaved himself so well, that he won the love of all the people by whom he passed; in so much, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn's* rigorous Government, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Flammion*, he won a battel of *Saturn* before the very walls. After which, *Saturn*, with his Wife *Rhea*, fled by night, setting the Town on fire, to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entertained. *Saturn*

had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East-Countries; and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governour of the Country; but appointed unto him as an Over-seeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilst *Bacchus* travelled through all Nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titan* had found out his father *Flammion* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his sister *Minerva*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held gods, joining all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titan*, chased them, and slew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Flammion* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were Deified; and the great *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the World, having none of the *Titan* left alive, nor any other to disturb him. Between the tale of the *Libyan* gods, and many things else of *Ofiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true History. For the Expeditions of *Ofiris* and of *Bacchus*; the wars of the Giants in the one Story, of the *Titan* in the other; the Kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules* *Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the Cymbals of *Befilia*, with many pretty circumstances, nearly enough resemble each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniata* (as *English* cites him) would have all these to be *Phenicians*, and is earnest in saying, that it is a true Story, and no Allegory. Yet he makes it seem the more allegorical, by giving to *Uranus* or heaven for daughters, *Fate*, and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Didorus*, though *Didorus* have enough. To the Genealogie, he adds *Elius*, or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*, and among the children of *Uranus*, *Jupiter*, *Beilith*, and *Dagon* (whom *Didorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withal to *Uranus*, the proper name of *Terranus*, or *Indigena*, and of *Ilus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*.

English. l. 24. cap. 7.

The

And again the same Author,

Jupiter omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem;
Jupiter eff caput & medium: Jovis omnia munus.
Jupiter eff fundamen huius, & stellantis Olympi.
Jupiter & mas eff, & femina neficia moris.
Spiritus eff cunctis, validi vis Jupiter ignis.
Ex pelagi radices, Sol, Luna eff Jupiter iussu.
Rex & origo simul verum eff, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occidit, magno post nomine sacrum
Cor referant, vix in dulcem dedit oscula lucem.

The first of all is God, and the time last is he;
God is the head and middle, yea from him all things be.

God is the base of Earth, and of the starred Sky,
He is the Male and Female too, hath never die.

The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon,
and what is higher.

The King th' original of all, of all the end.

For close in holy breast he did all comprehend,
Whence all the blessed light, his wondrous power
did find.

Now (because these former testimonies) that all the Learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Grecians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Readers to those large and learned Collections of Joſeph Martyr, Clement, Lactantius, Eusebius, Eusebius, Pater, Plessier, Dureau, and others. For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these Attributes and Properties: *Bonus, iustus, sapiens, scilicet possidens, nihil, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodatus, immens, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* God, just, only, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, always doing good, just without fear, glorious, and self-charity. Epicharmus affirmed, That God who beheld all things, and pierced every Nature, was only and every where powerful: agreeing with Democritus: *Rex omnium ipse solus: He is the only King of kings:* And with Virgilus the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singula diversis secundum merita prebet:* One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best Artificer, who giveth to every thing diverse proceedings according to their deserts. This God (saith Aristotle) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known; *Nisi in patria illa perennet, cuius imaginem nullum habes:* Save only in that everlasting Country, whose image thou hast none at all. Herodotus also Xenophanes Celophrontes: *Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus similis;* There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals. And Xenophon, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potestque, quod omnibus patet: quali autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsis soli.* qui luce sua omnia perstruat; God who shaketh all things, and sheweth all things at rest, it great and mighty, as it manifest to all: but of what form he is, it is manifest to none. Save only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light. Finally, Plato saith, *Totius rerum generis, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, eternus animantium spiritus, officium mundi sui optime, sine propagatione genitor, regne luce, neque tempore nio comprehensio, eoque pauci cogitabili, nemini estis:* God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the Soul, the eternal preserver of living Creatures, the con-

tinual framer of his world, a begetter without any preparation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time, therefore he can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is. Therefore was it said by Saint Hieron, *Si cum cunctis Philosophorum rebus libris, necesse est ut in eis reperiamus partem non formam Dei sui, apud Platonem, fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud Leonem, Statorum Principem, inventum & immortalis animas, &c.* If thou consider all the Books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in Plato, God the Creator of the World: in Zeno, Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls, &c. And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgment; never any man, whose mind the Art of Education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are fober, and by a positive inspection satisfied; but that he hath found by an unresistible necessity, one true God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expressed, than that Egyptian Hermes, howsoever it failed afterward in his posterity: all being at length by devilish policy of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best forning (as the Devil perwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in awe and order their common people.

SECT. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.

BUT these are again vanished: for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal then themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshipped for a god, is except into every man's chimney, which the lack of Fuel harveth, Water quenched, and want of Air suffocated: Jupiter is no more vexed with Juno's jealousies: Death hath perwaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their stately Temples of Stone and durtful Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to Baal, can no where be found upon the Earth, nor any Monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to Diana. There are none now in Lybia, Grece, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from Jupiter. The great god Pan hath broken his Pipes, Apollo's Priests are become speechless; and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit Egyptians, and concurring Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his overthrows and dishonours: for after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of his chief Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the Eubœan Pirates: Secondly,

condly, by the Plegians utterly sack'd: Thirdly, by Pyrrhus the Son of Achilles: Fourthly, by the Army of Xerxes: Fifthly, by the Captains of the Phœnians: Sixthly, by Nero: who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of Nero and Constantine, the Christian Army made spoil of, despoiling as much as the time permitted them: notwithstanding all this, it was again gloriously re-built, and to remained till such time as Julian the Apostate sent thither to know the success of his Paganish enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of Apollo himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten down, and lost in the Earth.

The like success had the Jews in the same Julian's time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an Earthquake, and many Thousands of the Jews were overwhelmed with the Ruines, and others slain and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though Am. Marcellinus report it more favourably for the Jews, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Province of Judæa, being by Julian bailed in the re-edifying of that Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing near the foundation, and of confusing the Workmen, made the Enterprise frustrate.

SECT. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOW the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this World, (as in those dates) and being still as industrious as ever, finds

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's Flood.

SECT. I.

Of God's fore-warning: and some humane Testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's Flood.

OF this destruction it pleased God to give warning unto Noah: who (saith Josephus) fearing to perish among the rest, Decedens cum suis in aliam regionem migravit: he departed with his children, and travelled into another Region. And of these Giants from whom Noah withdrew himself, Berosus writeth in this manner: *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhuman and unnatural wickedness, and that they were contemptuous & religious: & doctum, contempters of Religion and of the gods:* Among which mighty men (saith Eusebius) was erat qui deorum venerantur, & grandioris tunc, hinc nomen erat Noah: There was one

more wise and reverencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was Noah: who with his three Sons, Sem, Japhetus, and Cham, and with their Wives, and the wife of Noah, (namely Tira the Great, Pandora, Noela, and Noela) perceived themselves in the Ark. This Ark God commanded Noah to prepare: And God said unto Noah, Make thee an Ark, & shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. For God made Noah to know, that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already fashioned in the Clouds, which soon after should swallow up and

H cover

as the Guts invaded that Province, in the year 1156.

SECT. V.

That the Flood of Noah was supernatural, though some say it might have been foreseen by the Stars.

Now, however all these Floods, and many other, which have covered at several times, several Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in America also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southwestern people) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that universal Flood (in the time of Noah) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especial commandment of God himself, who at that time gave strength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever union, could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, strength and faculties supernatural. Henricus Mechtinensis, a Scholar of Albertus Magnus, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Alma Mater*, observeth, that before the Flood of Noah, the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the last degree of Cancer; that conflagration, since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Flood of Noah might be foretold, because Cancer is both a watry Sign, and the House of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of Astronomy, and common experience. And this opinion *Peirus de Aliaco* upon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, That although Noah did well know this Flood by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second cause thereof: for those were not only signs, but also working causes, by strength receiv'd from the first cause, which is God himself. And further, that by *Cataractæ* *Calis*, signified the Windows of Heaven *Myser* meant this great and watry Conjunction; the word *Cataractæ*, signifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (both *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the Heavens such a Conflagration, by which all men might be hild therein their destruction towards, and therefore forsoke those wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgment was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who understood, that the words *Cataractæ Calis*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for those watry signs, Cancer, *Pisces*, *Pleides*, *Hyades* and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the Moon: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His own words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetiam Hebraicam Cataractas Calis vocasse, nisi partes illas cali, que generative sunt pluviarum & inundationum sunt Aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c. alio modo.* At yet (saith he) I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrews meant by those words (*Cataractæ Calis*, or Windows of Heaven) unless he thereby understood those celestial powers, by whose influences are ingendered the rain and inundations of waters, which are the watry signs of Cancer, &c.

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable wisdom this Con-

junction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) add vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of virtus, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to exit out the whole treasure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condensing ay into water by the ministry of his Angels, or whoever else best pleased his All-powerfulness.

SECT. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the universal Flood: And what are Cataractæ Calis, Gen. 7. v. 11.

Now, if it be objected, That God doth not create any thing of new; (for God refted the seventh day; that is, he did not then after create any new species) which granted, it may seem that then all the Earth and Ay had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen Cubits above the highest Mountains. Of this Proposition, whether God had so refrained himself, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent, (which is) that the World had want of Water to overcover the highest Mountains. I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish: for it is written, *That the Fountains of the great deep were broken up*, (that is) the waters forsook the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced, and brake through the face thereof. Then let us consider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thousand miles, the Diameter of the Earth, according to that circle, seven thousand miles, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center*, were three thousand five hundred miles. Take then the highest mountain of the World, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia*, or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tennessy*, and I do not find, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deep, should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixteen times: for, the Fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ay over and above it, we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ay, as every where compasseth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ay into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seem strange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (God so pleading) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Laffly, For the opinions of *Conzelmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliaensis*, to which I may add *Berosus*, and others, That such a conjunction there was fore-seeing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Cataractæ Calis*, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the gravell *Alloglossum* it was observed, that in the year 1524, there should happen the like conjunction as at Noah's Flood; than which (saith he) there was never

never a more fair, dry, and favourable year: The like destruction was prophesied, of the year 1588. But *Picus* of *Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mystic in the word *Cataractæ Calis*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Myser* using the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the fence of the word) to express the violence of the Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For whatsoever hath seen those fallings of Water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a restless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Myser* did: That the Windows, or Flood-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That Waters fell contrary to custom, and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost air, and the Waters fell in abundance: *Bibbald* (says *Job*) be withheld the Waters, and they dry up; (or better in Latin, *Et aquas fecantur*; And all things are dried up) but when he loosed them out, they destroy the Earth: And in the 26 Chapter: He bindeth the waters in the clouds. But these Beasts God looked at that time of the general Flood, and called up the Waters which slept in the great Deep; and the joyning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the work of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their dark and vault Caves; and the reit (by a Wind) varied again into air, formerly condensed into drops.

SECT. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of Noah among the Heathen.

Noah, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entered the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, seven of the clean and of the unclean, two. Noah, according to *Philo*, signifieth Quietness: after others, and according to the Prophecies of his Father *Lamech*, Cessation; to whom afterwards gave many Names, answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virtue, and other qualities: as, *The first Oyger*, because in the time of the Grecian *Ogyges*, there was also a great Flood of *Achaia*; *Saturn* there was also a great Flood of the Father of Nations: others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiter* fire: Fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the Name of *Janus* (id est) *Vincis*, because *Janus* signifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* finds him written in *libri Ritualibus*, in the Book of Ceremonies, preceding both *Saturn*, *Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest feigned gods. And this Name *Janus* is taken from the Hebrew and Syriac, and not from the Latine Nation, or any Kingdom by that Name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this testimony: *Janus erat nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pellentibus nondum bellorum regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & Feri primis populis docuit Janus ad sacrificia: primus enim Arat & Pomaria & Sacra docuit; In the time of Janus (saith he) there was no Monarchy: for the desire of rule had not then folded it self about the hearts of men. Janus*

first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meat: he first jet up Altars, signified Gardens, and solitary Groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among all the Heathen, which in all agrees so well with the Scriptures. For hith, whilst *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that took on him sovereign Authority. Secondly, *Noah*, after the Flood, was the first that planted the Vine, and became an Husband-man; and therefore offered of the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meal. Thirdly, he was the first that raised an Altar, and offered sacrifices: God a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness toward him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the Flood. *Quia praeferat novitatem, & futura prospexit*, saith *Arnobius*: *Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come.* He was also in the pecton of *Janus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, The seed of the World: because, as out of that confused heap was drawn all the kinds of Beasts and Plants; so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whercof *Ovid* in the pecton of *Janus*:

Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant: Affice quia longi temporis astra cano!

The Antients call'd me *Chaos*: my great years By thole old times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intitled *Caelum* and *Sol*, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Apollodorus* follow, but because he was the restorer of the Greeks to their former liberty, but in respect of the Flood. For the Greeks called *Liber* *Janus* and his Nurses *Hyades*, of Rain, because *Noah* entered the Ark when the Sun joynd with the Stars *Hyades*, a conflagration in the Bow or Neck of *Taurus*; & ever after a Monument of Noah's Flood. He was also by others surnamed *Trinus*, a Marine god, the Son of *Neptunus*; because he lived in safety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of *Dionysus*, *Phrygiæ*, *Eleusis*, *mentem pinguetis*, *l. 9. v. 19.*

Bacchus, or *Wine-god*; though *Dionysus* conceived otherwise, and denoted that Name a *Patre & Leos*; Of his Father and the place of his Birth, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Nysa*, a Town of *Arabia felix*, *Calais*, *faith Suidas*, out of *Orpheus*. He had also the title name of *Taurus*, or *Taurapagus*; because he brought yoked Oxen, and Tilled the ground: according to that of *Myser*; and *Noah* became an Husbandman. Now howsoever the Grecians vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more antiently *Bacrus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Suidas*, and *Strabo* in out him *Dionius*) from *Noachus*, (N) being changed into (B); and it is more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Flood: and of *mundi* *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all thole *ant.*

his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysus*, of the Mountain *Nysa* in *India*; where the Grecian *Bacchus* never came; whatsoever themselves give his enterprises; and thole Mountains of *Nysa* joyne with thole of *Paropamisus*, and thole other Eastern Mountains.

dible) if these Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54 foot in height, and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* been nine foot long, and far weightier and bigger than all *David's* body, who carried it away.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth, and three of height) reached the length of 27 foot upright, and to most their Priests have ascended by ladders or to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to God's Commandment, given in these words: *Thou shalt not go up with steps into mine Altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon;* and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make four foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the Ordinary Cubit of one foot and an half, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubleless) might give much the more capacity to the Ark; although it be also probable, that as the men were, so were the Horses wherewith they rode, and all other Creatures of a correspondent size. And yet, (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whiter the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct species of Animals, whose lives cannot be preferred in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessel of those dimensions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the days of *Noah*, might have room sufficient in the Ark, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of Creatures to be saved, (that is, seven of the clean, two of the unclean, with necessary food) might have place in the Ark, *Burke* hath very learnedly declared: the brief sum of whole discourse to that purpose, is this: *The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, sheweth the whole Capacity to have been 450000.* Now, whereas the polls, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500 cubical Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek room for 89 distinct Species of Beasts, (or (left any should be omitted) for 100 several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them; and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the reit may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to four Beeves, one Lion to two Wolves, and so of the reit. Of Beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number only three are clean, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entered into the Ark, namely, three couples for breed, and one odd one for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, so that in all there

were in the Ark one and twenty great Beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largeness as ninety one Beeves; yet for a supplement (left perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the Ark six and twenty kinds, estimable, with good allowance for supply, as fourscore Sheep. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threecore and four Wolves. All these two hundred and eighty Beasts might be kept in one story or room of the Ark, in their several Cabins; their meat in a second: the Birds and their provision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his Family, and all their necessities.

SECT. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucasus) between the East-Indies, and Scythia.

§ I.

A Proposition of some Questions left material: with a Note of the use of this Question to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

What time *Noah* took to build the Ark, I leave to others to dispute; but he received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell, and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, *Saint Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversy: or, whether those Creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alligators*) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Horses, were kept in the Ark, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-Pool might be made as well within the Ark, as in *Hier* his Ship of *Synance*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who suppose that the Ark was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfy myself and others in, is, in what part of the World the Ark rested after the Flood: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the Seat of the Terrestrial Paradise, and the resting of the Ark) do only and truly reach the World's Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Flood; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

§ II.

A Proposal of the common opinion, that the Ark rested upon some of the Hills of Armenia.

And first, for the true place where the Ark rested after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travelled to their first

first settlement and plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led to think out of any Humour, or newness of opinion, or singularity; but do herein ground my self on the original and first truth, which is the Word of God, and after that upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *That the Ark rested upon one of the Mountains of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean* *Targum* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the Hills *Gordae*, or *Gordie*, in Armenia the greater, (as the words *Gordae*, and *Kardu*, seem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are: I find neither Scripture nor Reason which teacheth any such thing (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater Armenia. *Nicolas Damascenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Barris*; being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the *Friar Arinus* (citing this place out of *Josephus*) makes him find another adjoining, called *Oetla*, and to say that the Ark (of which *Moses* the Law-giver of the *Hebrews* wrote) did first take ground on this *Oetla*. But I do not find any such Mountain in being, as this *Oetla*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Josephus*. *Strabo* remembereth a Promontory in *Asia* *Felix* of that name; and *Pliny* finds a *Mart-Town* so called in the same, which *Ptolemy* calls *Oetla*, *Petrus Aegla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Oetla* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the Armenian Mountains, *Berosus* calls those Mountains of *Ararat*, *Gordie*; and *Curtius*, *Gordae*; *Ptolemy*, *Gordae* and *Gordie*; of which the Country next adjoining is, by this *Nicolas Damascenus*, called *Nymada*, perhaps (as *Beatus* conjectures) for *Milyada*, or rather *Minni*: which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seems to be compounded of this word *Minni* and *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Pliny* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Caryder* about these Mountains, whom others call *Gordani* or *Gordeni*. The Mountains are rated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the Plains of *Armenia* the great, near the Lake *Thospis*: whence the River of *Tygris* floweth in 75 degrees of longitude, and 41 & 52 degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, *Gordie*, (that which furnormeth the reit) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Josephus*. Which name (*saith Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noah's* coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event: seeing any Hill from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Josephus* *Antiquities* (*Kubaris*). That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Joseph*, l. i. c. 4. says, the place is called *Anticartaeus*, (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphanius* lib. i. *cont. Hares*: calls it *Asop*, which word in the Armenian and Egyptian Tongue signifieth Descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a Synagogue, because it was commonly built on some high place: whence of also the *Latine Delubrum* may seem to be derived, and *Alti* 6. 9. they that belonged to the Synagogue of the Egyptians are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra* tenu. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise

rightly be given, especially to that Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair up and down unto it, than to any of the reit adjoining.

§ III.

The first Argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as Armenia.

BUT there are many Arguments to persuade me, that the Ark of *Noah* did not rest it self in any part of *Armenia*, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Barris*, nor any one of the *Gordian* Mountains.

For the first: It is agreed by all who follow *Berosus*, that it was in the year 130, or in the year 131. after the Flood, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward call'd *Babylonia*, *Chus*, and *Chaldeae*. If then the Ark had first found Land in *Armenia*, it is very improbable, that the Children of *Noah*, which came into that Valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was only intercurrent, which might by easy Journeys have been pass'd over in twenty days; and to hasten and help which passage, the Navigable River of *Tygris* offered it self, which is every where transpassible by Boats of great burthen: so as where the Defart on the one side redified their expedition, the River on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of them, where the Ark of *Noah* was first supposed to settle it self: Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* did doubt the surprize of a second Flood (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it foundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and over-blown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Rivers which imbroider or compass it: for the effects witnesseth their afflictions; and the works which they undertook, their unbelief: being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared Inundation. Now, at *Babel* it was, that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first known City of the World, founded after the Flood, about 131. years, or (as others suppose) ten years later: though (for my self) I rather think that they undertook that work in two respects: First, to make themselves famous, *To get us a name* (saith the Text: Gen. 10. 12) Secondly, thereby to usurp Dominion over the reit.

§ IV.

The second Argument; That the Eastern People were most ancient in poplosity, and in all humane glory.

FOR a second Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah's* taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing, and Artillery (among many other things which in

Fred. 20.
26.

Gen. 8. 4.

John 51.
27.

Nat. Hist.
l. 5. c. 12.

Joseph. de
Antiq. l. 1.
c. 4.

Beros. l. 1.

Gen. 10. 12
Beros. l. 1.

East had) may easily persuade us, that those Sun-
rising Nations were the most ancient. The cer-
tainty of this report, that the East Indians (time
out of mind) have had Guns and Ordnance of
battery, confirmed by the Portuguese and others,
make us now to understand, That the place of
Philistrus in *vita Apollonii Tiani*, 1.2. c.14. is no
fable, though expressed in fabulous words: when
he saith, that the wife men, which dwell between
Hypasus and *Ganges*, use not themselves to go forth
into Battle: but that they drive away their Enem-
ies with Thunder and Lightning sent from *Jupi-
ter*. By which means there it is said, that *Hercules*
Aegyptum and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were
defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there call-
way his golden Shield. For the invention of Let-
ters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because
he brought them first into Greece: of which the
people (then rude and savage) had reason to give
him the honour, from whom they received the be-
nefit. But it is true, that Letters are no less anti-
ent than *Seth* or *Enoch* were: for they are said to
have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remem-
bered) long before the Flood. But from the Eastern
World it was that *John Gutenberg* a Germane,
brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus*
being instructed, brought the practice thereof
to Rome; and after that *Nicolaus Gersan* a French-
man, bettered both the Letters and Invention.
And notwithstanding that this Mystery was then
supposed to be but newly born, the Chinese had Let-
ters long before either the Egyptians or Plorentians;
and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greeks
had neither any civil knowledge, or any Letters a-
mong them.

And, that this is true, both the Portuguese and
Spaniards have witnessed, who about an hundred
years since discovered those Kingdoms, and do
now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the Chi-
nese account all other nations but salvages in re-
spect of themselves.

And to add strength to this argument, the con-
quest and story of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be con-
sidered to witness, who found more Cities and sumptuous
in that little Kingdome of *Persia*, which lay side
by side to the East India, than in all his other tra-
vails and undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time,
learning and greatness had not travelled so far to
the West as Rome. *Alexander* esteeming of Italy
but as a barbarous Country, and of Rome as of a
Village. But it was Babylon that stood in his eye,
and the fame of the East pierced his ears. And if
we look as far as the Sun-riding, and hear *Paulus*
Frontinus what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle
and Island thereof, we shall find that those Nations
have lent out, and not borrowed it from the
West. For the farther East (to this day) the more
civil: the farther West, the more Salvages. And
of the Isle of Japan (now *Zippangus*) *Venetus* mak-
eth this report: *Incolae religioni, littere, & sapientia*
sunt additissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi:
nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) fa-
vis in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem,
unum Deum adorant: The Islanders are exceedingly
addicted to religion, letters, and philosophy, and most
diligent teachers out of truth: there is nothing among
them more frequent than prayer, which they use in their
Churches, after the manner of Christians: They ac-
knowledge one King, and worship one God. The anti-
quity, magnificence, civility, riches, sumptuous
buildings, and police in government, is reported to
be such by those who have been employed in
those parts, as it seemeth to exceed (in those for-

merly named, and divers other particulars) all o-
ther Kingdoms of the World.

II. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderful re-
sistance which Semiramis found in the East
Indies,

But for a third argument, and also of a treble
strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of *Semi-*
ramis before the indifferent and advised Reader:
who may consider in what Age she lived, and how
soon after the Worlds new birth she gathered her
Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth)
of more than three millions to invade India, to
which he adjoyned also 500000. Horses; and
100000. Waggon: whereof if we believe but a
third part, it shall suffice to prove that India was
the first planted and peopled Country after the
Flood. Now as touching the time wherein she liv-
ed: All Historians consent that she was the Wife
of *Nimrod*, and the most approved Writers agree,
that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Ni-*
rod, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Chus*, *Cush*, of
Cham, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as
Nimrod came to Shinar, he was then a great Na-
tion, as by the building of the City and Tower of
Babel may appear; and being then so multiplied
and increased, the two defuncts cast between *Ni-*
rod and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those
multitudes, whereof her Army was composed.
Let us then see with whom she encountered in
that War with this her powerful Army: even
with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling
her own, conducted by *Stannabates* King of India
beyond Indus: of whose multitudes this is the
witness of *Diod.*, *Siculus*; *Staurabates* *castris* *ma-*
joribus, quam quae erant Semiramidis, copis: *Staur-*
abates gathering together greater Troops than those of
Semiramis. If then these numbers of Indians had
been increased but by a Colony sent out from *Shi-*
naar (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no
doubt took some time in the performance) this in-
crease in the East, and this Army of *Stannabates* may
have been made of easily, or somewhat else by mi-
racle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* ga-
thered might easily grow up in that time, from so
great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into
Babylonia (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in
the Story of *Iffat*) so could not any such time, by
any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies
of men as were in the Indian Army Victorious over
Semiramis, if the Colonies lent thither had been so
late as *Babel*, overturned, and the confusion of Lan-
guages. For if we allow 65. years time after the
Flood, before *Nimrod* was born: of which, thirty
years to *Cash* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had
thirty years to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *De-*
dan, both which were before *Nimrod*: and
five years to his five elder Brothers, which make
fifty five, and then twice thirty years for two Ge-
nerations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba*, and *De-*
dan with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third
Generation might grow up, which makes in all an
hundred twenty five years; there will then remain
six years to have been spent in travelling from the
East, ere they arrived in *Shinar*, in the year after
the Flood 131. And to the followers of *Nimrod*
might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those
which

Gen. 10.7.

which make him to have arrived at *Shinar* in the
year 101. and the Confusion to have been at *Pel-*
egis birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget
whole Nations without the help of time; and
build *Nimrod's* Tower in the Ayr; and not on those
low and marish grounds (which require flood founda-
tions) in the Plains of *Shinar*. For except that
huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no
confusion in that year 101. or at *Pelgis* birth. And
therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped
Regal authority in the 131. year after the Flood
(according to *Berosus*) and that the Work of *Babel*
lasted forty years (according to *Glycon*). *Humanus*
in perforandis totis 40. annis incalsum Laborantibus:
Men labouring in vain 40. years to finish it. By
which account it falls out that it was 170. years af-
ter the Flood, ere a Colony was sent into East India;
which granted, (the one being the main Body, and
the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly
be believed that *Stannabates* could have exceeded
Semiramis in numbers: who being then Emperors of
all that part of the World gathered the most of Na-
tions into one body.

II. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considera-
tions in the person of Noah.

Fourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who
knew the World before the Flood, and had
lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all
that space 130. years after the Flood without any
certain habitation: No, it will fall out and better a-
gree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the con-
ductor of those people, by *Noah* defined and appointed
to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth
and the Western World; (which Travails *Noah*
put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah*
himself, then covered with many years, planted him-
self in the same place which God had assigned him;
which was, where he first came down out of the
Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after
Noah came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vine-
yard, and became a Husbandman, whose business was
to dress and manure the Earth, and not to range
over to many parts of the World, as he even *Armenia*
into *Arabia Felix*, where he should (if the Traditi-
on be found) have left certain Colonies: thence
into *Africa* towards *Triton*: then into *Spain* where
they say he found other companies, and built Ci-
ties after the names of *Noela* and *Nogla* his Sons
Wives: from thence into Italy, where they say he
found his Son *Cham* the Saturn of Egypt, who had
corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his ab-
sence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story)
had patience for three years; but finding no amend-
ment, they say he banished him out of Italy. There
be but the fancies of *Berosus Armenius*, a plain imi-
tation of the Grecian fables. For let every reason-
able man conceive, what it was to travel far in such
a Forest as the World was, when after so great a
rotting of the Earth by the Flood; the same lay wast
and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and where
in there could hardly be found either part or passage
through which men were able to creep for Woods,
Bushes, and Bryars, that in those years were grown
up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *No-*
ah never came into the Valley of *Shinar*, as we need
not suspect his passage into Italy or Spain: For *No-*

ah who was Father of all those Nations, a man re-
verenced both for his Authority, Knowledge, Expe-
rience and Piety, would never have permitted his
children and issues to have undertaken that un-
believing presumptuous work of *Babel*. Rather by
his presence and prevalent persuasions he would
have bound their hands from so vain labours, and
by the authority which he received from God
himself, he would have held them in that awful
subjection, as whatsoever they had vainly conceived
or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the
personal commandment of him, who in the begin-
ning had a kind of Regal authority over his chil-
dren and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well,
that the former destruction of man-kind was by
themselves purchased through cruelty and disobe-
dience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up
buildings against his Almighty power, was as much
as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon
them the same, if not a more sharp affliction.
Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he
came so far West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he
sent those numbers which came into *Shinar* (being
the greatest part of the World to plant) under *Ni-*
rod, or those upon whom he usurped. *Nauclerus*,
and *Calistophorus*, take the testimony of *Melchiodus* Bi-
shop of Tyre for current, that there were three Lea-
ders of the people after their increase (to wit) *Ni-*
rod, *Saphene*, and *Syl-Bas*, of which *Nimrod* com-
manded the issues of *Chus*, *Chus* of *Sem*, and *Sa-*
phene of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of,
although I will not doubt, but that so great a work
as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected
without order and conduct.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Jethan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*,
are especially noted to have dwelt in the East-India.
The rest of *Sem's* issues had also the Regions of
Persia, and the other adjoining to *Indus*, and held
also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* in-
habited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and
whether they were of the Sons of *Jethan*, or of all
the rest a certain number (*Cham* and his issue only
excepted) that *Noah* kept with himself, it cannot
be known. Of which Plantation I shall speak at
large in the Chapter following.

Now, another reason which moves me to believe
that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those
that came into *Shinar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in
any word make mention of *Noah* in all the Story
of the Hebrews, or among any of those Nations
which contended with them. And *Noah* being the
Father of all man-kind, and the chosen servant of
God, was too principal a Person, to be either for-
gotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of
his age and wearisome experience of the World)
withdrawn himself, and rested a-part with his best
Beloved, giving himself to the service and contem-
plation of God and heavenly things, after he had
directed his children to their destined portions.
For he landed in a warm and fertile field, where
he planted his Vineyard, and dressed the Earth; after
which, and his thanksgiving to God by sacrifice, he
is not remembered in the Scriptures, because he was
so far away from those Nations of which *Moses*
wrote: which were the Hebrews chiefly, and their
enemies and borders.

SECT. VII.

Of the senseless opinion of Annius the Commentator upon Berosus, who finds divers places where the Ark rested; as the Caspian and Gordian Hills, which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some places of Scythia.

It remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of Friar Annius, who in his Commentaries upon Berosus and others, labourerth marvelously to prove that the Ark of Noah rested upon the Armenian Mountains called Caspiis, which Mountains separate Armenia from the upper Media, and do equally belong to both. And because all his Authors speak of the Mountains of Gordia, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting these far-distant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with errors, which have carefully over-seen, Printed, and Published Ptolemy's Geography, in which they are altogether differed. For that last Edition of Mercator sets these Hills five degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we look into those more ancient Copies of *Vilamantus*, and others, we shall find nothing in them to help Annius withal: for in those the Mountains Caspii stand seven degrees to the East of the Gordia, which makes 420. miles. And for those Authors by whose authority Annius strengtheneth himself,

Scythia mankind was restored after the great Flood 250. years before *Ninus*: and in part utterly destroyed his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*; as, In Scythia *Saga renatum morale genus*. In Scythia *Saga*, mankind was restored: he therefore in the Prologue of his Commentary upon Berosus, leaveth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *bonis* in Scythia *salvatus*. For Scythia *Saga*, or *Sace*, is undoubtedly under the Mountains of *Parapamisus*, on which, or near which it is most probable that the Ark first took ground: and from those East parts (according to *Myler*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Sinear* Gen. 11. 2. or *Babylonia*.

But now, the best authority which Annius hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read that the Scythians were originally *Armenians*, taking name as Scythia *Rege eorum*, from Scythia their King. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his fallhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approved and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulatorum Scytharum*. The Scythians *Fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that work, giveth this Title to that very Chapter; *Scytharum origo & fides fabula*. The original and fables of the Scythians, a *Fable*. And (indeed) there needs no great proof hereof, since *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate Scythia *Saga*, or *Sace*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the Scythians *Sace*; which *Pliny* confirms: for in respect that these *Sace* (saith *Pliny*) are the Scythians next to the *Persians*, therefore they gave all the rest that name. Now, that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man believeth. But this supposed *Scythia Araxen* in Armenia lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Sace*; and the Country about *Araxen* *Ptolemy* calleth *Caspia*, and *Sedone*, and *Sacepote*, without any mention of Scythia at all: and yet all those which are, or were reputed Scythians either within *Imaus*, or without, to the number of 100. several Nations, are by *Ptolemy* precisely set down.

But, to come to those latter Authors, whereof some have written, others have seen a great part of those North-East Regions, and searched their Antiquities with great diligence: *Fir*, *Marinus Niger* boundeth Scythia within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for Scythia without these Mountains, is also beyond our purpose) Scythia inter *Imaum montem* ea est, *una propria vocatibus Gassaria* hoc tempore dicitur: ab *Oxiana* *Sarmatia* *Asiatica*: ab *Oriente* *Sagis*, *Sagdi*, *an*, *Margianis*, usque ad *Oxam* in *Hypericum mare* exentis; & parte ipsius maris hinc usque ad *Rha* *fuminis* ostia terminatur: Scythia within the Mountain *Imaus*, is that part of the World which in their own speech is at this time called *Gassaria*; and the same is bounded on the West-side by *Sarmatia Asiatica*, (or of *Asia*) on the East, by the *Imaum Mountains*: on the North, by unknown Lands: on the South, by the *Sacer* (which are the *Sace*) the *Sogdiani*, and the *Margiani*, to the mouth of *Oxus*, falling into the *Hyrcan Sea*, and by a part of the same *Sea* to the mouth of *Rha*. *Rha*, Now *Volga*.

Now, if *Niger* lets all *Sarmatia Asiatica* to the West of Scythia, then *Sarmatia* (que magna sunt Regio est, & que innumeras nationes comprehendit, *Asia* fide) which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable nations, saith *Niger* much of it being between Scythia and Armenia, doth sufficiently warrant us, that Armenia

Armenia can be no part of Scythia; and to make it more plain, he differeth *Sarmatia* it self from a part of Armenia, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand bound of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of Scythia.

And for *Pandus Venerus*, he hath not a word of Armenia; neither doth his fellow Friar *Juba Flaccus* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of Scythia) make mention of Armenia; neither doth *Haymyn*, an Armenian born of the blood of those Kings (though afterwards a Monk) ever acknowledge himself for a *Tartarian*, or of the Scythian Races descended: though he writ that story at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandment of Pope Clement the fifth) in the year 1307. published.

Neither doth *Matthias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born, and that travelled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, find Armenia any way within the compass of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose Travels are extant) hath observed so much of those Regions as he hath done: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he bewaith that ancient and received opinion, That out of the Mountains, *Rhiphei*, and *Hyperborei* in Scythia, spring the Rivers of *Tanis* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; proving by unanswerable experience, that there are no such Mountains in *verum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of those famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Moscovia* known to every Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, woody, and marshy grounds. The River of *Tanis* or *Don*, twelfth to the South of the City *Tulla*, some twenty English miles, out of a Lake called *Imanensis*, in the great Wood *Odeniskitler*, or *Seiphanotler*. *Volga*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Pronom*, in the great Wood *Vodkuzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *SyrDhenus* (now *Nipper*) and *Djuna* or *Diviana*. And this learned *Possian* doth in this fort bound the European *Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia* of Europe are the Regions of *Russiani*, *Lithuanians*, *Moscovians*, and those adjoining bounded on the West by the River of *Vissa*, the Name per chance mis-printed *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a River which parts *Germania* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East-border he nameth *Tanis*, or *Don*, *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from Europe by the same River of *Tanis*, and the *Caspian Sea*, to withhold it from stretching further East: the *Asian* *Sarmatia* being that part of Scythia which *Ptolemy* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: Scythia within the Mountain *Imaum*. And the same *Matthias Michon* further affirmeth, that the Scythians (which Friar *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it self above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: these be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem novam, & adventitiam a partibus Orientis* (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis *Asie Sarmatiam* ingressam: It is manifest (saith he, speaking of the Scythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entered into Asia, & gat new settlements a little more than 300. years before (indeed) before that time the *Goths* or *Goths* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was Printed at *Augusta* in the year 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East; for

in the East it was, that the Ark of Noah rested, and the Scythians were those people which lived at the North foot of those Mountains, of *Taurus*. And were there no other testimony than the general description of the Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolemy*, it is plain, that between all parts of Armenia, and Scythia, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian Sea*: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth Armenia, there are (indeed) a Nation of Scythians (called *Araxes*) between *Jaxartus* and *Tanis*, but what are these Scythians to any *Araxes*, or *Scythia Araxen*, which *Annius* placeth in Armenia, more than the Scythians of Europe?

§. VIII.

The fifth Argument; The Vine must grow naturally near the place where the Ark rested.

To this if we add the consideration of this part of the Text, *Thou Noah planted a Vineyard*, Gen. 9. 20. we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or *Rapin* did not grow naturally in that part of Armenia, where this resting of the Ark was supposed: for it were a stranger in Italy and France, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in Armenia, being a far colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into France, and *Saturnus* into *Latinum*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded Italy, there were few or no Vines in France. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained between the *Pyrenae* and the *Alpes* near unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they druck the vine, which was first brought them out of Italy; and after they tasted thereof, they halted to inhabit that Country, which brought forth such pleasant Fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in France, but from Italy brought thither: as by *Saturn* from else-where into Italy.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* travelled not far to seek out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembered, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thanksgiving to God; and wherefore the Ark rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear, that he travelled far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husbandman, and not a wanderer.

§. IX.

An answer to an Objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from whence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of Noah came together into *Sinear*; doth not appear, saving that it may be inferred out of these words (from whence) because it is written: So that the Lord scattered them [from whence] upon all the Earth; which hath no other

Ptol. tab. Asia, 3.

Diod. lib. 3.

Cato de orig. prim.

Plin. l. 3. tit. 14.

L. 6. tit. 6.

Tib. lib. 7. & 6.

Rha, Now Volga.

Gen. 2. Asia fide.

472.

*At morden
dum flexa
nephisa
pars flexa
circulatis
pote Ensi
aliq in
quid co
nacti fluiti
vide titu
olis de
dista Col
cis, Iberi
Albanis
in litter
lyrici
maris pro
vinci.
Sue. lib.
lib. 30.*

Sig. Her.

*Cross
callet
this River
Willas
Niger Ox
varians,
Pon. Asia
Vistula
& Plo. Vi
filius.*

other fence, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were then dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybillis* (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Sbinar* for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum curam adificatum altissimum, quasi per eam Cælum efficeretur: Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.*

¶ X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the height of the Hills there.

BUT before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Ark of Noah was forsaken by the waters on the Mountains of Armenia. For the Text hath only these words: *The Ark rested on* (or upon) *the Mountains of Ararat, or Armenia*, faith the Marginal Note of the Geneva: the Chaldee Paraphrast calls it *Kardu*; of which, the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, faith Epiphanius. Now this *Ararat* (which the Septuagint do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a Mountain of Armenia; because Armenia it self had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Ark first late thereon.

Neither these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of Armenia alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountains of equal stature to many other Mountains of the World, and yet it doth not follow, that the Ark found the highest Mountain of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered before Noah came out of the Ark. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the *Sybillis* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the Ark lay, said after the Flood. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia* and not Armenia: they are placed where the City of *Colones* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description the maketh mention of *Merisus*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it self with the River *Meander*, which is far from the *Gordian* Mountain in Armenia. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between Armenia and Parthia, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of *Cæron* (by others *Kairon* and *Arnor*, he called by) they are placed where the City of *Colones* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description the maketh mention of *Merisus*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it self with the River *Meander*, which is far from the *Gordian* Mountain in Armenia. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between Armenia and Parthia, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of *Cæron* (by others *Kairon* and *Arnor*, he called by) they are placed where the City of *Colones* was afterward built.

For the best Cosmographers, with other, that have seen the Mountains of Armenia find them far inferior, and under-set to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elsewhere: as the Mountain *Atlas* between Macedonia and Thracia, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Idus*, (faith *Cassiodorus*) is far surpassing any Mountain that ever hath been seen in Armenia: for it calleth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seven and thirty miles and upwards: of which *Plinarch*, *Atlas* admodum latera Lemnia vocat: *Plin. Arch. Cæsa.*

¶ XI.

Of *Caucasus*, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

FOR the best Cosmographers, with other, that have seen the Mountains of Armenia find them far inferior, and under-set to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and elsewhere: as the Mountain *Atlas* between Macedonia and Thracia, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Idus*, (faith *Cassiodorus*) is far surpassing any Mountain that ever hath been seen in Armenia: for it calleth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seven and thirty miles and upwards: of which *Plinarch*, *Atlas* admodum latera Lemnia vocat: *Plin. Arch. Cæsa.*

that shadoweth the Cow of *Lenius*. Also the Mount of *Olympus* in *Thessalie*, is said to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of *Antandrus* in *Myris*, not far from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamander* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a far more admiration than any in Armenia, and may be seen from *Constantinople*. There are also in *Armenia* near the Sea, the famous Mountains of *Ararat*, of which *Herodotus*: Extat in hoc mari *Mus*, cui nomen *Ararat*, it a sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non possint: Upon this Coast there is a Mountain called *Ararat*, whose height is said to be such as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top thereof. And if we may believe *Aristotle*, then are all these inferior to *Caucasus*, which he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucasus Mons omnium latissimus, qui clypeus ad ortum sunt, acuminis atq. latitudine, quæ jugis à Sole radiantes usq. ad continetium ab ortu: Cæterum ab occasu Caucasus (faith Aristotle) is the greatest Mountain both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lighted by the Sun-beams (usq. ad continetium) which is faith *Macrobius* between the first crowing after mid-night and the break of day: Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either, for the highest Mountain of the World known, is that of *Teneriffe* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Suns company at any such late hours. Besides, these Mountains which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasi*, are those which separate *Archie* from *Beria*: though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountain, which himself calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which funder *Colchis* from *Beria*: falling afterward into *Exinrus*: which River (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercurator* bring it from *Taryardus*.*

¶ XII.

Of divers incongruities in this Story we should take *Ararat* for Armenia.

SO as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the Books of the *Sybillis* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in Armenia: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Beria* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Ark grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of Armenia: and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any such Hill in Armenia, or in *verum natura*, as *Beria*: for *Beria* (faith *Herodotus*) significeth high Towers; and so may all high Hills be called indifferently: and therefore we may better give the name of *Beria* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) then to any Hills of Armenia. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of Asia.

Fourthly, the Authors themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountains *Gordias* stand: for *Ptolemy* distinguisheth the Mountains of Armenia from the *Gordians*, and calleth those of Armenia, *Melchici* and *Paryardus*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardus* is located near the middle of Armenia, out of which on the West side riseth *Euphrates*, and of the East-side, *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Melchici* are those Hills which disjoin *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the Georgians) from Armenia.

¶ XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvel that the same Lege of Hills running from Armenia to India, should keep the same name all along: and even in India be called *Ararat*.

LASTLY, we must blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it self, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of Armenia, or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) set it East from *Sbinar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moser*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountains which divide Italy from France, is called the *Alps*: or any one among those which part France from Spain is the *Pyrænia*: But as these, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, so all that long Ledg of Mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, hisidricus counter and cross the Mountains of the great *Ima-Lydia*. *us*, are of one general name, and are called the *5-6-27* Mountains of *Ararat* or Armenia, because from thence or thereabout they seem to arise. So all these Mountains of *Thyrana*, Armenia, *Cassius*, *Melchici*, *Amazonicis*, *Henoichi*, *Seychis*, (thus diversly called by *Pliny* and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying between the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountains which cut asunder America, even from the new Kingdom of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountains of *Ararat* run East and West, so do these marvellous Mountains of *Imus* stretch themselves North and South: and being of like extent well-near, are called by the name of *Imus*, even as *Pliny* called these former Hills *Taurus*, and *Miser* the Hills of *Ararat*. The reason of several names given by *Ptolemy*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and divide: as Armenia, *Mesopotamia*, *Allyria*, *Media*, *Sisiana*, *Perfia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropansus*: having all these Kingdoms, either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountains of Asia (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular Places and Regions. For these Mountains which under *Cilicia* from the rest of Asia the less, on the North-side, are called *Taurus*; and those

Mountains which part it from *Comagene* (a Province of Syria) are called *Armenia*: the Mountains called *Taurus*, running East and West, as *Iman* doth North and South. Through *Taurus*, the River of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Ananias* to the Mountains on her West-bank, and on her East-side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolemy's* three Tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Corras*, though between the upper and nether *Corras*, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at *Atakada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the Eastern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Ovantes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*, out of the Southern part whereof the River of *Eigradus* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyracians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the Mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the River *Margus*, afterward yielding her self to *Oxus* (now *Amu*). And rising now near their way end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropausis*, and lastly, of *Caucasia*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions, *Hydaspis* and *Zare-drus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these Mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hills called *Iman* of *Sybia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Deluguer*, and the rest *Nagracus*: and these Mountains in this place only are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolemy*) that is, between *Paropausis* and *Iman*: and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

§. XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountain *Caucasi*, and towards the East-Indies: and of other excellencies of the Soil.

NOW, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River *Janus*, and the Mountain *Nysus*, (so called of *Bacchus Nysus*, or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountains of that part of the World did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the Ark of *Noah* grounded after the Flood; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indo-Sybia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth, that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judea*, *Caudia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and under these Mountains *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World

are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palatina*, where the searchers of the Land, by *Moses* direction, found bunches of equal bigness at *Ejof*.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana*, near the Mountains of *Ararat*, did *Alexander* least himself and his Army ten days together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

§. XV.

The Conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountains do also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it self sometime is known by the name of *Ararat*. But, as *Pliny* giveth to this Ledger of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paropausis* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of France and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between France and Spain the *Pyrænes*: and in America the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the general name which *Moses* gave them: the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterrane* and in-land Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and over against it, it is called *Tyrrhennus*: between Italy and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Asia*, *Ægeum*: between *Syllas* and *Athens*, *Hellepontus*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Ægeus*. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Dumaledeyrum*: and on this side, the *Britannic* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this Question, we must appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other contrifution than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the fence is plain (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fence to our selves any new or strange exposition: And (withall) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as *Saint Augustine* hath taught us, touching the Gospel of *Christ Jesus* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat* (quod narraturibus Discipulis Christi) in *Evangelio* legentis, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, cognoverit: That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospel) the Disciples of *Christ* having written it) than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, setting it down.

The words then of *Moses*, which end this Dispute are these: And as they went from the East, they found

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a Plain in the Land of *Shinaar*, and there they abode: which proveth without controverſie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the East into *Shinaar*: and therefore the Ark of *Noah* reſted and took land to the East-ward thereof. For we muſt remember, that in all places whereſoever *Moses* maketh a difference of Countreys, he always precifely nameth toward what quarter of the World the ſame were ſeated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Jofiah*, he nameth *Sepphar*, a Mountain in the Eaſt: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the preſence of God, he addeth: And *Cain* dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, towards the Eaſt-side of *Eden*: And when he deſcribeth the Tent and Habitations of *Abraham*, after he departed from *Sechem*, he uſeth theſe words: Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountain Eaſt-ward from *Bethel*, he pitched his Tent: having *Bethel* on the Weſt-side, and *Hai* on the Eaſt: and afterward in the ninth Verſe of the ſame Chapter, it is written: And *Abraham* went Eaſtward journeying towards the South: alſo when *Ezechiel* prophecieth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he ſheweth that theſe Nations of *Togorma* were of the North-quarters: and of the Queen of *Saba* it is written, that ſhe came from the South to viſit *Solomon*: And the *Magi*, (or *Wiſemen*) came out of the Eaſt to offer preſents unto *Chriſt*. And that all Regions, and theſe travels were precifely ſet down upon the points of the Compaſs and Quarters of the World, it is moſt manifeſt: for *Eden* was due Eaſt from *Judea*: *Saba* South from *Hieruſalem*: and the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* direſtly South; and the *Caucasians*, the *Tubalians*, and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions direſtly North from *Palſtina*, and ſo of the reſt. But *Armenia* answereth not to this deſcription of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the Eaſt, nor ſo near unto the Eaſt as the North: for *Armenia* is to the Weſt of the North it ſelf, and we muſt not ſay of *Moses* (whoſe hands the holy Ghoſt directed) that he knew not eaſt, and that he knew not Eaſt from Weſt. For the body of *Armenia* ſtandeth in forty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in forty five: and thoſe *Gordian* Mountains, whereon it was ſuppoſed that the Ark reſted, ſtand in forty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are ſituated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between Eaſt and Weſt) the *Gordian* Mountains ſtand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* North-weſt, 95. degrees from the Eaſt;

and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the Eaſt one whole quarter of the Compaſs. But *Gregory*, and *Hierome* warn us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debeat: nam ſinguli ſermones, ſyllabe, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena ſunt ſignificus*: In the Scriptures the leaſt difference may not be omitted: for every ſyllable, ſyllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are re- plenished with their meanings. And therefore ſeeing *Moses* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the Eaſt, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who alſo ſpeak by hear-ſay, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicunt*, as *Berſius* and *Nicolaus Damſcenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth Weſt from the place where the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Flood: and therefore it firſt found ground of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt known, which had *Noah* himſelf for an inſtrument, and direſtly Eaſt from *Shinaar* in the Eaſt degree of 35. are the greateſt Grapes, and the beſt Wine. The great *Armenians* alſo which overtopped in number thoſe Millions of *Semirami*, prove, that theſe parts were firſt planted. And whereas the ſame opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reaſon ſufficient: for my ſelf I build on his words, who in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of *Noah* came out of the Eaſt into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the Ark reſt on thoſe Eaſtern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on thoſe Mountains of the North-weſt, as *Berſius* firſt feigned, whom moſt part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I ſay, in the plentiful warm Eaſt where *Noah* reſted, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agriculturæ ſtudium, in qua tractanda ipſe omnium peritiſſimus eſſe dicitur: ob quam rem ſua ipſius lingua Ilu-Adamath (hoc eſt) ſclarius ut appellatur celebratiſſime eſt. The ſtudy of Husbandry pleaſed Noah (ſaith the excellent learned man *Armenius*) in the knowledge and order of which it is ſaid that Noah excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language, a man exerciſed in the earth. Which alſo theweeth, that he was no wanderer; and that he troubled not himſelf with the contentions beginning again in the World, and among men, but ſtayed in his defined places, and in that part of the World where he was firſt delivered out of the Piſton of the Ark, whereunto God had committed him, to preſerve him and mankind.*



CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Flood; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, by whom the Earth was re-peopled.

SECT. I.

Whether Shem and Ham were elder then Japhet.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 3.

OF these Sons of Noah, which was the eldest, there is a question made. St. Augustine cleareth Shem for the eldest, Ham for the second, and Japhet for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in years, but in virtue: as by the examples of Henech, Abraham, Jacob, and David, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controverſie; The Latine Tranſlation, and ſo the Geneva, hath converted this Scripture of Genesis the 10. v. 21. in theſe words: *Uno Shem alſo the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born.* But Junius, agreeing with the Septuagint, placeth the ſame words in this manner: *To Shem alſo the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and brother of Japhet the eldeſt Son, were children born:* So the tranſpoſition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after Japhet, as it is in the vulgar Tranſlation placed before it, then had it been as plain for Japhet, as it is by theſe Tranſlations for Shem. Now (the matter being otherwiſe different) ſeing Gods bleſſings are not tyed to fiſt and laſt in blood, but to the eldeſt in piety, yet the arguments are ſtronger for Japhet then for Shem. And where the Scriptures are plainly underſtood without any danger or inconvenience, it ſeemeth ſtrange why any man of judgement ſhould make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Noah in the five hundredth year of his life, began the fiſt of his three Sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet: and in the ſix hundredth year (to wit) the hundredth year following, came the general Flood; two years after which, Shem began Arphaxad, which was in the year 602. of Noah's life, and in the year of Shem's life one hundred: ſo as Shem was but an hundred years old, two years after the Flood: and Noah began his fiſt born being 500. years old; and therefore were Shem the elder, he had then been an Hundred years old at the Flood, and in the ſix hundredth year of Noah's life, and not two years after. Which ſeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is alſo written: *Then Noah awoke from his Wine, and knew what his younger ſon had done unto him (to wit) Ham:* of neceſſity the fiſt place doth belong to Japhet. This younger ſon, ſo converted by the Vulgar and Geneva, Junius turns it ſilue minimus, his youngest ſon; but St.

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 9. 24.

Chryſoſtom takes it otherwiſe, and finds Cham to be the middle or ſecond brother, and Japhet the youngest ſon of all: which Cham for his diſobedience and the contempt of his Father (whoſe nakedneſſe he deſided) was diſinherited, and loſt the pre-eminency of his birth, as Eſau and Ruben did. Pererius conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in reſpect of Shem the eldeſt, but avoweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, becauſe it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that Shem himſelf was alway named in the fiſt place; yet whereas in the fiſt Verſe of the tenth Chapter of Genesis, Shem is accounted before Japhet, in the ſecond Verſe Moſes leaveth to begin with the iſſue by Shem, and reciteth the children of Japhet fiſt. So the fiſt place was given to Shem for his election and benediction, and for this weighty reſpect, that the Hebrew Nation, Abraham, the Prophets, David, and Chriſt our Saviour were defended of him. And therefore, whether we ſhall follow the Vulgar Pagninus, and the Geneva, who agree in this conversion, Shem Frater Japhet major; or with the Septuagint, Junius and Tremelius, Shem Frater Japhet the major; or with Pererius, Shem Frater Japhet the major: Inſerting that Shem was the great and famous brother of Japhet, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have ſeen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that Japhet was the eldeſt. For where Pererius qualifieth the ſtrength of the former argument, That Shem's age at the time of the Flood did not agree with the eldſhip (with a ſuppoſition that the Scriptures took no account of ſmaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any ſuch neglect at all: for it is written, that Shem was an hundred years old, and began Arphaxad two years after the Flood; and again in the 12. Verſe: *So Shem lived after he began Ebar, four hundred and three years,* &c. ſo as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterward of two years, were always precisely accounted.

12 Gen.

Gen. 11. 10.

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SECT. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to Moſes: that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that knowing great Lords of the first Ages were of the iſſue of Ham.

BUT let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the Flood, which being rightly underſtood, we ſhall find that many Nations have ſuppoſed or fringed themſelves thoſe Anceſtors and Fathers, which never ſaw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch defended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the ſons and iſſues of Noah were diſtributed, and what Regions were fiſt planted by them, from whence by degrees the reſt of the World was alſo peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the ſame muſt be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For ſo far as the ſtory of Nations is therein handled, we muſt know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and teſtimony of antiquity whatſoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the ſame hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful obſervers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth Euſtbin in the Proame of his Chronology: *Moſes is found more antient than all thoſe the Grecians make moſt antient, as Homer, Heſiod, and the Trojan War; and before Hercules, Muſeus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Cadmus, Pellex, Esculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, and Apollo, and the reſt of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have ſtated in the top and higheſt Tarret of their Divinity.*

Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

De Civit. Dei l. 16. c. 11.

For of the three Jupiters remembred by Cicero, the antientieſt was the ſon of Aether, whoſe three ſons begotten on Proſperina, were born at Athens, of which Cecrops was the fiſt King; and in the end of Cecrops time did Moſes bring the children of Iſrael out of Egypt: *Eduxit Moſes populum Dei ex Egypto novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis Regis; Moſes brought the Children of Iſrael out of Egypt in the laſt days of Cecrops King of the Athenians, ſaith St. Auguſtine;* and yet, but Thus long after him. But becauſe the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut another the purpoſe in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needleſſe queſtion, but leave it to the proper place.

The Sons of Japhet were	{	Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meſhach, and Tirm.	{	The Sons of Gomer were	{ Arkenaz, Riphath, Togarma.
				The Sons of Javan were	{ Eliſha, Tarſhis, Kittim, and Dodanim.

Fiſt, we are to conſider, that the World after the Flood was not planted by imagination, neither

had the Children of Noah wings to fly from Shinar to the uttermoſt border of Europe, Africa, and Asia, in haſte, but that theſe Children were directed by a wife Father, who knew thoſe parts of the World before the Flood, to which he directed his children after it, and ſent them not as diſcoverers, or ſtall-adventurers, but as ſoldiers and allotted to every Son and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as Virgil did Auguſtus in the fiction of Aeneas) or elſe to glorifie their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them, upon Reaſon and Nature. Fiſt therefore we muſt call to mind, and conſider, what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 1390. year after the great Inundation; and by comparing thoſe fruitfull Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful Deſerts, what impaſſable fateneſs of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten grass; what lakes and ſtanding pools, and what miſtices, ſens, and bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was pelted withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effeſt) yet in twenty or thirty years, theſe our grounds would all over-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offenſive thickets and buſhments: much more did all ſorts of plants, reeds, and trees, proſper in the moſt fruitful Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the ſtate of 1390. years to raiſe themſelves without controulement.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe people which came into Shinar, and over whom Nimrod, either by order or ſtrength, took the Dominion, did, after the conſuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People, diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoining to the ſaid Valley of Shinar, which contained the beſt part of Meſopotamia, Babilonia, and Chaldaea: and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to Shem many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from Shinar, with the Dominion of Paleſtina, which the Canaanites fiſt poſſeſſed; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his Inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For we find that Abraham, the true ſucceſſor of Shem, dwelt in Chaldaea, at Ur; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at Charan in Meſopotamia: from whence after the death of Thare he travelled to Siechem in Paleſtina; and yet there had paſſed between Shem and Abraham (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven Deſcents, before Abraham moved out of Chaldaea; where, and in Babilonia, all thoſe people, by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence Nimrod went out into Aſſyria, and founded Nineweh. Indeed, the great Matters of Nations (as far as we can know) were in that Age in the iſſues of Ham; the bleſſing of God given by Noah to Shem and Japhet taking eſſeſt, until divers years were conſumed; and until the time arrived, which by the wiſdom of God was appointed. For of Chus, Mizraim, and Canaan, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of Babilonia, Syria, and Egypt for many Deſcents together.

SECT.

would not have been dead for so many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countreys far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyed both Nations, Reason, Politic, and Necessity: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

SECT. IV.

Of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal* and *Meshech*, seated first about Asia the left; out of *Ezekiel*, Chap. 38. 39.

Now, although many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arian Montanus*, was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Josaphus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errors, so was he in the Plantation of the World very gross and fabulous; whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his testimonies for current, have been by him far misled. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gog* the Son of *Japhet* possessed, as also *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog*: because the Scriptures takes most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names have troubled many Commentators, faith *Atenst*, *Boraldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet *Ezekiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togermians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince, or chief Conductor, in their Attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Japhet* Issues possit, all Asia the Left was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue of *Japhet* (whom *Ezekiel* speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appear, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 27. Chapter *Ezekiel* prophesieth of the uniting of the two Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Juda*, after their delivery from Captivity.

By which Prophecie of *Ezekiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written: *And David my servant shall be King over them, and they shall have one Shepherd*, (that is) they shall be united as they were in *David* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezekiel* prophesieth against those Nations, which should seek to impeach this Union, and disturb the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their return, and sought to subvert them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Calosyrians*, next bordering *Palestina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of

the Nations of *Asia* the left, which lay North from *Judea*. The words of *Ezekiel* are these: *Son of c. 38. v. 2.*
man, sit thy face against Gog, and against the Land of Magog, the chief Prince of Meshech (or Mesch) and Tubal: and afterward, Behold, I come against the chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal: and in the sixth Verse, Gomer and all his Bands, and the House of Togorma of the North quarters. Herein *Ezekiel* having first delivered the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were that should in vanity assay *Israel*. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and joyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the Hebrew (with *Saint Hieron*) *vicinum* or covering of a house: and *Pontus* upon *Ezekiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (with he) *Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum, sub specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devil under humane form.* He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the Letter (m) being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as *of, or from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So far *Pontus*: at least in this not anath, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation: with which agreeeth this observation of *Boraldus*, *Magog* (with he) in Hebrew is written *Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (he) which is used but for an *Empire* (which the Hebrews call *Heliachia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech* (or *Mesch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: *Behold, I come against thee Gog the chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal.* This must needs be meant by the Successors of *Selenus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seek to make the *Jews* their Tributaries only, but endeavour'd by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguish the Religion it self (which the Hebrews profess'd) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortal and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. *S. Ambrose*, and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: because, because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Melius* derives the *Turks* from the *Seythians*, esteemed Magogians of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a man: others, of a Region, other for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who says that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greek* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slain *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his own name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygen* Lake, which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia* (of which *Strabo*, who says that *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Ph. 13.* *nie* calleth it *Gygenum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicanor* let it about the Rivers of *Hilias*, and *Mander*: but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who, after he had subdued the Country about the River *Rhadinus* which runneth into the *Hellaspont*, called the Promontory *Tropeus* after his own name *Gyges*. These Opinions do also seem to strengthen that of *Junius*. For *Magog*, faith he, is that part of Asia the left, which *Helixet* obtained, and after him his Son *Cresus*; who (as *Junius* further

notes) having mastered all those Regions as far South as *Lithouria*, in that Border built the City *Gigarta*, or *Gogkarta* (which in the Syrian signifieth the City of *Gog*) seated in *Calosyria*, whose People were the ancient Enemies of the *Jews*.

Now, that *Magog* is found in *Calosyria*, *Pliny* affirmeth, saying: *Calosyria habet Bambycem, que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur: Syria vero, Magog; Calosyria habet in it Bambyce, quib in another name is called Hieropolis; but of the Syrians, Magog.* He further telleth us, that the monstrous Idol *Atergatis*, called by the *Greeks* *Dereto*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying, That the City had anciently another name, which he yet expresth not; forbearing, perhaps, the word *Magog*, as founding nothing elegantly in the words. But if we may believe *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idol was worshipped. *Orellius* is doubtful whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be, that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subject unto the Kings of the Race of *Selenus*.

Now, I do not condemn the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Josaphus*, but grant that, perhaps, *Magog* might also be the Father of the *Seythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Calosyria*, and the North parts adjoining be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might be propagated into *Sybia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Seythians* in old times coming out of the North-east, waited the better part of Asia the left, and possessed *Calosyria*, where they built both *Seythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, where the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezekiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this City *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Judea*, according to the words of *Ezekiel*, that from the North-quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successors of *Selenus*, the Successors of *Alexander Macedon*. *Cassiodorus* *Tyrinus* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Story of *Tubal*. *Pliny* takes it to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edessa*: not that of *Euphrates*; but another of the same name: now, the known name is *Alepepe*: for so *Belonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This City had the Title of *Sacred*, as the *Sacred City*, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergatis*, or *Atergatis*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Dereto*.

If then we confer the words of *Ezekiel* in the third Verse of the thirty eighth Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meshech* and *Tubal*; and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the City of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Judea*: with whom also *Ezekiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his Bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Judea*) were not the *Gomerians* of France, nor the *Tubalines* of Spain, but a people of the lesser Asia, and *Calosyria*; and therefore that the Opinions of *Boralius*, *Josaphus*, and wholesoever else hath followed them therein, are to be reje-

cted. But if *Josaphus* refer himself to latter times, and think that some Colonies of the *Tubalines* might from *Beria* and *Asia* pass into Spain (to wit) from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengedia*) and *Albania*, (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time the people might from their first habitation, pass into the Countreys near the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into Spain.

Josaphus makes mention of the *Ileri*, saying, that they were anciently called *Tubelot*, as of *Tubal*, from whence (with *Justine*) they passed into Spain to search out the mines of that Region: having been like underground that it was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalyber*, lived altogether by the Exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in the following Verses, telling how the *Argonauts* did visit them:

*Hec gens tellurem rigido non verit aratro,
Sed ferri vena standis sub montibus alis:
Mercurius hac mutat, que vita alimento ministrans.*

The *Chalyber* plough not their barren Soil,
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchase of their endless toil
For Merchandize, which their poor lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that Spain was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-peopel it anew. This appeareth by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the *Streight* into that Country: and after by the *Athens* who held *Granado*, and the South parts, eight hundred years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of *Nimrod's* Reign, *Tubal* pass into Spain, and therein built *Saint Vreal*: a poor Town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find *Meshech* or *Meshech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togorma* not far off, or else we shall wrong *Ezekiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togorma* their assistants. And that *Meshech* inhabited *Asia*, *Pandinus* (though he followed *Boralius*) confesseth, for these be his words: *Mesicus, qui a Moise Mesch, priscus Aegypti ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticum regionem posui: hac regione Cappadocia distat, in qua ubi Mazica, &c. hinc terra Magog principalis*. *Mesicus*, whom *Moses* calleth *Meshech*, placed the ancient *Mesians* from the Mount *Adula*, unto the Coasts of *Pontus*. This Region was afterward called *Cappadocia*, in which is the Town *Mazica*, &c. this is the principal Country of *Magog*. And this doth *Annus* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Meshech* and *Tubal*: and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; Spain lying directly West, and not North from *Judea*. Also *Ezekiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth *Meshech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a third proof, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far soever stretched) *Ezekiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horfemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude, and a mighty*. Then, if any man believe that these troops came out of Spain over the

the Pyrene, and first passed over a part of France, Italy, Hungary, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued again about the Hellespont, or else compassed all Pontus, and Euxinus, to come into the lesser Asia, which is half the length or compass of the then known World; he may be called a strong Believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary, it is known that *Selenus* was a Province neighbouring *Palästina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magag*) joynted unto it: whose Parents commanded all Syria, and Asia the less, (namely, the *Selenudica*) and held it, till *Scipio Africanus* overthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which yet they possess Syria, till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meshech* bein *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himself with *Togorma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward he proceeded further into Asia the less; and in long tract of time his valliant Illue filled all *Germany*, reigned long in France and Britany, and possessed the utmost borders of the Earth, accomplishing (as *Melanchthon* well notes) the figination of their Parents name, which is *Umsit* bordering. But when these borders wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great Ocean, then did they return upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Reformer of our Antiquities, M. *William Camden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie *Robbers*: necessity inflicting them to spoil their Neighbours, to whom in their original, they were as near joynted, as afterwards in the feats which they possessed. For that the Warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the authority of *Cæsar* affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following, they pursued richer Conquests, and more easily, though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawn at length into Asia the less, and occupied those parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitors. I say not that they claimed those Lands as theirs by Descent, for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in Asia, because in late Ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now, concerning *Samobes*, for his excellent wisdom, firamed *Dial*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Moses* never heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Japheths* Sons) they must find him in some old Poet: For *Fanclius*, a great *Berselius*, confesseth: *Quis hic Samoches fuerit incertum est: Who this Samoches was, it is uncertain, neither is there any proof that he was that same Dial, whom Cæsar saith the Gauls suppose to be their Ancestor; yea, and Vignier confesseth with Fanclius: Maye on ne sçay qui il estoit; No man knows who he was.*

SECT. V.

Against the fabulous *Berosus* his Fiction, That the Italian *Janus* was *Noah*.

But before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it is necessary to disprove the Fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himself: an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath writteth) by those Authors of whom himself hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius*, *Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinus* and others. For *Annius* feels to perfwade us, that *Noah* (surnamed *Janus*) was the fame which followed *Genos*, with other Cities in Italy, wherein he lived 92. years. This to disprove, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For, if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Edi*, *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chabne* and *Nineve*, by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years. But it were a needles labour for me to disprove the authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that *Tartianus* the *Assyrian*, in his Oration against the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote only three Books dedicated to *Antiochus* the Successor of *Selencus Nicator*: but *Annius* hath devised five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled only the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the busines of all the World. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Laitines* (before *Jesus*) consumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Jesus* arrival into Italy, there past 1226. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codemian*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Rosa* in the world's year (as some reckon) 2717. after the Flood 1064. and *Noah* died 350. years after the Flood: and so there past between *Janus* of Italy, and *Noah* surnamed *Janus*, 704. years. For *Saturius* succeeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturius*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus*: which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tamianus* the 27. King of *Assyria*; with *Pelagius* of *Poloponnesus*; with *Demophon* of *Athens*; and *Samphon* Judge of *Israel*. Now, all these five Kings of the *Laitines* having consumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the last of them in the time of *Samphon*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Iun* the Son of *Xanthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, from whom they drew the *Ionex*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth Son of *Japheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) and so he writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; and so the fame. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, (for so whom they make the Exent of the *Medes*, though they were defended of a far more ancient Father *da*: and (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*.)

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *British* Language hath remained unto us above 2000. years, and the *English* Speech ever since the invasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some

more corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange, if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in Italy his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in Spain, that no plain resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian*, (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the Languages of those Countreys. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. In Italy, Spain, or France, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Grecian* *Janus* which commanded them, and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. years. (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fifth King: which also *Saint Augustine* and *Justine* confirm: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of them make add thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesla* (others *Camsena*) the wife of this *Janus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vespal Virgins* in Rome (the *Laitines* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their Idolatrous and Hethenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to believe that *Noah* himself (who is said by *Moses* to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind had choise of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to let up or devise any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himself.

SECT. VI.

That *Gomer* also and his Son *Togorma* of the Posterity of *Japheth*, were first seated about Asia the Less: and that from thence they spread Westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.

To turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the World's Plantation after the Flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countreys bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such manner, as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: because the Land was very Desert, and overgrown with Woods, Reeds, Boggs, and rotten Marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chush* took the South part of *Chaldea* down the River of *Euphrat*, by which he might pass to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur*, or *Orchoz*, near the Lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same River get up to *Euphrat*, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gobon* Southward, *Moset*, in the description of *Paradise*, calleth the Land of *Chush*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed in the East) were for a while oppressed, till God afterward by the seed of *Abraham* made his own Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and son of *Chush*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, especially on the East side of the River: by

which River his people might also pass to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial Seat of which Region of *Havilah*, or *Sesian*, was anciently called *Chushan* or *Chushan*, afterward *Susa*. *Chush* himself took the Banks of *Gobon*, and planted those Countreys Westward, and Southward, and towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Desert, where *Ptolemy* placeth the City of *Chusidra*, first *Chusidra*.

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the rest that planted *Arabia Felix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Persian gulf*, which watheth the Banks of *Arabia Felix* on the East-side: so as those Sons of *Chush* might take Land down the River as they pleased. Also the City of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said River of *Tygris*, and from thence a Colony passed to *Charran*, standing also upon a navigable Branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japheth's* Sons settle themselves together, and took their Seats in Asia the less: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to Reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magag*, and *Tubal* late down first of all in that part of Syria, to the North of *Palästina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer*, or his Children, passed on into Asia the less, as those of *Magag* and *Tubal* did: from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Iberia*; and the *Magagians* more Northward into *Sarmatia*. The first *Gomerians*, and first Planters in Asia the less, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witness *Herodotus*) the same Region *Liba*, which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Gallia*, to whom *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistle fo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountains about *Albania* (called *Cymmerion*) and to the City of *Cymmeria* in *Phrygia*: also *Eusebius* *Cymmerion* took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a City of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Phineas* (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Town in *Campania*, so called of the unhealthful waters favouring of *Brimstone*, which *Angustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lacrine*.

The Children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Meshechites* were Neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezekiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Meschi* inhabit a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Meschiei*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Meschiei*, and the Mountains *Paridar*: out of whose North part springeth the River *Phasis*: from the East part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meshech* (saith *Melanchthon*) significth that at first did inhabit amongst his Parents and Kindred: The *Togormians* were also called *Gibeli*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchy* of *Phœnicia*, the same which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent *Mashek*, which hewed stones for the Temple at *Jerusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the less *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Togormians*.

For in Gen. 10. 3. 11.

called *Tigraues*, and their Cities *Tigraurkate*: of which Cities, *Tigraues* subdued by *Lucillus* the Roman, built one. *Pherecydianus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*, forgetting the Prophecy of *Ezechiel* against the *Tyrans*: They of the house of *Togorma*, brought to thy *Fairs*, *Horses*, and *Horned Oxen*; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the *Mediterranean Sea*, but from the neighbour Countries by Land. But *Josephus* takes them for the Parents of the *Phrygians*: which I do not deny, but they might be, in the ensuing Ages, and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the twelfth of *Nimrod's* reign. The Jews conceive that the *Turks* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germans*. But *Laonicus* affirms, that the *Turks* defended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Mosovia*. But for these subdivisions it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second Plantation, and of the first Nations after the Flood, is the matter which I labour to discover, and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must Note, That those Grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of less understanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* sent out, their proper habitations could be hardly known: only reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the reft, and were covered with the fame of others who took on them the Conduccion and Dominion over the reft.

From *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Greeks* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the Son of *Media*.

SECT. VII.

Of *Javan* the fourth Son of *Japheth*: and of *Melchec* of *Aram*, and *Melchec* of *Japheth*.

OF *Javan* the fourth Son of *Japheth* came the *Ionex*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and so the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Ezay*, *Et interpretamur eis qui salsam ferunt ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Greciam: And I will send thee that scape of them in Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece*. The *Greeks* here use the word (*Tarshish*) for *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsus* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigraui* in the *Geneva* use the names of *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of the *Ionex* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Anchors, and growing (as it were) out of the Soyl it self: who abounding in people, fencd Colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Ionex* of those parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Iun* the Son of *Nahib*, the Son of *Davathian*; but the Antiquity of *Javan* makes the fashion of that supposition, who for many years preceded *Nahib*, *Iun*, or *Davathian*. *Pausanias* tells us, that *Nahib* stole out of *Thibaly* with all his Fathers Treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athena*, he was graciously received by *Erichon*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two Sons, *Iovand* and *Acheus*, the supposed Ancestors of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionis*,

both *Plutarch* in the life of *Thibis*.) who, when he had joynd *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a Pillar in that *Jubus* or *Strait*, which fiftenth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*; writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: *Hec non sunt Peloponnesus, est Ionia*; The Countries are not *Peloponnesus*, but of *Ionia*; and on the other side which looketh towards the South, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: *Thes ports are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia*.

Strabo out of *Hecatus* affirmeth, that the *Ionex* came cut of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Ionex* of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the less, the name of *Ionex* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hecatus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet sure I am that *Asia* the less had people before *Greece* had any; and that *Javan* did not sic him *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage; and from thence pass over the neerer way, leaving his own name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himself believed, that *Ionia* took the name from *Iun* the son of *Nahib*; for so much he had learned from themselves: which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks* in after-times call themselves into that part of *Asia* the Less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved *Historians* (not their own) deride and disprove their pride and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) relied between the *Seythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Justin* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexans* of *Egypt*, and *Tanis* of *Syria*, witnesseth: which preceded far the reign of *Mimus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Ceopros* time the *Greeks* were all Salvages, without Law or Religion, living like brute Beasts in all respects: and *Ceopros* (saith *Saint Augustine*) lived together with *Moses*.

The sixth son of *Japheth* was *Melchec*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosech* (a part of those Nations *Gen. 10* commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Melchec* and *Tubal*). But this we must remember, that between *Melchec* the son of *Aram*, and *Melchec* (or *Mosech*) the son of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diversly written. *Montanus*, with the *Vulgar*, writeth *Mosech*, the first of *Aram*, *Mos*; the *Geneva*, *Mos*; *Junius*, *Mos*; but it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalm*, that either *Melchec* the son of *Japheth*, was the parent of those people, or gave the name to that Province wherein *David* hid himself: or else (which may rather seem) that it took name from *Mosech* the son of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) useth these words: *Wo is me that I remain in Melchec*, and dwell in the Tents of *Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinus tam diu: habitus sarcinum servitus Kedarum*: The *Septuagint* gives it this sense: *Wo is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: with which this of the *Latine* agreeth: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est; habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these words: *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Assis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum*: *O woe to me, for I have travelled among those of Ass: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians*. But howsoever or whichsoever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petrea*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Ass* in stead of *Melchec*, but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Melchec*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Melchec* the son of *Aram*, 1 *Chron. 17*, is called *Melchec*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took name from *Melchec* or *Melchec* both bordering *Judea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Melchec* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Melchec* out of the word *Mosech* given by the *Septuagint* to be the *Mosovians*: sure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as if aforesaid. Sure I am that *David* never travelled so far North (for to him *Mosovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the fame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Melchec* the Father of the *Mosovians*; and herein also *Melanchton* runs with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Melchec* in *Mosovia*, though with some better advice of judgment; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Psalm*, (*Hei mihi quod exalto super gentes, super fratres infirmos meos*) to signify: *Gente super fratres infirmos meos*: That the ferocity of this Nation exceeded: which fiercer or brutality of the *Mosovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the same ferocity or cruelty which those Northern *Mosovians* had, may aswell be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarians*. For this Country took name of *Kedar* the second son of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equal fierceness to any of the World were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people): the fame being fore-told by the speech of the Angel to *Hagar*, *Gen. 16. v. 12*, And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand against him. Now *Arabia* the Desert (saith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochet* on the East, and the *Cedrai* Southward, both which join together upon the *Nabathaei*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Melchec*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Mazg*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did join to *Melchec*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the Less, commanded by the successors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-establishment of *Israel* and *Juda*. But (as I have already said) it might well be, that long after the first Plantation the issue of *Melchec* (or *Mosech*) might pass into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Ephrasia*, and give names both to *Mazg* in the one, and to the Mountains *Moschib* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly in *Mosovia*, and so all opinions saved. But all salvage Nations over-grown and uncultivated, do (for the most part) grow a late Plantation, even as civility, letters, and magnificent building, witness antiquity.

Tyras, the seventh son of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the sons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Ubracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Josephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the World *Tyrar* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now

Gen. 15.
13.

Mont. in
Gen.

to speak of the Sons of *Gomer*; which were three.
Afancez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

SECT. VIII.

Of *Afancez*, and *Riphath* the two elder Sons of *Gomer*.

AS *ANCEZ* was the Father of those which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (saith *Josephus*) but he gives no reason why.

Eusebius makes *Afancez* the Father of the *Goths*. The Jews in their *Thargum* make him the root of the *Germane* Nation; but their explications are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Afancia* in *Phrygia*, near the Rivers of *Hilax* and *Gos*: *Melanchton* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuscanes* were descended of the *Afancez*. (For *Tuscanos*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Afancez*, *praefixio anteculo dicit Afancez*) and that the word signifieth, a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Afancia*, known by that name in the *Roman* time. And among the Kings which were to the succour of *Troy*, was *Afancius* (*Dee finitius, saith Homer*) like unto God: because he was beautiful and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *Or Immensis Dee finitius: In face and body like one of the gods: Virgili* also remembereth such a River, together with the Hills *Gargara*: as *Ilia dicit amor tuns Gargara, transque fontanus Acianicus: Appetite leads them both over the mountain Gargara, and the roaring Afancius*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Afancius*, which is adjoining to *Myfia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* Empire: and the Lake *Afancez* he directs us to find by the description of *Prusis*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth far within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusis* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between *Prusis* and *Nicea*. And so *Justin* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Afancez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and that the North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Afancius* the Son of *Aeneas*: saying, that there was another of that name in *Myfia*. Of *Afancia* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witnesseth; and *Strabo* giveth *Afancia* both a Lake, a River and a Town in *Myfia*, near unto *Cio*; which also agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Prusis* (before spoken of) near *Cio*, and calleth the Islands before *Troy*, *Afancez*.

Now, whether these places took name of *Afancez* the Son of *Gomer*, or of *Afancius* the Son of *Aeneas*, it might be questioned: sure it is, that *Afancius* which brought succour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Aeneas* the Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it seemeth that the Countreys where these famous came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myfia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of *Asia* the less, which by *Hieremy* is called *Afancez*, by the figure *Synechdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which decide not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* we shall learn of what Nation the *Afancez* were,

Gen. xi.
27.

were, whose words are these: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations against her, call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Agancz, against her, &c.* meaning, against the *Babylonians*, *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Interpreters consent, I confess of the Mountains of *Ararat* which run through it: *Minni*, the lesser *Armenia*; *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name (faith *Juvius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palestina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Story of *Jacob* and *Ejau*, call it *Aram-Padam*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Agancz* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the Spoil of the *Babylonian* Empire) we shall ere much to call *Agancz* *Germany*, or *Almain*: for we hear of no *Swart Rusters* at that siege. But the *Agancz* were of those Nations which were either subject or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any one of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who calls them *Rhægi*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almaines*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will think as they do.

Of *Rhipath*, the second Son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*, *Bernadus* and *Pererius*, think that he wandered from far off the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might fear himself with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no room or soil in those days for all the Sons and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Rhiphei* were of *Rhipath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Josephus*) called the *Paphlagonians*: and *Rhiphei* (faith *Melancthon*) significth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, The greatest number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*, who spake the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Rhiphei* for the love of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names, and became *Heneti* (a custom exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia* as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Rhiphei* (afterward *Heneti*) fought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Eufratus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they crost thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, delusive (faith *Melancthon*) of a warmer soil of Fruit and Wine. These *Heneti*, or *Veneti*, whom *Melancthon* taketh to be one people, filled all the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were posselt of *Lithuania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the Plantation of the *Bœi* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore it seemeth to me, that of *Rhipath*, came the *Riphei*, afterwards *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time, Lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembered, chiefly between the Rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name (faith *Melancthon*) significth wandering, or wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which lived by

white-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third Son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have spoken already; now therefore of *Javan's* Children, which were four:

Elifsa, Tharsis, Cethim, Dodanim.

SECT. IX.

Of the four Sons of *Javan*: and of the double signification of *Tharsis*, either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.

OF *Elifsa*, or *Elipha*, came the *Ezer*: and of this *Elifsa*, all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, faith *Montanus*. *Melancthon* makes *Elifsa* the Father of the *Ezer* in *Asia* side: Others of *Eli* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greeks* were defended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that *Ezer* and the *Elei*, took name of *Elifsa* his eldest Son. *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Isles of *Elifsa*, *Hyacinthus* & *purpuris de insulis Elifsa sœlia sunt operimentum: blue silk and purple, brought from the Isles of Elifsa, were their covering*. The *Chaldeans* for *Eliza*, write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurines*, the *Geneva*, and *Juniur*, keep the word *Elifsa*: and so I think they might do with reason. For there is not found any such Purple. Die in *Italy* in these days, nor since that I can read of: but those of *Elifsa* were by a better conjecture the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it self: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Eubœia*.

Tharsis the second Son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the Metropolis. *Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, understands *Carthage* in *Africa*: but reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldean Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldean Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis* (*Africa*). But *Solomon's* Ships were prepared in the Red-Sea at *Ezion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elate*, near unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moses* Father-in-law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petrea*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chusites*; and they failed to the higher part of the *East-India*. For it had been a strange Navigation to have spent three years in the passage between *Judea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have failed in fix or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterræne* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon have entertained that Trade also. But this enterprise of *Solomon* is in this sort written of, in the fifth of *Kings*: *Also King Solomon made a Navie of Ships in Ezion-Gaber, which is beside Elath, and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of Edom*: and *Hyram* sent with the *Navie* his servants, that were *Mariners*, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of *Solomon*: and they came to *Ophir*, and *ret* from thence 4200. *Talents* of gold, &c. But as the Nations of *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that only (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word used for the Sea in general) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew

no

no other Sea than that of the *Mediterræne* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest Ships, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharsis* used often for the Sea. And whereas it is said that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, that phrase is not strange at all; for we use it ordinarily wherefore we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea; or that they are set out every year, or every three years to the Sea, and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but used for the Sea it self. But in this place, *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the second Son of *Javan*, or by his Successors in memory of their first Parent. To this City arrived *Alexander Macedon*, before he gave the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himself into the River to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharsis* was *S. Paul* born. Now, this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other Sons inhabiting *Asia* the less, and that part of *Syria* adjoining) *Javan*, who was to pass over the Sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Ionians* on that shore: gave the Islands between *Asia* the less and *Greece* to *Elifsa*, and left *Tharsis* upon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third Son of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*, faith *Bernadus*, but I allow better of *Melancthon's* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (faith he) and signifies *percepses*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Isa*. 23. (according to *Melancthon*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab Elai prædicta est, qui capite victissimo terro inquit, venturos esse cœlestes Tyri ex terra Cettim*: This *Calamity* (faith *Melancthon*) was foretold by *Elai* the Prophet, who in the three and seventieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of *Tyre* were come out of *Cittim*. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, which came to them by Sea, and separate from the Continent (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, faith *Bernadus*), yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecy which took effect by the destruction of the *Tyrrians* by *Alexander*, who, after seven Months siege spent that proud City, and cut in pieces seven thousand principal Citizens; strangled two thousand, and changed the freedom of 13 thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appear plainly in the first of the *Maccabees* in these words: of *Philip*, King of the *Perlians*, and *Medes*, *Trojanus* Kets *Cethim* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in which (faith he) there remaineth the City *Cittium*, the Country of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witness *Laertius*) which *City Pittus* upon *Ezechiel's* affirmeth, that it stood in *S. Hieroms* time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the *Hebrews* were called the Islands of *Cethim*; and in that sense might *Cyprus* be so called also; and yet, because *Tharsis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that Island too

straight for his people, after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both in *Asia* and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he sent Colonies over the *Ægean* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodonim the fourth Son of *Javan*, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) fate down at *Rhodes*, as near *Cethim*, *Tharsis*, and *Elifsa*, as he could. For *Dodonim* and *Rhodonim* are used indifferently by many Translators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are so alike, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebraicis* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodonai*, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soil in *Cyprus*: so *Dodonim* (settled in a far less Island) did of necessity lend his people farther off; and keeping along the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elifsa*, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epyrus*. And though the City of *Dodonai* was not then built (or perchance not so ancient as *Dodonim* himself) yet his posterity might give it that name in the memory of their first Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noah's* children, and grand-children: not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many years after: every of their Families being desirous to retain among them, by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken and grafted else-where. And because great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) free from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his children in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mefech*, and the rest, round about him. And in like sort did *Cethim* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the Sons of *Cethim* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travelled Southward in *Arabia Felix*, and South-westward into *Arabia Petrea*: the rest of his children held the Regions adjoining to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Cethim* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adjoining. The Sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to those of the Sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterræne* Sea: of whom I shall speak hereafter. But first of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham's* which were four:

Cush, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

SECT.

SECT. X.

That the feat of Chush the eldest Son of Ham, was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scriptures, grounded on the mistaking of this point.

¶ I.

Of Josephus his Tale of an Æthiopes, Wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the feat of Chush.

THat Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm, vers. 51. Then Israel came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the Land of Ham: and in the 78. Psalm, He slew all the first-born in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of Ham. There is also found a great City in Thebaid, called Cheraia (as it were the City of Ham) of which name Herodotus also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because Chush is the elder Son of Ham, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now, though I have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proved that Chush could not be Ethiopia: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the Septuagint and Josephus have herein failed, that Chush could not be Ethiopia, but Arabia (to wit) both that Arabia called Petraz, and a part of Arabia the Happy and the Desert, which Regions Chush and the Chusites presently planted, after they left Babelonia to Nimrod, wherein they first fate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth the Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. vers. 1. where Moses his Wife is called a Chusite: together with some places which speak of Nebuchodonosor's Conquests. For whereas Josephus and the Septuagint in the place Num. 12. vers. 1. as also else-where, understand Chush for Ethiopia, we must give credit to Moses himself here-in: and then it will appear that Josephus was grossly mistaken, or vainly led by his own invention.

For Josephus, presuming that Chush was Ethiopia, and therefore that the Wife of Moses (which in Scripture, Num. 12. vers. 1. is called a Woman of Chush) was a Woman of the Land of Ethiopia, feigneth that Tharbis the Daughter of the King of Ethiopia, fell in love with the person and fame of Moses, while he besieged Sabe her Fathers City: and to the end, to obtain Moses for her Husband, the practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it self, and to deliver it into Moses hands: The Tale (if it be worth the re-
Antiq. l. 2. citing lish thus in Josephus. And after he had described the strength of the Ethiopian City Mere, which he saith at length Chambyser, called so from the name of his Sister (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum Mose redire exercitum ostium aggre ferret, hoste non audente manus confregit, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regis filia nomine Tharbis, &c.* Which Tale hath this sense in English: *When Moses was grieved that*

his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged durst not fall in and come to hand-to-hand, there happened this accident in the mean while: The Ethiopian King had a Daughter called Tharbis, who at some assaults given, beheld the person of Moses, and withall admiring his valour. And knowing that Moses had not only up-beld and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Ethiopians to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants, to offer her self unto him, and become his Wife; which Moses on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession, whereupon the confederating, and Moses having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

¶ II.

A Dispute against the Tale of Josephus.

THIS Tale (whereof Moses hath not a word) hath Josephus fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of Arabia for a City of Ethiopia: as he names Ethiopia it self to have been the Country of Moses his Wife, when (indeed) it was Arabia, for Saba is not in Ethiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, saying, that the Sabæans are Arabians, and not Æthiopian; except Josephus can persuade us, that the Queen of Saba, which came from the South to hear the Wisdom of Solomon, were a Negroe, or Black-moor. And though Damianus a Goer speak of certain Letters to the King of Portugal from Prester John, of the Abissines: wherein that Ethiopian King would persuade the Portugals, that he was descended of the Queen of Saba, and of Solomon; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that Solomon had any Son by that great Princess: which had it been true, it is likely that when Sisoac King of Egypt invaded Roboam, and sacked Hierusalem, his Brother (the Son of Saba and Solomon) who joyntly upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprise, as also given aid and succour to Roboam against Jeroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is to have been an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach us, that Moses married the Daughter of Jethro, Priest of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North-east of the Red-Sea, over against the body of Egypt, and near Elson-Gaber, where Solomon provided his Fleet for India, in the Region of Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red-Sea is called Sinus Arabicus. For Idumæa joyntly with the Tribe of Juda by the North: to Arabia Petraz, by the East: to the Mediterranean, by the West; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-East. And if we mark the way which Moses took when he left Egypt, and conducted Israel thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia it self, he had formerly lived forty years; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in Egypt, he was instructed by Jethro in the Egyptians learning. For Josephus confesseth, and St. Stephen confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians. But on the other side, this Text makes much against Josephus, where it is written in Exodus the second, *Therefore Moses*

fed from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the Land of Madian or Midian, and not in Æthiopia. And in the third Chapter, it is as plain as words can express, in what Region Madian was, where it is written, *When Moses kept the Sheep of Jethro his Father-in-Law, Priest of Madian, and drove the Flock to the Desert, and came to the Mountain of God in Horeb.* Now, that Mount Horeb is not in Æthiopia, every infant knoweth. And if we believe Moses himself, then was not the Wife of Moses purchased in that manner which Josephus reporteth (which was for betraying her Country and friends) neither had she the name of Tharbis, but of Sippora, or Zippora: neither was she a Negroe, but a Midianitish. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd to call Moses, and after him David, and by them to deliver his People first and last. For Moses sitting by a Well (as discomfolute, and a stranger) defended the Daughters of Reguel from other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by Jethro, whose Daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Towns or Countries.

From hence also came Jethro to Moses at Rephidim, not far from Idumæa, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if Jethro had been an Ethiopian, it had been a fair progress for him to have passed throughout all Egypt with the Wife and Children of Moses, and to have found Moses in the border of Idumæa: the Egyptians hating Moses, and all that favoured him. But the passing of Moses through Arabia Petraz (which joyntly to Madian) proveth that Moses was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandered forty years, and did by these late travels of his, seek to instruct the Children of Israel in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milk of Idolatry, and obstatinate in the Religion of the Heathens, and finding that those stiff plants could not be bowed or declined, either by persuasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and Gods Commandments.

Lastly, this Opinion of Josephus is condemned by Augustinus Chrysostomus, where also he reprehended Apollinaris, who avowed that Moses had married both Tharbis and Sippora. His own words show this beginning: *Monstrum etiam Apollinaris duas uxoribus habuisse Moysen, &c.* Apollinaris also saith, in affirming that Moses had two Wives: and who doth not perceive these things feigned by them: for it is manifest, that the Wife of Moses was Zephora, Daughter to the Priest or President of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for Ethiopia beyond Egypt: being the same that joyntly to Arabia: So saith Chrysostomus.

¶ III.

Chush ill expounded for Ethiopia, Ezechiel 29. 10.

NOW, as Chush is by the Septuagint converted Ethiopia, and the Wife of Moses therefore called Ethiopissa; so in the conquest of Nebuchodonosor is Ethiopia written for Arabia. For by the

words of Ezechiel, it is manifest that Nebuchodonosor was never in Ethiopia. Behold (saith Ezechiel, speaking of the person of this great Assyrian) *I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the Tower of Sevechen, even to the borders of the Chusites, which lait words should have been thus converted: From the Tower Sevechen, to the border of the Chusites, or Arabians, between which two is situated all Egypt.* For to say, from the borders of Sevechen to the Ethiopians, hath no sense at all. Sevechen it self being the border of Egypt, confronting and joyning to Ethiopia, or the Land of the Black-moors. So as if Nebuchodonosor conquest had been but between Sevechen and the border of Ethiopia, it were as much to say, and did express no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Country, lying between Middlesex and Buckingham, where both the Countries joyntly together: or all the North parts of England between Warwick and Scotland: for this hath the same fence with the former, if any man sought to express by these two bounds, the Conquest of England: Warwick being the North border of England, as Sevechen or Syena is the South bound of Egypt, seated in Thebaida, which toucheth Ethiopia. But by the words of Ezechiel it appeareth, that Nebuchodonosor never entered into any part of Ethiopia, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the Geneva, and all other (in effect) have written Ethiopia for Chush.

¶ IV.

Another place of Ezechiel, Chap. 30. Vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

AND as the former, so is this place of Ezechiel mistaken, by being in this place converted, *In die illa egredientur nuntii a facie mea in visitandum ad conserendum Æthiopiae confidendum:* Which place is thus turned in English by the Genevans: *In that day shall their messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Moors afraid.* Now, the Latine for (ships) hath the Greek word Trires, for Triremes, which are Gallies of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should have been (as in the former) amended by using the word Chush, or Arabia, for Ethiopia, or the Black-moor, every man may see which meanly understandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to pass out of Egypt into Ethiopia, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to pass out of Northampton into Leicester-shire: Ethiopia being the conteminate Region with Egypt, and not divided so much as by a River. Therefore in this place of Ezechiel it was meant, that from Egypt Nebuchodonosor should send Gallies along the Coast of the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be transported into Arabia the Happy and the Sney (signifying the long wearisome march over all Egypt, and the Desert of Pharan) which Army might thereby surprize them unawares in their security and confidence. For when Nebuchodonosor was at Sevechen within a mile of Ethiopia, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to pass into it: being all one large and firme Land with Egypt, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land thire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleasure, he could not have done it; for the fall of Nilus (tumbling down over high and steepy Mountains) called Canadupa Nilus, were at hand.

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Lastly,

Lastly, I have already observed, the Sons of every Father (eaten themselves as near together as possibly they could; *Gomer* and his Sons in *Asia* the left; *Javan* and his Sons in *Greece*, and the Islands adjoining; *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the sons and grand-children of *Chubb* from the River of *Gebon* (their Fathers first left) inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguous unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Ham* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Shaba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had never acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian Black-moors*, as is remembered in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

¶ V.

A place, *Eliay* 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by asking *Chubb* for *Æthiopia*.

And as in these places before remembered, so in divers others is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia*, or *Chubb*, which puts the Story (where it is for understood) quite out of square: one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what fence hath this part of Scripture, *Isai*. 18. *Ve terra Cymbalorum alarum que est trans flumina Æthiopie*; or, according to the Septuagint, in these words: *Ve terra navium alarum que est trans fluvios Æthiopie*; *Wo to the Land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Æthiopia, sending Embassadors by Sea, even the Vessels of Reeds upon the waters. Ve terra umbroso ore*; *Wo to the Land of the shady coast, faith Junius*. The former Translators understood it in this sense; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significantly called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Isaiab*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the Egyptians that sent this Message to the *Israelites*, which *Isaiab* receiveth, and by the former Translation, every man may see the transposition of Kingdoms; for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* set next unto *Judea*; when it is the Land of *Chubb* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judea* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is seated under the Equinodial Line. And in this, *Beraldu* asketh a material question (to wit) what Reason that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? Nam de ignota q̄ regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown Region. Now, if *Æthiopia* it self be under the Equinodial line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? except we shall impiously think that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as far South as the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known by the name of *Bona Esperanza*.

¶ VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both *Terrhaca* in the Story of *Senacherib*, and *Lera* in the Story of *Abā*, are unadvisedly made *Æthiopian*s.

AND by this Translation is the Story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repelled at *Pelufium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judea*: when *Isaiab*, having certain knowledge that *Thirrhakeh* (which all the Interpreters called King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatening Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Judea*, persuading him to submit himself: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of *Ashur*? Where is the god of *Hamah*, &c. By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jerusalem*, commanded by *Rabsheke*, with the other which lay before *Pelufium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nile* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Judea* and *Benjamin*, with a third a King (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lerna*. But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by the King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Antiq.* *Josephus* calls *Tharshish*) *Rabsheke* halted from the siege of *Hierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachir*, and set down before *Lerna*, which was afterwards called *Elezthoropolis*, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at *Pelufium*, and *Antiq.* feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himself, whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Hierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 180000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechia* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that it was come to a foot (both to relieve the Egyptians and the Jews) marched towards him by the way of the Desert: Now, the Desert which lay indifferent between *Lik-loua*, *Hierusalem* and *Pelufium*, was that of *Pharon* or *Sin*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabias*; to wit, the Story, of which it is a part; the Desert, and the Happy; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabian* come on to succour either *Pelufium* or *Hierusalem*. But that there is any Desert between *Pelufium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, *Verf*. 9. hath the like mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chubb*) is also translated *Æthiopia*, and in this sense have all the Interpreters (but *Junius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse: He heard also men say of *Thirrhakeh* King of *Æthiopia*, &c. Whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius*: Audient autem de *Thirrhakeh* Rege *Cushi*; He heard also of *Thirrhakeh* King of the *Cushites*. For they were the *Cushites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smok of *Judea* flaming was blown, being their nearest Neighbours: as *Plin.* l. 5. were not the *Æthiopian Black-moors* under the Equinodial, whom neither War nor Peace (which ever

2. Chron. cap. 14.

covereth all Regions) ever found out, faith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia*: than *Zerab* was, who invaded *Asia* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army, and those Chariots should pass through all *Egypt* (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For Princes do not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever such strength of *Black-moors* heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Æthiopian* King Travellers or Conquerours; and yet is this King *Zerab* also called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chubb* being first so converted for *Æthiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

¶ VII.

A farther Exposition of the place, *Eliay*. 18. 1.

Concerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eliay*, *Navium alarum*, *Winged Ships* (to the Septuagint turn it) or *Cymbal alarum* (according to the *Latins*) (sail mistaking in the words, or terra umbroso ore (after *Junius*) the Land of a shadowed coast, or the Land shadowing with wings, as our English Geneva hath it. The two first interpretations of the Septuagint and St. Hierom, have one sense in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a Ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our Ships sail slowly, that the wanteth wings (that is) when her sails are either worn, or too narrow: and we also use the same phrase of the wind whistling in the sails. And it may be that the Egyptians employed for many of those small ships, as their sails were said to give a shadow over the Red-Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Isaiab*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabab*) doth signify both to shadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this phrase (faith *Pintus*) is this: *Wo to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others: safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings; which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the argument of the 18th. Chapter of *Isaiab*: and this phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the 16. Psalm: Sab umbra alarum tuarum protege me. Defend me under the shadow of thy wings.* The Boats of Reed spoken of are of two kinds: either of basket-Willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottom, and built up on both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I have seen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

SECT. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of *Egypt*.

¶ I.

That *Mizraim* the chief Planter of *Egypt*; and the rest of the Sons of *Ham*, were seated in order one by another.

THE second son of *Ham*, was *Mizraim*; who (according to the place of a second brother)

was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chubb* first possit *Chaldea* on the West side of *Gebon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, he entered *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-east side of *Judea*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past over into *Asia*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*; and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these four brothers possit all that Tract of Land, from *Gebon* in *Chaldea*, as far to the West as the *Mediterranean* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petra*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galile*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; with the two *Egypt*s, whereof the neither is bounded by *Mempis* on the South, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the North; and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopian*, or *Black-moor*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Plus* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the rest of *Nab's* children fort themselves.

¶ II.

Of the time about which the name of *Egypt* began to be known: and of the Egyptians Lunnary years, which made their Antiquities seem more fabulous.

THIS flourishing Kingdom possit by *Mizraim*, changed her antient name, and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Ramessis*, as some think) the son of *Eliab*, thence his elder brother *Danias*, shifting him out that part of *Greece*, now called *Morrea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Dana*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. years after the Flood, in the time of *Eusebius*. But in *Homer's* *Odyssie* it appeareth that the Egyptians were so called at the time of the *Trojan* War. And before this, *Egypt* was named by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Ostrana*, &c. And *Manetho* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first Book against *Appion*) numbeth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Mos*'s departure, who continued 393. years. By which other men conjecture, that the Egyptians took on them that name, 330. years after *Jofua*, and about 1000. years after the Flood. But where *Josephus* in the same Book taketh *Isael* to be those *Egypt*s, which he also calleth *Phostores*, or *Shepherds*, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. years: who also he calleth his Ancestors (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jews*) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manetho* saith, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod*, *Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (faith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000. years; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also life among the *Aethiopian* and *Arabians*.

cadians, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; whereof *Ovid*:

*Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & Luna gens prior illa Juis.*

The *Aradians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moon* did shine, or *Jove* was bred.

But for those 13000. years, it may well be true; seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by months, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100 years, whether we take their Months or Lunar years to have been of the first kind of 27. days and eight hours; or otherwise 29. days and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunar years.

§. III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

Grandis Mercator, in his *Chronologie*, reasons for the *Egyptian* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptian* times) had beginning with the general Flood; and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer: That there in *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty* was at once with the general Flood; which *Eusebius* maketh 292. years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynasty* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Salus*, to have been in the year of the World 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16. *Dynasty* was begun but in the 292. year after the Flood, as they account, and continued 190. years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynasty* to endure 115. years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100. years: for the 28. had but six years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. years: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. year after the Flood: so as where *Mercator* maketh all the 15. to precede the Flood, and the 16. to have been then in being at the time of the Flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of *Falhood* cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. year that *Nimrod*, with the Sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no difference, nor Inter-plantation at all. And though he hastily converted *Gomer* into *Babyl*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the tenth year of *Nimrod's* reign (which was ten years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* possess, and a Government established in the very first year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinar*, before all partition, or any Expedition far off, or near, in question: for, from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

§. IV.

Against *Pererius*: that it is not unlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within 200. years after the Creation, at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.

BUT whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties* (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled with 100. or 200. years after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposed that it was not inhabited at all before the general Flood, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quemadmodum enim primos mundi duces, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari possint, ut ad Egyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagassent, &c.* For how could the children of *Adam* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confess, that there were then both the *Africans* and other Nations.

Now, seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving-belief, it is lawful for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gain say any mans opinion out of any croaking or cavelling humors: for I think it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate reticements, to maintain factions needless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this Opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Flood, I say, that there is no reason why we should give a less increase to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Flood double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who being fearful that the death of *Abel* would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the land of *Nod*, and there, by the help of his own issues, built a City (called *Erech*) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar* with so many multitudes as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was given but 130. years by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but one hundred and one year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancy of the first Age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. years the same (if not a greater) number might be increased

increased; and so within 70. years after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. years) *Affria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be peopled before the Flood, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonians* and *Affrian* Empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first 100. or 130. years after the Flood, came into *Shinar* and *Babylonia*. For, that ever *Noah* himself came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerful numbers which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her own Army of three millions (and the left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few years after the Flood, it might also be plentifully filled in like time before it: For after their own account, *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Affria* but 292. years after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterranean* Sea; when there had now past from the Flood to the time of this her invasion some what less or more than 390. years: for so much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confess, that in respect of the strange greatness of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000. Foot-men, and 500000. Horse-men, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reign, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time be peopled; and *Semiramis*, have been plentifully peopled: when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entered (notwithstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now, if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (Epitomiz'd by *Justine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For these be his own words, speaking of *Ninus*: *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vxoritis Rex Egypti, &c.* But there were in times more ancient *Vxoritis* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* King of the *Scythians* of which the uncivilized *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*, and how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and all that toward the *Bactrian*; yea all that whole Body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbeth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000 Foot-men, and 200000 Horse-men: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroaster's* Army was far short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for foreign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that *Egypt* was peopled by *Misraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abraham's* time, the Scriptures tell us. And sure, to prepare and cultivate a desolate and over-grown ground, to beautify it with many Cities, Laws and Policies, cannot be effected a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200 years after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter)

before the Flood. For if so many millions of men were found within 300 years after the general Flood; so as not only *Babylon* and *Affria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, far-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what corners could then all those Nations be comprehended, which 1656 years brought forth before the Flood? even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had belied living Nations of his own body.

§. V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of *Peterius*.

FOR what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800 or 900 years? Surely we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not spread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World; wherein if one exceed fifty years, for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by Wars, or Plillence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the Earth, with all the industry of man, could not give them food. What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900 years as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in *Britain* since three or four hundred years before the *Norman Conquest* (sparing such as by accident, or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Pogromy* might have been increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and Mighty Ones of the first Age observed no Law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that those Lovers of the World and Pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal Time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger, which they could fly from, or elude. For what humane Argument hath better perswasion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them afloat, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and fawerth with the seeds of Mankind?

Now, if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alleged for sufficient Authority, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Josephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cain's* time, I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all those times between his death and the Flood; which were by estimation five or eight hundred years. And sure, though this fragment of *Berosus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to be rejected. Therefore St. *Hierome*, for such

Authors gives a good Rule : *Bona cornu elegamus, vitium contraria* : *Let us chuse what is good in them, and reject the rest*. And certainly, in the very beginning of the first Book, *Jerofus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moser*, touching the General Flood : and in that first Part *Jerofus* affirmeth, that those Mighty Men and Giants which inhabited *Emech*, commanded over all Nations, and subjected the universal World : and though that Phrase (*Of all the World*) be often used in the Scriptures for a part thereof ; as in the second of the *Acts*, *That there dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven* : yet by the words which follow in *Jerofus*, it is plain, that his words and sense were the same : for he addeth, *From the Sun rising to the Sun setting* ; which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more passable and easy to travel over before the Flood than after it. For *Petrus* himself confesseth, that *Antica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200 years after *Ogges* Flood ; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into far Countries after the General Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) inclosed for an hundred or an hundred and thirty years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and less cumbersome to walk over, in the first Age, than after the General Overflowing.

VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. Vers. ult. whereupon Petrus grounded his opinion.

I Astly, whereas *Petrus* draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the Tenth of *Genesis* ; And out of these were the Nations divided after the Flood : *Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium* ; By which it appeareth (*Saith Petrus*) that there was no such division before the Flood, which he also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the division of Tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur*, &c. seemeth to me very weak : The Text itself rather teacheth the contrary : For out of these (*Saith Moser*) were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood : inferring, that before the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Flood, or to any plantation or division in that Age : for if there were none else among whom the Earth could be divided after the Flood, but *Noah's* Sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the World before it ? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion : It is true, that it was so for that present ; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther off and general plantation : as *Jerofus* says well, that when man-kind were exceedingly multi-

plied, *Ad comparandum novus sedes necessitas compellerat, They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations*. For we find (as it is before said) that within 300. years after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies such multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers ; with their increase for any long times *all Asia*, the Greater and the Lesser *all Scythia, Arabia, Palestina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof, *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*, being also that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Jerofus*, then not only those parts of the World but (within 140. years after the Flood) *Spain, Italy*, and *France* were also planted : much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Flood, in the time of the chief strength of mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly, seeing all the World was overflowed, there were people in all the World which overflowed.

VII.

A Conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities : with somewhat of Phut (another Son of Ham) which peopled Lybia.

Therefore, for the Antiquity of the Egyptians, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Pulgar*, which give too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities : so I do not think the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Petrus* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to think that *Egypt* being peopled before the Flood, 200. or 300. years more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (Of Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Governours : which the Egyptians having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Jerofus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Egges*. For they both write, that the use of Letters, and the Art of Astrology was known to the *Babylonians* 3624. years before *Alexanders* Conquest : and this report *Annius* findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Emech*, who was born 1034. years before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire ; as also of *Christ* his coming in judgment, as *Saint Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and e-Plantation of Egypt : I will conclude this very man to his own reason, I will conclude this people by *Mizraim*, as it is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus*, the Son of *Belus*, as aforesaid, being divided into two Regions, that part from *Mempbis*, or *Nicopolis*, to the *Mediterranean* Sea, was called the more ancient *Delta* : because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the *Greek* Letter *Delta*, which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east, and embraced the Sea, next unto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pisumum*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed. The other branch, which yielded it self to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria* : The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Mempbis* and *Syene* near *Ethiopia*, and had the

the name of *Thebaida*, of the ancient City of *Thebes*, which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates : and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum* ; and by the *Greek*, *Dispolis* : in the Scriptures *No-hamon* ; which significth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Joseph* calls *Egypt*, *Mesraim* of *Mizraim* : and *Hierodorus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Phut, the third Son of *Ham*, took the next portion of Land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia* : whose people were anciently called *Phutici* (*Saith Josephus*) and *Phry* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania* : which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush*, and *Lud* were contemini, and associates with the *Egyptians*.

SECT. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, the fourth Son of Ham.

II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan : with the names of his eleven Sons.

Canaan (the fourth Son of *Ham*) posselt all that Region, called by the *Romans* *Palestina* ; in the Scriptures *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea* ; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy-Land* and *Juria* : the limits whereof are precisely fet down by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou goest to Gerar until Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Adma, and Zeboim, even unto Latha*. Now, howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted, *Moses* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North ; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* the East, and the other Cities named, stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost Territory of *Canaan* South-ward : and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now, the Sons of *Canaan* which posselt this Country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven.

1. Zidon.
2. Heib, or Chethu.
3. Jebusi, or Jebusaeus.
4. Emori, or Emoreus, or Amorites.
5. Giregisi, or Giregisus.
6. Heiv, or Chivens.
7. Arki, or Harkeus.
8. Seni, or Sineus.
9. Arada, or Aradaeus.
10. Zemar, or Samareus, or Tzemaureus.
11. Hamathi, or Hamathens, or Chamatheus.

Of which the most renowned were the *Heibites*, *Giregisites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizizites* : which *Perizizites* were descended of *Zemar*, or *Samarius*, or from some of his.

III.

Of the Portions of Zidon and Heth.

Zidon the first-born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phoenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asser* : for *Asser*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phoenicia* distributed among them ; but the *Asserites* could never obtain *Zidon* it self.

The second Son of *Canaan* was *Heth*, or *Cethus* : of whom came the *Hevites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out ; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizizites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the Torrent *Befur*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moser* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, *Gen. 23* : having the Defart of *Pharan* to the South : for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Fucus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza*, dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the North-east as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*, and of *Ephraim* the *Hittites*, did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her self to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth*. The Clans *Anankim* *Gen. 27. 46* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared : as in the seventh of the Kings ; *Israel* hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites.

Rig. 7. 6.

III.

Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

Jebusaeus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal feat was *Jebus* (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Country near it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both : yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amorites was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Ammon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West : of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sidon* (overthrown by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan* : as behind *Libanus*, in the edge of *Callosyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumea*, near the Metropolis thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometimes called *Amorites* : as in *Deut. 1*. *Gergesites* the fifteenth : For the wickedness of the *Amorites* is not yet full. And that this was also a powerful Nation, we find in the Prophet *Amos* : *He destroyed I the Amorite, before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oak*.

IV.

¶. IV.

Of the Gergefites, Hevites and Harkites.

THe fifth Son of Canaan was Gergefus, or Gergefus (otherwise Gergaf) who inhabited on the East-side of the Lake of Tiberias, or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolemy sets the City Gersa, which Josephus calls Gesera, in the Territory of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ dispossessed the possessed with devils; and the Gergefites desired him to depart their Coasts, because their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of Galilee: Gergefus also built Beritus (some-time Geris) afterward Julia, three miles from the River Adonis in Phœnicia: in which the Romans held a Garrison: and to which Augustus gave many large privileges.

Hevites the sixth Son, and Father of the Hevites, inhabited upon Libanus near Emath. These Hevites, howsoever the Capthorim expelled a good part of them (as in Deuteronomie the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the Wars of Josia, and afterward to the time of Solomon. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the Israelites, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges the third: They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.*

The seventh Son was Aradus, or Araki, who between the foot of Libanus and the Mediterranean Sea (over against Tripoli) built the City of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards Arachi.

¶. V.

Of Sini and Arvadi.

Sineus the eighth Son, Hierosolymitanus sets at Caparsia, which Ptolemy finds in Judæa, not far from Jribus; to the South thereof, faith Justinus. But it is more probable, that Sineus founded Sin, which Saint Hierome calls Sim: Ptolemy, Simyra: Metla, and Pliny, Symirus: Brochard, Sycon (called Synochus) near Arca, Porcius thinks that Sineus inhabited the Deserts of Sinai, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of Brochard, who took view of all these places, affirming, that Sineus built Sinochis, as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another Nation of Cini, written with the letter C, (otherwise Kemai) who defended of Hobab the Son of Raguel the Madianite, who assisted the Israelites in their conduction through the wilderness of Pharan. But the Cini were admitted among the Israelites, and had a portion of Land with the Neplustims, beside their habitations with the Amalekites: against these Cini, Balaam prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the Assyrians.

The ninth Son was Aradeus, or Aradeus, who in the Isle of Aradus, built the City Arados: opposite against which Island, on the Main of Phœnicia, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called Amradus. To this City came Saint Peter (faith Clement) and in this Isle preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no

such work of his in the Acts of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skillfull Sea-men: whom Ezechiel remembreth in his Prophecies against the Tyrians: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Aradus were thy Mariners.* cap. 27. v. 8.

¶. VI

Of Zemari.

OF Samarcus, or Zemari, the tenth Son, there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in Calosyria at Edessa, and founded Samaraim, which in Josia is placed in the Tribe of Benjamin. There is also Samarajum (of the same Orthography) upon the Mountain of Ephraim (faith Bernaldus in Bernaldus) mentioned in the second of Chron. c. 13. *Chron. l. 4. v. 4.* which the Latine converteth amiss (faith he) by Smeron. The Hierosolymitan Paraphrast makes Samarcus (of whom were the Perizæites) the Parent of the Emassani, which Pliny calls the Hemisseni, in Calosyria; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthography, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking of Omri) disproveth, *And he bought the Mountain Samaria, 1 Kings or Shemeron of one Shemar for two Talents of Silver, 16. 28. and built in the Mountain; and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of Shemar, Lord of the Mountain Samaria.* But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the Conquest of the Holy Land, by the children of Israel. Of whomsoever the Samaritans were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a peridious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the Jews stood up, they always called themselves Jews: when it suffered, or failed, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the Assyrians, and partly of the Naturals.

¶. VII.

Of Hamathi.

THe last of Canaan's Sons was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Hamathi, of Hamath (faith Bernaldus;) of which (the aspiration taken away) the name is pronounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was present, Josephus, and Saint Hierome confound Emath with Antioch: not that Antioch which standeth on the River Orontes, on the frontier of Comagena, between the Mountain Casius, and the Province of Pieria, and Seleucia, of which Saint Peter was Bishop, and in which Saint Luke and Ignatius were born; but Antioch, firnamed Epiphania, as Bernaldus supposeth, which standeth between Apamea and Emesa in Cassioti. Yet indeed, Emath cannot be taken for either: for both that Antioch upon Orontes, and that which Neighboureth Emesa, are farther off seated from Canaan, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas St. Hierom setteth Emath, which he confoundeth with Epiphania, in the Tribe of Nephthali; it is manifest, that Epiphania, which standeth to the North of Emesa, hath all the Province of Laodicea between it and any part of the Land

Job. 4. 75. 19-33.

Gal. Tyr. 17.



Land divided. And if *Libanus* it self were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces, *Ludicia*, and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the *Holy Land*: and therefore *Emath* so taken, could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Joshua* is directly proved. For *Joshua* counting the Lands that remained unpossessed, reckoned all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sun-rising, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermion*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not in *Nephthali*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: Because *David* accepted the Presents of *Tobu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithal) conditions of Peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight: For if the Promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended though seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Mosé* and *Joshua*: for *Emath* is indeed situated on the other side of the Mountain of *Hermion*, which joyneth to *Libanus*; and is otherwise called *Iurex*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joshua* 19. v. 35. and written in the *Latine* conversion *Emath*, therein (saith *Bernardus*) was *S. Hierom* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iurex* is that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephthali* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (understanding the difference) write it *Amath*, and not *Emath*, the same which indeed belongeth to the *Nephthalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Affidim*: which City *S. Hierom* writes *Emath*; *Josephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amathin*, and the people of *Amathin*, of which (as I take it) *Rabshakeb* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*; Where is the God of *Hamath*?

SECT. XIII.

Of the Sons of Chush (excepting Nimrod, of whom hereafter.)

The Sons of Chush were,	}	Sheba, Havila, Saba, Raama, Sabeta, Nimrod.	}	And the Sons of Raama, were, Dedan.
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¶ I.

That most of the Sons of Chush were seated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabaeans that robbed Job: and of the Queen that came to Solomon.

Saba or *Saba* was the eldest Son of *Chush*, the eldest Son of *Ham*; to make a difference between him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama* or *Regna* (or *Regna* after *Montanus*) his Name is written with a single (*S*) *Saameth*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regna* with an (*S*) *Sapient*, which is the Hebrew, *Sabin*. *Sheba* the eldest Son of *Chush*, *Regna* his Brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regna* possessed both the shores of *Ar-*

bia Felix. *Saba* took that part towards the Red-Sea, as neareth his Father *Chush*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regna* and *Sheba* the East-coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulf of *Persea*; of which *Pliny*; *Sabei, Arabum populi, populi thura clarissimi, ad utraque maris parviti gentibus habitant*: The *Sabaeans*, people of *Arabia*, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas (to wit) the Persian, and the Arabian or Red-Sea. This Country was afterwards called *Arabia*, a populo mixtione, saith *Pothellus*. To this agreeeth *Ptolemy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the Arabian or Red-Sea, and the City *Rhagana* towards the Persian Sea; with whom also we may leave *Saba*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, because he remembereth a Nation (called *Stabei*) near the Persian Sea; and *Mossabube* which defended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regna*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama*, into *Caramania*, for which I see no reason. *Josephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath bannished *Saba* or *Saba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Bernardus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabei* which stole away *Job's* Cattle, should run through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petrea*, and find out *Job* in *Trachinis*, between *Palestina* and *Celsyria*, 1200 miles off. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that the *Sabei* on the Red-Sea, nor those towards the Persian Sea, could by any means execute the search upon *Job*, whichsoever *Bernardus* shall take for needful. But these were the *Sabei* of *Arabia the Desert*, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth, out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is feared: the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Sava*, now *Semicalac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia the Desert*, came those *Agag* or *Wise-men*, which worshipped *Chus*, saith *Melchior* whose words are these: The *Magi* came neither out of *Mesopotamia* (as *Chrysostom*, *Hierom*, and *Ambrose* supposed) nor out of *Arabia the Happy*, as many wise-men do believe, but out of *Saba* in *Arabia the Desert*: which City, when my self was there, was (as I judged it) called *Semicalac*. And to approve this Opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabei* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the Persian Sea, as those on the Red-Sea) are so disjoyned with large Deserts, as there is no possibility for strangers to pass them, especially with any numbers of Cattle, both in respect of the Mountains, of the Sands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: *Ubi nec homines, nec bestiae videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperius*. Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, nor birds, nor, next much as trees, or any pasture or grass, but only stony, and high, stony, and craggy Mountains. *Bernardus* and *Peterius* conceive, that the Queen of *Saba*, which came to visit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabei*, on the East-side of *Arabia Felix*; but the contrary seems more probable, and that she was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petrea*, betwixt *Idumea* and the Red Sea, as far down as *Midian*, or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*; and this Queen of *Saba*, which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Felix*, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel, enter his Territories, free from all danger of surprize by any other Prince or Nation.

But, to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that *Saba*, or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regna*, with his Sons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabeco*, were all the possessors

Plin. l. 12.
c. 14.
Pto. l. 6.
c. 14.
Ezech. 27.
v. 22.

for of Arabia the Happy, and the Desert: only *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwell together on the East-side of *Chus*, who held *Arabia Petraea*. Now, for *Saba*, there is found of his Name, the City of *Sabbata*, or *Sabota* in the same Arabia: of which both *Ptolemy* and *Ptolemy*, who withal nameth *Saba*, take within the Walls whereof there were some towns found sixty Temples. *Ezechiel* joyneth the Father and the Son together, *The Merchants of Sheba* and *Raama* were they *Merchants*. And that they were the Eastern *Arabians*, their Merchandize witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Josephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopian* about *Meroe*, and *Saba* of the *Ethiopian* *Ashabari*; they be not worthy any farther Answer than hath already been given: especially seeing these Cities preserving the memory of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy*'s time, though in some Letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoining, the names of other of the Brethren of the Family of *Chus*, with little alterations, are preserved. In *Arabia* the Desertist, the City of *Saba*, or *Sare* (as *yc* *Sin* *Sofas*) with the City of *Rhema*, for *Rhema*; and the Nation by *Ptolemy* himself called *Raaben* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Happy, is found the City of *Rhema*, and *Rahana*; which also keepeth the found of *Rhema*, the City of *Sapha*, or *Saptah*, not far from the East-coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and Chief City in the body of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference *or* *Sabata*, towards the Red Sea, and the West of *Sabata* towards the Red Sea, and the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoining, *Saba*; and to the South thereof again toward the straight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his Brothers and Nephews which were feated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the passage of *Tyris* was a neighbour, to whom he might pass by Boat, even unto *Rhema* the City of *Raama*, or *Rhema*, set near the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the Persian Sea, which stood in *Ptolemy*'s time.

II.

Josephus his Opinion of *Dedan*, one of the Issue of *Chus*, to have been feated in the West *Ethiopia*, disproved out of *Ezechiel* and *Hieremy*.

And whereas *Josephus* (whom in this Saint *Iherom* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the Son of *Raamah* into the West *Ethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezechiel* should couple *Sheba*, and *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15th Verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in the 22th Verse, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*. If *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Ethiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his Father and Brother) above four thousand miles. Besides which, the Merchandize that the *Dedaites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-Moors*. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezechiel*) were they Merchants in precious cloaths for thy Chariots; and that Western *Ethiopian* never saw cloth, till the *Portugals*, seeking these Coasts, traded with them: the Merchandize of their Country being Hides, Elephants Teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civet-Cats, and

Rice, but nothing at all of any Manufacture: and all these they exchanged for Linnen, or Iron chiefly.

But in those days, the West part of *Africa*, within the body of the Land, was known only by imagination; and, being under the burnt Zone, was held uninhabitable. And therefore, that the Negroes of the West *Ethiopia*, which inhabit about *Serra Lina*, or *Niger*, could either pass by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the *Mediterranean* Sea, were a strange or rather a foolish fancy. Now, to put it out of Dispute, that *Dedan* also dwell by the rest of the Children of *Chus*, which Seats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet; let us hear *Hieremy* his own words: Fly ye Inhabitants of *Dedan*, for I have brought the destruction of Esau upon him. Herby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumeans*; and *Idumea* is a Province of *Arabia Petraea*; and *Dedan*, which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia Felix*, joyned in that part to *Petraea*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chus*; which neighbourhood of *Dedan* and the *Idumeans*, is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*: I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, and destroy man and beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from *Teman*: and they of *Dedan* shall fall by the sword. *Ezech. 15. v. 15.*

SECT. XIII.

Of the Issue of *Mizraim*: and of the place of *Hieremy*, Chap. 9. Verse 7.

After *Chus*, it followeth to speak of *Mizraim*. The term, *Sons*, whose names (saith Saint *Angeline*) nation in were plural, to signify the Nations which came in the *Libyans*. *Ludim*, the elder Son of *Mizraim*, was commonly the Father of the *Libyans* in *Africa*; and thereof of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of *Shem*, there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the Son of *Mizraim*, by the singular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the Son of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Libyans* in *Africa*, and that he was feated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremy*, who joyned them in this fortgette: *Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth*, the *Black-moors*, and the *Libyans* which bear the shield: for those Nations afflicted the Egyptians, being of one Parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joyned together; *Ethiopia* (or *Chus*) saith *Ezechiel*, *30. ver. 3.* and *Phut* and *Lud*, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the Sons of *Chus* (which were the *Chusites*) the Sons of *Mizraim* (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Libyans* descended of his Son *Lud* with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, shall fall together. *Hieropolymitanus* finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Libyans*. And I believe it, because *Hieremy* joyneth the *Libyans* and *Ludians* together in the place before remembered. But *Libya* in *Africa* is by the Hebrews called *Ludim* (saith *Avia* *Montanus*) though 2 *Chron. 12. 3.* they seem to be called *Lubim*, or *Lubai*, a name somewhat near the word *Liby*, and not *Liby*, but *Liby*. Neither

ther is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirteenth of *Ezechiel*) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Libyans* at all: for he will have this threatening to be meant against the people of *Lyde*, a City (hith) between *Egypt* and *Palestina*, which opinion I could not mislike, if the City of *Lyde* were so feated. But *Lyde* (which should be written *Lydda*, with a double *d*, and is the same City which was afterwards *Dialpolis*, in which St. *Peter* cured *Aenes* of the Palsie) standeth near the *Torrent* *Gas*, not far from *Teppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the World, and far alunder; as after the name of *Alexander*, *Telencus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*: to be of divers others. St. *Hierome* maketh *Lebanon* to be the Father of *Liby*, who was the third Son of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Potellus*, and the other Opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraim*'s Sons have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, saving *Cushim* and *Caphorim*, of whom came the *Philistines*, whom the Scriptures call *Peletet*.

These *Cushim* inhabited *Cassitis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountain *Cassus* are found, not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphorim feated near *Cassitis* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sabroth*, not far from *Pelusium*, *Strabo* calls it: *Sabroth*, *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sabroth*, of the City *Sebron*: which *Orestes* takes to be the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules* *parva*. Of the *Cushim* and *Caphorim* came the *Philistines*, which are called by the *Septragint* *Allophyl* (which is *Alienigena*, Strangers, or of a strange Kindred. These *Philistines* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palestina* took name. For the Hebrews (saith *Idore*) do not use the Letter *P* but instead of it (ph). Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Acaton*: and the people of them called *Gasei*, *Ascalonites*, *Azotites*, and *Acatonites*: *Idore* affirms, that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*, and of that City the Country adjoining. But where *Idore* had it, I know not.

The first known King of the *Philistines*, was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abraham*'s wife; with whom *Abraham* made a Covenant and League. This *Abimelech* dwell indeed at this time in *Geras*; but it is written, that he was also King of the *Philistines*, in these words: Wherefore *Isaac* went to *Abimelech* King of the *Philistines* unto *Geras*. Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* governed the Country with great glory, the rest of his Successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistines* commanded that Tract of Land upon the Mediterranean Sea to the Northward, from the Cattle of *Philistines* (otherwise called *Ascalon*, or *Straton* Tower) which was the South border of *Phoenicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or *Strong* Giants were these *Philistines*: and *Goliath* was of this one of the five Cities above-named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Lysanias*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150 years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakned by *Samson* and *Samuel*; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

It is Objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoining, were held by the Sons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* displois the Sons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this faith *Perierius*, that although the *Palestines* or *Philistines* held it in the time of *Isaiah*, yet at the time of the Promise it was possessed by the *Canaanites*, as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hebrews* dwell in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvel, if the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistines* were of *Caphor*, and so of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Isaiah* witnesseth: The Lord will destroy the *Philistines*, the remnant of the issue of *Caphor*. And in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistines* will be the reliques of *Caphorim*: Have I not brought up Israel out of the Land of *Egypt*, and the *Philistines* from *Caphor*, and *Aram* from *Min*? I read this place with divers of the Learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and *Philistines* *de* *Caphor*, *de* *Sydo* *Cyrene*, this conversion *Berodatus* condemneth: where *Caphor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Liby*: For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Egypt*, between *Phoenicia* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* is *Asia* under the *Allyrians*: *Junius* hath it *Kir*, and *Isaiah* *Cyrene*, and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Perierius* calls *Caphorim* *Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar Translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Jonis* in the North of *Asia* the Less. For without they inhabited *Sebreiter*, or *Cappadocia* of which manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa*, but for a place in *Media*. *Secundus* is written in the second of the Kings, that *Isaiah* the Inhabitant of *Damascus* King of the *Allyrians* carried away *Isaiah* seems to understand this *Kir* of *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media* *Superior*: for it was the manner and policie of the *Allyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syno-Media*; because the *Syrians* by the *Allyrians* were there captivated.

SECT. XV.

Of the Issue of *Sem*.

II.

Of *Elam*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Elam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

The Posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceeded, in order with the Genealogy and Story of the Hebrews: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the Children of him and *Aram*; the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninive*) was also laid to be the Father of the *Affrians*, whose Issues, and the Issues of *Cham*, initially contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Affrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Affur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (having *India*) which I believe *Noah* himself first inhabited; and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah*, the Sons of *Jafan* afterward repaired: *Hi filii Sem* ad *Euphrate fluvio partem Asia usque ad Oceanum Indicum tenebant*: These Sons of Sem (said *St. Hieron*) held all those Regions from *Euphrates* to the Indian Ocean.

Of Elam came the Elamites, remembered *Atis* 2. *ter. 9*. And the Princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the Kings Seat of *Persia* (witness *Daniel*) And *Jaw* (saith he) in a *Vision*, and when *Jaw* it, I was in the Palace of *Susan*, which is in the Province of *Elam*. This City is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ula*: and seated in the border of *Susiana*.

Affur (as most Historians believe) the second Son of *Sem*, was the Father of the *Affrians*, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babel*, or exceeding it. We find it in due place to approve that Opinion. Every man's hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much: for the *Affrians* to often invaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane Letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *Diod. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Affrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* loilt the Empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the most powerful Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the umbril of his Dominion toward the North-East, and *Syria* bounded him towards the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Ezay* the 37. Have the gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed: as *Gozan*, and *Haran*, and *Relaph*, and the children of *Eden* which were at *Telaflar*: Where is the King of *Hamath*, and the King of *Arphad*, and the King of the City *Seharuaim*, *Hena*, and *Ivah*? All these were indeed but petty Kings of Cities, and Countries, as *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: *Relaph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Iuerea*, under *Libanus*: the Ilke of *Eden*: *Sephar*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nebuchadonozor*, who was most powerful before the Conquest of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Parthia*, and *Phoenicia*, parts thereof. But in this Question of *Affur*, I will speak my Opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose Plantation I have omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because he established the first Empire; from whom the most

memorable Story of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *Saint Hieron* and *Josephus*; but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the Sons of *Cham* possit the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrews*; for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Son of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the 16. is the common Opinion, taken from *Josephus* and *Saint Hieron*; but I see not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither from his friends.

§. II.

Of *Aram*, and his Sons.

Aram the first and last Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Ararite* by *Syria* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Josephus*) which *Syria* lived before *Mes* was born, the first of which others call the Son of *Abulo*. *Mesopotamia* also, being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Nabarajim*, which is as much to say, as *Syria durum fluviorum*; *Syria compellit vultu* two Rivers, (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*; and the Greeks *Mesopotamia* simply.

Arise and get thee to *Padan Aram* (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) to the house of *Bethuel* thy Mothers Father, and thence take thee a Wife. *Sirabo* also remembereth by the ancient name of *Aram*, or *Aranea*, as *Jude* 3. thence his own words converted witness: *Quos ut Parat. 1. 19. Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramenios et Syriam Aramiam*. *Thos* which we call *Syrians* (saith he) thence call *Aramenians* and *Arameans*.

Against this Opinion, that *Aram* the Son of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of those in *Syria Inter-Amnia*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some read *Genes. 22. 21. Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the Original read *Kemuel*, the Son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note, the rather, because in the History of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel* Polity could be famous) we find *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*, and that with an addition, sometimes with *Nabarajim*, and sometimes of *Pado*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seems) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks, in his Notes upon *Gen. 25. 20*, that *Padan-Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancabaria* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which, dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Nabarajim* (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this Opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region; because the two Rivers (as it were) yoked together go along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities, in *Ptolemy*, called *Abpadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Emphrates*.

The Sons of *Aram* were, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Uz, \text{ or } Hus, \\ Hul, \\ Geizer, \text{ or } Meis, \\ Mesch, \text{ or } Met.$

Hieron.
in trad.
Hieron.

Uz, or Hus, inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City, saith *Josephus*, and *Saint Hieron*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this Opinion, both in them and in *Lya*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth, that *Abraham's* Steward, *Eleezer*, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus*, the eldest Son of *Aram*, dwelt near unto his Father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the Desert, and to *Batanea*, or *Tracountis*; whereas the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the Land of Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Tracountis*, adjoining to *Bafan*, having *Batanea Gadulinitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: having in it many Cities and People, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: And all sorts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of *Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the Son of *Nabor*, the Brother of *Abraham* (saith *S. Hieron*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Polo*.

Hul, the second Son of *Aram*, *S. Hieron* makes the Father of the *Armenians*; as *Carier*, the third Son, Parent to the *Acarnanians*, or *Carians*; which Opinion (because I find not where to find him) do not disprove, though I see no reason why *Geizer* should leave the fellowship of his own Brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the 16. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desert of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* setteth the City of *Cholle*.

Geizer (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Baltrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noah's* children feathers, to carry them far away in all half. For mine own Opinion, I always keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) That *Geizer* seated himself near his Brothers in the Body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Cassitis*, and *Sekewis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Met*, or *Mesib* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, near the Mountain *Mafius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desert parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while; so ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, let them asunder. For although these Sons of *Aram*, and the Sons of the rest of *Noah's* children kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdom; yet therein every one also fought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities, therein built, their own names; thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Provinces: every one cumulating and disdaining the greatness of other, as

they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Pern* excepted, because those Countreys are unaccessible to strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Met, the fourth Son, is made the Parent of the *Mesians*: of whom something had been spoken already. *Arphaxad*, the third Son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two Sons, *Phaleg* and *Jedai*: and in *Phaleg's* time was the *Earth* divided. chap. 8. Sect. 7.

§. III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the Sons of *Heber*, of the issue of *Sem*.

The many People which at the division (at *Phaleg's* birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews* (saith *Perrinus* out of *Sedar* *Hblam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm, that this partition hapod at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the Flood 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it so many years after the Flood, ere the children of *Noah* levered themselves. But to this Opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make, how in so few years as 101. (the time of *Phaleg's* birth) so many people could be increased, *Perrinus* gives this Answer, That 70. persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 60000. fighting men in 215. years (besides women, children, and potent people) how much more is it likely, that so soon after time the Flood the children of *Noah* might, in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth*: What strength this Answer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Isaak* were 70. and had 215. years time: and the Sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. years of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the division, in memory thereof: as *Josephus* and *S. Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phaleg's* death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was, by more likely computation, 12. years before his birth) then was the division 38. years after *Ninive*, who governed 52. years: in the 42. year of whose Reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Ninur* began to rule the *Affrians*, 80. years before this division (as this division is placed by the *Hebr.* in *brew*, *Hieron* and *Christoph*) then was the Earth so peopled in all the East & Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For *Ninur*, associating to himself *Ariam* King of *Arabia*, a People who at that time (saith *Diodorus Siculus*) plurimum gibus aggre armis prefabant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*: received *Berzans* into grace: then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seven Children: vanquished all those Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanis*, the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Perfia*, to the *Ithyrcanian* Sea. For the number which followed *Ninur* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and

Joseph. l. 1. Antiquit. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Gen. l. 15.

and *Zoraster* on the other side, who made resistance with 400000 prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill fatished with their portions, as they fought to be masters of all; and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this Opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the Earth: It was never meant that the Earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And surely, whatsoever mens Opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of Tongues and of Men must go near together with the scaling of the work of *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101. after the Flood, which was the year *Nimrod* came into *Shinar*, or ten years after he arrived, *faith Berghus*.

Now, if it be objected, That *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth Division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this Objection, it may be answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures; for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Ejau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this division, had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrews*, *Saint Hierom*, and *Chrysostom*, account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name *Phaleg*, he foretold the division which followed: to this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deferred any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his Son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell amongst the *Hebrews* themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the Building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

§. IV.

Of the sons of *Jochan*, the other Son of *Heber*.

1. *Elnodad*.
2. *Salaph*, or *Salep*, or *Shelaph*.
3. *Asiamath*, or *Chuscar*.
4. *Jare*, or *Jarah*, or *Jerath*.
5. *Hadarnam*.
6. *Uzal*, or *Uzal*.
7. *Dicklach*, or *Diela*.
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.
9. *Abimael*.
10. *Sheba*, or *Suba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opis*.
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jabab*.

All those Sons of *Jochan* (according to *Saint Hierom*) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Opis* or *Chuscar*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general: And their dwelling was from *Mesha* as thou goest unto *Seper* a Mount in the East. Of all these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the Sons of *Chusab*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Seba*, or *Sheba*, his Grandchild by his wife *Keturah*. But *Seba* the Son of *Chusab*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegna* his Nephew we have left in *Arabia felix*; and *Havilah* the Son of *Chusab* upon *Tygris*. *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabeans* in *Perfia*; of which Nations *Dionysius* of *Orbis* *sua* maketh mention: *Primum Sabei; post hoc sunt Passagardi; prope vero hos sunt Tacti*: The first are *Sabeans*; after these be *Passagardi*; and near these the *Tacti*. And whereas it is written; *But unto the Sons of the Concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his Son (while he yet lived) Eastward to the East-Country*: Hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandered into *Perfia*: for *Perfia* was accounted the furthestmost East-Country in respect of *Judea*; which also *Ovid* letteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abraham's* Sons scated themselves on the borders of *Judea*:

I rather choose to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desert, where *Ptolemy* letteth a City of that name.

But *Saba*, the Son of *Jochan*, the Son of *Heber* (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it self. For *Dionysius* Affir in his *Periegesis* (or description of the World) which he wrote in *Greek Verse*, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabei*. *Taxilis* his inter medius habitaque *Sabeus*. In the middle of these dwell the *Sabei*, and the *Taxili*, *faith Dionysius*.

§. V.

§. V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Jochan's* Sons, and of *Peru*, and of that voyage of *Solomon*.

Ophir also was an inhabitant of the East *India*, (and as *St. Hierom* underlands it) in one of the Islands plentiful with Gold, which are now known by the name of *Molucca*. *Josephus* underlands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chesterm*, or *Pentisulae*: of which there are two very notorious; *Calicut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Island, as *St. Hierom* doth, but he sets it at the head-land of *Molucca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Molucca* farther East.

Arian Montanus, out of the second of *Chronicler*, the third Chapter and 6th Verse, gathers, that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words, in the second of the *Chronicler*, are these: And he over-layed the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold of *Parauain*. *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: And the gold of that Land is good: finding a Town in *Charasene*, a Province of *Susiana*, called *Bartais* so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parauain*: from whence those Kings subjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they presented him, and which *David* preferred for the enriching of the Temple.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus* and *Plessir*, who also took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this Question may be a subject of no further dispute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am, that at least, *America* hath none, no not any City, Village or Mountain so called. But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atahualpa* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) some of the *Spaniards*, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand toward a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it down in the *Diurnal* of their enterprize, and so in the first description made, and sent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama*, had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever since, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assure me; which also *Aquila* the *Italian* in his natural and moral History of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Jochan*, who as he supposed navigated from the utmost East of *India* or *America*: it is most true, that *Jucatan* is nothing else in the language of that Country, but [What is that?] or [What say you?] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages answered *Jucatan* (which is) *What ask you, or What say you?* The like happened touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South side of *Trinidad*, and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, point-

ed to the Hills afar off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as, *high Hills* or *Mountains*. For at *Paria* begin that marvellous ledg of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and so hath that Country ever since retained the name of *Paria*.

The fame happened among the *English*, which I sent under Sir *Richard Greenville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages answered, *Wingandason*, which is as much to say, as, *Thou wear good cloaths*, or gay cloath. The name happened to the *Spaniards* in asking the name of the Island *Trinidad*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that fell place which the Sea encompasseth, they answered, *Caeri*, which signifieth an Island. And in this manner have many places, newly discovered, been entituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leave *Ophir* among the *Molucca*, whereabout such an Island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now, although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* it self (towards *Perfia*) in *Havilah*, now *Susiana*, and all along that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain *Indias* planted by the *Spaniards*, from the East *Indias*. And by the length of the passage which *Solomon's* Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was three years in going and coming) it seemeth they went to the uttermost East, as the *Molucca* or *Philippines*. Indeed these that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that navigation in two years, and sometimes less: and *Solomon's* Ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the use of the compass was known, it was impossible to navigate a-thwart the Ocean; and therefore *Solomon's* Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the East *India* Islands, far above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to sail every year to the West part of *America* thither, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they built a City called *Manilla*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the East, to have sped worse: neither could he navigate from the East to the West in those days, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

Testatus also gathereth a fantastical Opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whose Mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountains *Salinus* affirmed to be in *Synthia Asia*, in these words: *Nam cum Anro & Gemmis affuant, Griffes tenent universa, aliter ferocissime, Arimapsi cum his dominantur. Et per ubi ubi sunt Country: abund in Gold and rich Stones, the Griffins defend the one and the other: a kind of Beast, the fiercest of all other, with which Griffins a Nation of people, called *Arimapsi*, make War. These *Arimapsi* be said to have been men with one eye only, like unto the Cyclops of *Scythia*: of which Cyclops, *Heraclitus*, and *Aristem* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Cook: and *Valerius Flaccus* in *D. Scythia*, in the Story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own Opinion) I believe none of *Dionysius* them. And for these *Arimapsi*, I take it that this *Scythia*, name signifying one-eyed, was first given them, for reason that they used to wear a vizard of defence, with one fight in the middle to serve both eyes; and*

and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Salinus* borroweth these things out of *Phygy*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gylstron*, or the Cave of the North-east wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon some true Stories, or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this moral: That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for Gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eye-sight (at least of that eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with equities and moderate estate, and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt air, and violent heat and cold, and to all sorts of miserable difficulties. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet, if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend Mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in *America*, many high and impassable Mountains, which are very rich, and full of Gold. Inhabited only with *Tigers*, *Lions*, and other ravenous and cruel Beasts: unto which, if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same war which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the Gold, or feck to defend that metal, but being diquicted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said, that the *Allegories* (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodiles*) defend those Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the In-land: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Allegories* know not the Pearl, yet they find favour in the flesh and blood of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

¶. VI.

Of Havilah the Son of Joſtan, who also passed into the East-Indies: and of Melha and Scipher named in the vordering of the families of Joſtan: with a Conclusion of this Discourse touching the Plantation of the World.

OF Havilah the Son of Joſtan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East-Indies, in the Continent, from which *Ophir* pass into the Islands adjoining. And whereas *Gogier* is said to water Havilah, it is meant by Havilah in the East-India, which took name of Havilah the Son of Joſtan: but Havilah which *Pifon* compasseth, was so called of Havilah, the Son of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul fuisse the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But, that *Saul* ever made war in the East-India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of Joſtan, twelve three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*: though at the first rated by their Brethren about the Hill *Ardius*, or *Mis*, Gen. 10. 30. (to wit) between *Chus* and *Mesopotamia*: yet, at length, either them-

selves, or their issues removed into the East-Indies, leaving the other Families of *Jafan*, to fill the Countries of their first plantations: which the Scripture declines to have been from *Mis* unto *Scipher*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Mis* to be a Region of the East-Indies, and *Scipher* a Mountain of the same (which Mountain, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) those Families are far beyond my understanding. For, the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judea*, is never farther extended than unto *Perſia*. But *Mis* is that part of the Mountain of *Mafus* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* springeth, which runneth by *Characa*: and in the same Region we also find *Scipher* (remembered by *Mosier*) *Siphara* by *Polemy*, standing to the East of the Mountain *Mafus*, from whence, *Jofian* having many Sons, some of them might pass into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

The other fashion of Planting Underſtand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountain in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture, where the same phrase is used: as in *Numbers* 23. *Balaac the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountain of the East*: which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balaac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia* (witness this place of *Deuteronomy*: *Because they hired Balaam the Son of Beor, of Pethor in Aram*) *Niharajim*, to curse thee: for *Aram Niharajim* was *Syria fuvierum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the Flood doth best agree (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to go after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himself hath disguised all things: so the factious and bickering Historians of all Ages (especially of these later Times) have, by their many Volumes of untrue reports, left Honour without a Monument, and *Virtue* without Memory: and (in stead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to those, whom the darkeſt forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and diffolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds first Planters after the Flood (I mean all the footstepes of Antiquity (as appears by what hath been spoken) are not quite worn out, nor over-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the found of *Babel*; *Phoenicia* hath *Zidon*; so hath *Cilicia*, *Tharſis*; the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumeans*, *Libyans*, *Moors*, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first Founders and true Parents.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Beginning and Establishment of Government.

SECT. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of the families to be Regal, and from Regal absolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

I T followeth now, to intreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had society of people) under-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was always used, both for the Magistrate, and for those of Age and gravity: the same bearing one signification almost in all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of *Numbers*, God commanded *Mosier* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Governors over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same fence which the *Latine* word *Senex*, or *Senior* doth. So it is written in *Sofonias*, *Then the Assembly believed them at those that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And so in the words of those false Judges and Witnesses to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the Office of an Elder.* Demosthenes useth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Latcedemonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerant, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur, Senes; Among the Lacedemonians, the chief Magistrates, as they were, so they are called, Eldermen:* And again, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellassent Senatus; If reason and judgement were not in old men, our Ancestors had never called the highest Council by the name of Senate.*

But, though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governors, or Counsellours of State, there is a sign that the first Governments were the Fathers of Families: and under them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard*, take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seigneurie*) for *Lordship*: puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seigneurie*, *Seneca* makes two: The one, *Patris aut imperium*, Power or command: the other, *Proprietatis aut dominium*, Propriety or mastery-ship. The correlative to the one is the Subject; of the other, the Slave. Ad *Celsorem* (saith he) *possess omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietatis; Caesar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his own:* And again, *Caesar omnia imperio possidet, singulis dominio; Caesar holdeth all in his power, and every man possideth his own.* But as men and vice began abundantly to increase: so obedience (the first of natural reverence, which but from excellent seed seldom ripeneth,) being exceedingly overshadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of Pa-

ternal persuasions (after man-kind began to neglect and forget the Original and first giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to relist the first inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to contain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and steered by their own fancies, and tolt to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the World, while *Wildom* was severed from power and strength from charity: Necessity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wife and foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a general flood of confusion would a second time over-flow them, did they not, by a general obedience to Order and Dominion, prevent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others again (by interchange of offences) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Insumuch, that the licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved, upon a better trial, no less perillous than indurable bondage.

These Arguments, by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Under which Government, as the charge (which brought with it less evil, than the former mischief) was generally pleased: so time (making all men wife that observe it) found some improvement and corrective in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which invented, and the same Reason which approved, Sovereign power; brought it self to certain equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also discern her own limits. For before the invention of Laws, private affections in supreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Balance, both good and evil.

For as wisdom in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant.* The people were not governed by any other Laws than the wills of Princes. Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those men's Virtues value them which were not fanced by their Kings, nor those men's Vices deform them that were. *Amor interdu nimis videt, interdum nihil videt: Love sees one while too much, another while stark nothing.* Hence it came to passe, that after a few years (for direction and restraint of Royal power) Laws were established:

blished : and that Government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even Balance supreme power and common right) acquired the Title of Regal : the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical : the one, God established in favour of his people ; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regal Authority, Princes as they were chosen for their Virtues only, so did they measure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (saith *Kabus Pitar*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dei & dediti*; Princes because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity ; yet it was God himself that first kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a Ruler and Conductor : God himself by his Eternal providence having ordained Kings ; and the Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince ; the Deer their Leaders ; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their own safety. *The most high beards rule over the Kingdoms of Men ; and appointeth war it whomsoever he pleases.* By me (saith *Wisdom*), spoken by the Son of God.) *Kings reign ; By me Princes rule, And it is God (saith Daniel) that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is given from God, *Christ* himself witnesseth, speaking to Pilate, *Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold Justice that the World hath been Governed from the beginning (to wit) by a Justice natural ; by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephews, and Families ; in which government the Obedience was called natural Duty ; Again, by a Justice divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God ; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience : And lastly, by a Justice civil, begotten by both the former ; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three, those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is most evident : for *Adam*, being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator ; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

SECT. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government, with their opposites ; and of the degrees of humane society.

What other Policy was exercised, or State founded, after such time as man-kind was greatly multiplied before the Flood, it cannot be certainly known, though it seem by probable conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age : It being possible that many Princes of the Egyptians (remembered among their antiquities) were before the general Flood ; and very likely, that the cruel Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some Tyranny in Government, or some rougher form of Rule, than the Paternal.

Berosus ascribeth the Rule of the World in those days to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith

he) all Nations from the Sun-rising, to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and three several times as the rule of Eldership failed, three several forms of Government were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The first, most Ancient, most general, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Laws, called *Moharchy* ; to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observation of the Laws of God, or Men. For a lawful Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity ; and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the Rule of Gods Words : *Judges and Officers shall thou make thee in thy Cities : and they shall judge the people with righteous judgment.*

The second Government, is of divers persons called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimatum potestas* ; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great ones) is opposed : as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democracy*, to which is opposed *Ochlokratia*, or the Turbulent unjust ruling of the multitude ; and the like. The second Government, is of divers persons called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimatum potestas* ; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great ones) is opposed : as the *Decemviri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy since the second increase of mankind, I follow the history in this sort : First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Laws to his own issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many households (Man by nature, loving society) joining their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vici* ; of the Greek *κωμ*, which signifies a *Houſe* ; or of the word (*Vix*) because it hath divers ways and paths leading to it. And as the first Houſe grew into a Village, so the Village into a City ; so called of the Greeks *πολις* which signifies a *Fountain* : because many people (having their habitations not far asunder) drank of one Spring or Stream of Water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires, answereth not unfailly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increased : so both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to joyn and set together divers of their Villages, inventing them first with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls : which, being so compassed, were then called *Oppida* ; either ab *opponendo se hostibus*, Because Walls were opposed against Enemies ; or ab *opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence : as also they were called *Urbes*, ab *orbe* ; because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortify. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* signifieth no other than the very Walls, and Buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein : so called of *Civis*, and that, ab eo quod multitudo civit, of coming together. But all inhabitants within

in these Walls are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men : who bearing proportionally the charge of the City, may by turns become Officers and Magistrates thereof : the rest go under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same general name of Subjects are also known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen : perhaps also some Citizen (as the chief Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no Subject ; but of this we need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *à Magistro*, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Adverb *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, Precepts of Art) or else from the Greek word (*Μεγιστην*) and so the Greek call them *Μεγισταν*, whom the Latins call *Magistratus*, or *Magistratus*.

The Office and Duty of every Magistrate, Aristotle hath written in few words. A Magistrate or Prince (saith he) is the keeper of right and equity ; but the same is best taught by Saint Paul, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their Duties and Office. A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth ; but if thou do evil, fear : for he beareth not the sword for naught. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil. He also teacheth in the same place ; That every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained, and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giver and fountain thereof : and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgement and condemnation of Man, but of God : For every man shall be judged (saith he) not because of verily only, but also for conscience sake.

The examples are not to be numbered of Gods punishments, upon those that have resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty : for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a Tyrannous hand ; and the Commandment of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himself subjected themselves to the power of Magistracy. Christ commanded that all due to *Cæsar* should be given unto him : and he paid Tribute for himself and Peter. Hieremy commanded the Israelites (even those that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech* ; and Jacob blessed the King of Egypt : And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour (saith Paul) that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in Authority : and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint Chrysostom, in his Homily to the people, prefer Monarchical Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting : *Prefat Regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum ; Better a Tyrannous King, than no King ;* to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth : *Prefat (saith Tacitus) in the first of his History) sub male principe esse, quam nullo. It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them : *Nepos enim libertatis turis vult esse (saith Claudian) quam Domitio ferre bono ; No liberty (saith he) more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous.* And certainly, howsoever it may be disputed, yet it is safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000 Tyrants : under a wife man that is cruel, than under the foolish and Barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For

as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta*, that desired an alteration of Government, That kind of Rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great Kingdoms by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erect many Cottages for their many Children ; and as (for the reason before remembered) many Households joyned themselves together, and made Villages ; many Villages made Cities ; so when these Cities and Citizens joyned together, and established Laws by consent, associating themselves under one Governour, and Government ; they, so joyned, were called a Commonwealth : the same being sometimes governed by Kings ; sometimes by Magistrates ; sometimes by the People themselves.

SECT. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Now this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and Families became strong, and they dispersed into several parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden : Ambition and Covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the bloom and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure : they erected no other magnificent Buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest ; they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintain life : nor for any other apparel, than to cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the Sun.

And sure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those Elder times ; but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the time may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages : and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the Infancy of Empire (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only work to obedience) might be called the Golden Age ; may the beginning of all Princes times be truly be called Golden. For be it that men affect Honour, it is then best purchased ; or if Honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least Impediments : and if Liberty overthrow her Banks and Bounds, the same is then best warranted both by Policy and Example. But Age and Time, do not only harden and thicken the openest and most jovial hearts, but the Experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn Estates before their eyes, and (withal) perfwadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whose means are answerable unto other mens desires ; yet such as value all things by their own respects, do not sooner find their appetites unanswered, but they complain of alteration, and account the Times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his days be many : for our younger years are our Golden Age, which being eaten up by time, we praise those Seasons which our youth

accompanied : and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our selves, and the pains and difeases which never part from us but at the grave, make the time seem to differing and displeasing : especially the quality of Man's nature being also such, as it doth reth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present : state how just soever : *Fis humane malignitatis vizio, ut semper veteri in laude, presentia in fastidio sint ; It comes to pass (saith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we always extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious.* For it is one of the Errors of wayward Age : *Quod sint Landatores temporis alii ; That they are praisers of fore-past times, forgetting this advice of Solomon : Say not then, Why is it that the former days were better than these ? For thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing : to which purpose Seneca : Majores nostri quæsi sunt, & nos querimus, posteri querentur, everest affe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi : Our Ancestors have complained, we do complain, our Children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil.* There are usually the Discourses of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of *Anobis. Nova res quandoque vetus fieri, & vetus temporibus, quibus cepit nova sunt & repentina.* Whatsoever is new in time shall be made old : and the ancientest things when they look beginning were also new and sudden. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns ; so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes : so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of Kings to the Subjects ; having respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but even to the mean-ty of his Creatures : *Namque particulari bono servit omne homin ; The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only : For he that made the first and greatest, careth for all alike : and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs ; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general obedience : For, Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum : All humane power is rooted in the will or disposition of men.*

SECT. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility : and of the vain vaunt thereof without Virtue.

And with this Supreme Rule and Kingly Authority, began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen : unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which Employments and Offices sprang those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age, to these days. But this Nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Blood, but to Succession of Virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers : and so there needed then no endeavour of well-

doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet heretofore had Nobility denomination in the beginning. That such as excelled others in virtue, were so called : *Hinc dicta Nobilitas, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, Saint Jerom judged of the Succession in this manner : *Nobilitas aliud videtur in Nobilitate appendunt, nisi quod Nobiles quidam necessitate contringuntur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent ; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the virtue of their Ancestors. For it Nobility be Virtus & antique divitiæ ; Virtue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all those things which are extra hominem, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise dechne Nobility, than the word (animal) alone doth decline a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to L. Pius) be a witness of virtue and well-doing ; and Nobility (after Plutarch) the continuance of Virtue in a Race or Linage : then are those in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like unto Painted and Printed Papers, which ignorant men worship instead of Christ, our Lady, and other Saints : men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of ancient Virtue ; Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of Soyl and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and deiled ? Ex terra sterili produciuntur signanda decata venientia, ex terra sterili pretiosum Aurum ; Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poisoning Herbs, and out of barren Soyl precious Gold. For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth Charron (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility : the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publique Virtue, serving his Prince and Country, and being defended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Author calleth personal (the same which our selves acquire by our Virtue and well deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by Descent, and also Personal ; yet if Virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired Nobility, by many degrees to be preferred : For (saith Charron) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon such an one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour : and these be indeed but Honours of affection, with which Kings, with the change of their Fancies, with they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely, if we had as much fence of our delectation in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than Nobleness and glory to vaunt thereof. What calamity is wanting (saith Bernard) to him that is born in sin, of a Posthume body and barren mind ? For (according to the same Father) *Dele faciem fugacis honoris hujus, & male coronate nitentem glorie, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayest consider thy self nakedly : for thou comest naked out of thy Mothers womb, comest thou thence with thy Myre, or glittering with Jewels, or gentry.**

garished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or fluffed with Gold : If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration, as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked ; and weeping, because he is born ; and repining, because he is born to labour, and not to honour.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between the old and dult : which if thou dost not believe (saith St. Chrysostom) look into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily persuade thee by their own example, that thou art dult and dult : so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than thou.

Chry.
hom. 2.
de incor-
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p.

iffid than dost, this proceedeth not from the diversity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade
Of virtuous life ; not in the fleshly Line :
For blood is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howsoever the custom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues : yet Solomon (as wife as any King) reprehendeth the fame in his fellow-Princes : *There is an evil (saith he) that I have seen under the Sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth : Folly is set in great excellency.*

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus : and of memorable things about those times.

SECT. I.

That Nimrod was the first after the Flood that reigned like a Sovereign Lord, and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.

THE first of all that reigned as Sovereign Lord, after the Flood, was Nimrod, the Son of Chush, distinguished by Meser from the rest (according to St. Augustine) in one of these two respects : either for his crinency, and because he was the first of fame, and took on him to command others : or else, in that he was begotten by Chush, after his other children were also become Fathers ; and of a later time than some of his Grandchildren and Nephews. Howsoever, seeing Meser in express words, calleth Nimrod the Son of Chush, other men conjectures to the contrary, ought to have no respect.

This Empery of Nimrod, both the Fathers, and many later Writers call tyrannical : the fame beginning in Babel (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to me, that Melancthon conceived not ariseth hereof : the fame exposition being also made by the Author of that Work, called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that Nimrod was therefore called *Amarus Dominator, A bitter, or severe Governor*, because his form of Rule seemed, at first, far more terrible than Paternal authority. And therefore he is in this respect also called *A mighty Hunter*, because he took and destroyed both beasts and thieves. But St. Augustine underlands it otherwise, and converts the word (ante) by (contra) affirming therein, that Nimrod was a mighty Hunter against God : *Sic ergo intelligendus est Cigna ille, Venator contra Dominum.* So it that Giants to be understood, a Hunter against the Lord.

But howsoever this word (A mighty Hunter) be understood ; yet it rather appeareth, that as Nimrod had the command of all those which went with him from the East into Skinaar : so, this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no where is found, that Noah himself, or any of the

Sons of his own body, came with this troop into Babylon : no mention at all being made of Noah (the years of his life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the Hebrews ; nor that Sem was in this disobedient troop, or among the builders of Babel.

The fame is also confirmed by divers Historians, that Nimrod, Suphne, and Jethan, were the Captains and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though Sem came not himself so far as Shinaar (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Son's Nephew Heber, the name and Nation of the Hebrews (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southernmost parts of Chaldaea, about the City of Ur, from whence Abraham was by God called into Charran, and thence into Canaan.

And because those of the Race of Sem which came into Chaldaea, were no partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower : therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) they did retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to Noah's ; and Noah to Sem and his Issues : *In familia Heber remansit hæc lingua ; In the family of Heber this language remained (saith Saint Augustine) out of Epiphanius) and this Language Abraham used ; yea, it was anciently, and before the Flood, the general speech : and therefore first called (saith Callestime) lingua humana : the humane tongue.*

We know that Goroips Becaus following Theodoret, Rabbi Moser, Egyptians, Vergara, and others, is of another opinion ; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly feed of Sem were the chief Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely, that that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that Nimrod rather had it by just authority, than violence of usurpation.

SECT.

SECT. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus were three distinct Persons.

BEnze, and out of him Naclerus, with others, make many *Nimrds*; *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint Hieron upon *Os*; and these words of Saint *Augustine* seem to make him of the same Opinion: *Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus ille regnaverat 65. annos: There did Ninus reign after the death of his father Belus, who governed in Babylon fifty five years.* But it could not be unknown to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the Establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plain and direct therein, *For the beginning of Nimrds Kingdom* (saith he) *was Babel, Erce, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar*; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly, it becometh with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* his time, the World was marvellously replenished. And if S. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus ille regnaverat*), who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Caesar* overthrow the liberty of the *Roman* Common-wealth, making himself perpetual Dictator; yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour, and the first that reigned absolutely by sovereign Authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of sovereign rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with general allowance, exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them, both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. years after the Flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proves it not. For, to *Edward* the third, and his Grand-child, *Richard* the second, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the other in the same year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoining; but the first, and most famous work of *Ninus*, was the City of *Ninive*.

Now, whereas D. *Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and suppressed the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one Person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

—*Dictum altum*

Cotillius muris cinxisset Semiramis Urbem.

Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty; so *Justin* hath the fame of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercator's* Arguments; it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For, if we may believe *Justin*; then were *Vesprior* King of *Egypt* and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was born. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them.

For, whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erce*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*; which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one Person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true. That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them, and built them from the ground, being the first after the Flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts; and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hand.

Besides, whereas these Cities, in many mens Opinions, are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of *Acad*, which the Septuagint calls *Archad*; and *Epiphanius*, *Arpal*; *Justin* takes it to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*; for the Region thereabout, the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Acadene* for *Accadene*. Others understand *Nisibis* and *Ninive*, to be one City: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charraz*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charraz*, are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accadene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arius Montanus*, out of S. Hieron, calls *Acad*; and so do the *Hebræans* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the Septuagint call *Orech*; S. *Augustine*, *Oreg*; and *Paginus*, *Erec*; this place *Justin* understandeth for *Aracca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Camagena*, called *Arace*: and indeed, likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalde*) some take it for *Calinis*: of which *Am. Mercellinus*, S. Hieron takes it for *Selenia*; *Hieronymianus*, L. 23. *Ctesiphon*: others do think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrate*, destroyed and raised by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Judge of this Dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not fenced in to divers and distant Regions; for these be his words: And the beginning of his Kingdom (speaking of *Nimrod*) was *Babel, Erce, Accad, and Chalne* in the Land of *Shinaar*; so as in the Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea* (being all one) we must find them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think, with *Viterbiensis*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities far removed, and in several Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguishing *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Go you (saith *Amos*) cap. 6. v. 20. to *Chalne*, and from thence go you to *Hamath*, and then

to *Gath* of the *Philistines*. The Geneva Translation, favouring the former Opinion, to let these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named, not that all these Cities were therein fenced, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chalde*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*; but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrod's* Empire, there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient City; but not so ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrate*. Now, that *Chalde* is situate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successive Kings.

SECT. III.

That *Nimrod*, not *Assur*, built *Ninive*; and that it is probable, out of *Ezay* 23. 13. that *Assur* built *Ur* of the *Chaldees*.

NOW, as of *Nimrod*; so are the Opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great State of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controversee wearisomely disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the Interpretation of *Justin* is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not disjoin the fence of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the Hebrew Text: *Erat enim principium Regni rui Babel, & Erce, & Accad, & Chalne, in terra Shinaaris: de terra hac processit in Assyriam, ubi edificavit Ninive* (which is) For the beginning of his Kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erce*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, in the Land of *Shinaar*; and he went forth of this Land into *Assyria*, and built *Ninive*. So as *Justin* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any Person, but for the Region of *Assyria*, the Land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction (where the word *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the Son of *Shem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth through all the Books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For, in the beginning of the tenth Chapter, he setteth down the Sons of *Noah*, in these words: Now these are the generations of the Sons of *Noah*, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, unto whom Sons were born after the Flood: then it followeth immediately, The Sons of *Japheth* were *Gomer*, &c. so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noah's* Sons, be he eldest or youngest, because he was first to be spoken of; with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and setteth down his Issue, and then the Issue of his Sons; first, the Issue of *Gomer*, *Japheth's* eldest Son; and then speaks of *Javan* and his Sons: for of the rest of that Family he is silent. Anon after, he numbeth the Sons of *Ham*, of which *Chush* and *Mizraim*; and afterwards of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the last, because he would not disjoin the Story of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Sela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*, and so to *Jacob*, and the Fa-

thers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Sons of *Shem*, in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have pait over to slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire in one of the Sons of *Shem*, if he had had any such means: it being the Story of *Shem's* Sons which he most attended. For he named *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sons of *Chush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter, he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the Issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Isaac*. And of *Justin* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive P. *Comfior*, in his *Historia Scholastica*, gave an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in four or five senses, he useth these words: *Vel intelligendum est de Assur, filio Sem, &c. sed Assur (id est, Regum Assyriorum) nunc expressum est, quod tempore Sarug patris Abrahami factum est; (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of Assur the Son of Sem, &c. but Assur (that is, the Kingdom of the Assyrians) came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of Sarug the great Grand-father of Abraham.* After which he reconcilith the difference in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; Respecting the beginning; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad Regni ampliationem*; Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Nierbergius*, Saint Hieron, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly, *Tornielius*: who (saith he) took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did *Africans*, after his Conquest in *Africa*; and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psal.* 81. *Ezay.* 10. *Os.* 5. &c. But to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the Son of *Irari*. But *Kabanas Marturi*, who was Arch-Bishop of *Mezenc* in the year of *Christ* 854. an Ancient and Learned Writer, understandeth this place with *Comfior*, or *Comfior* with him, agreeing in substance with that Translation of *Justin*: to which words of *Moses* he giveth this sense: *De hac terra Assyriorum pululavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli, filii, Ninus condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this Land grew the Empire of the Assyrians, who built *Ninus* the great City, so named of *Ninus* the Son of *Belus*. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Ezay*: *Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this was no people*, *Assur* founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderness; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diversity in the Translation and Understanding, in so much as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Ezay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But *Calvin* seemeth hereby to infer, that because *Assur* founded the State of the *Chaldeans*, therefore also *Assur*, rather than *Nimrod*, established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrary to the former Translation of *Justin*, and his own Opinion. Now, out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieron's* Trans-

Translation) it may be gathered, that *Affur* both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the *Chaldeans*; by *Ely* remembered unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrans*, that they cannot trust or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldea*, and that Estate, an example unto those *Phoenicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of *Chaldea*, being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Affyrans* utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of *Tyre* (invincible, as themselves thought) should also from after be overturned by the same *Affyrans*: as (indeed) it was by *Nebuchodonosor*. And there be the words after *Hierom*: *Ece terra Chaldeorum, talis populus non fuit, Affur fundavit eam, in capivitatem tradiderunt robigulos ejus, suffuderunt domus ejus, piserunt eam in ruinam* (which is) Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, such a People there were not (or, this was no People, after the Genes) *Affur* (or the *Affyrans*) founded it, they carried away their strong men captive, they undermined their Houses, and ruined their City. The *Spirituus* expels it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra Chaldeorum, ob hac desolata* (it is *Affyrans*, quoniam munus ejus corrumpit, making the fence perfect by the preceding verse, which altogether may be thus understood: If thou go over to Chittim (which is Macedonia, or Greece) yet thou shalt not rest (speaking to the *Tyrans*) neither in the Land of the Chaldeans; for this it made desolate by the *Affyrans*, because their Wall, fell together to the ground, *Pagani* and *Vatubab* convertit thus: *Ece terra Chaldeorum, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Affur fundavit eam maxibus, everterunt aces illius, contrivierunt edes ejus, piserunt eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this People was not once therein inhabiting: for *Affur* built it a harbour for Ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and again brake down the Houses thereof, and ruined it. *Junius*, in the place of Ships, sets the word (pro Barbaris) that is, for the Barbarians: and the Genes, by the Barbarians. But this is undoubtedly, that the Prophet *Ely* (as may be gathered by all the fence of the Chapter) did therein assure the *Tyrans* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatness of the *Tyrans* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*, from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians*, under the name of *Citizens* also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the *Arabians*. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our Discourse of *Paradise*) notwithstanding that the chief merchandize came in by the City *Uz*, or *Ubia* in *Chaldea*, where the body or chief stream of *Emphrates* (even that stream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Orus*, which now falleth into *Tyre*) had his passage into the *Persian* Gulf: though now it be flopped up. For, as we have heretofore noted, the *Arabians* (that descended from *Shel* and *Rasamab*) dwelling on the East banks of the *Persian* Gulf, trading with the *Tyrans* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chaldea* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tyre*, that is, from *Teredon* and of *Emphrates*, that is, from *Uz*, or *Ubia*: and then by *Uz*, and thence by River and over Land, they conveyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre* as they do this day to *Affys*. So then *Uz* of the *Chaldeans*

was a Port Town, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrans*: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldea*, through which, that part of *Emphrates* ran, which passage is now flopped up. *Ihus cursum ventis absterit* (with *Niger*), And *Pliny*: *Locus ubi Emphrates ostium fuit, flumen affuit, Time habet mare* (the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water). These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the City of the *Chaldeans*, whose calamities *Ely* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrans*, to be the City anciently called *Uz*, and by *Hecateus*, *Camirina*, by *Psolony*, *Urbos*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chalcedoni*, the City of *Chaldea*: which the Sons of *Shem*, unto *Abrahams* time, inhabited. And whereas, in all the Translations, it is said, that *Affur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that *Affur* the Founder was the Son of *Shem*, and *Affur* the destroyers were the *Affyrans*, by whom those that inhabited *Uz* of *Chaldea*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carraun*, and to *Conan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Vatubab* & *Pagani* converted (by Ships) do bear this sense, the same may be the better approved, because it was a Port Town; and the River so far up as this City of *Uz* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no less manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For *Chaldea* is now called *Aracabdar*, which signifieth Desert Land; because it joyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called; and *Gieru* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Jureans*) addeth, that they are, of all other People, the most Savage; calling them, *Homines omnium maximè barbaros*.

So as this place of *Ely*, which breedeth some doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary Opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former Translation of *Junius*, nor the Interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Affur* is in this place diversely taken (as for the Son of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Uz*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Affyrans* Nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seem to enforce it. And to this foundation of the City of the *Chaldeans* by *Affur* (into which the most of the Posterity of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatry of the *Chabites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to prove the same *Affur* built *Nineve*, or that the same *Affur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Affur*, who was the Son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the Son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now, if *Affur* must be of that Race, and not of the Family of *Shem*, as he must be, if he founded *Nineve*; then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Affur*, whom they make the Founder of *Nineve* (and so the Son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly, he was very unworthy, and obscure, and not like to be the Founder

der of such an Empire, and such a City, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to Posterity his explanation thence, and how he lost that Empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose Acts and Conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalae*, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these works being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying near unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalae* did: which work his Grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundress of the City which the only finished; so also *Ninus* of *Nineve*: *Quam quidam Babylonem posuit instaurare; She might repair or renew Babylon*, faith *St. Augustine*. For so did *Nebuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the Wall, over-born by the fury of the River: which work of his stood till *Alexander's* time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *It not this great Babel which I have built?*

SECT. IV.

Of the Acts of *Nimrod* and *Belus*, as far as now they are known.

BUT to return to the Story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth transgression, and *Julius Africanus* surnamed *Saturus*) was the establisher of the Babylonian Monarchy, of whom there is no thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those four Cities before remembered; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalae*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Affria*, and in *Affria* built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rebobs*, *Celab*, and *Refcin*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it self, and those adjoining; and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Affria* which he builded (considered with the want of Materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successors in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of People's and their examples and Patterns of his beginning, to great advancement and encouragement: in whose time (faith *Glycor*) all these Nations were called *Merope*, a firmis linguarum terrarumque divisione; By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114 years; of whose Acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all those great Fens and overflown Marshes which adjoynd unto it. For any of his Wars or Conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatus King of Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia*, which *Berojus* calls *Scythia Sages*, whose Son and Successor

Baranes became Subject and Tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the War to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

SECT. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of *Vexoris* of Egypt, and *Tanis* of *Scythia*.

THAT so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod* (as by the Story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity, being a Prince's liberal and powerful, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Willom ought, by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for; so as every Leader of a Troop (after the division of Tongues, and dispersion of People) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possessed, and governed by discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their destined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like Beasts in a Desert, but that by agreement they disposed themselves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* his time, would not have been peopled in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off (order being the true Parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod*, with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity relieved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own Travels; nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence; nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own Ministers and Attendants.

That these Causes had wrought these Effects, the undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no Companion King, to us known, when he first took on him Sovereignty and sole Commandment of all those the Children of *Nash*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*; though in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Successor) found *Sabatus King of Armenia* and *Scythia* sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts; which *Sabatus*, I take to be the same, which *Justin* calls *Tanis*; and should conjecture, that *Misiram* had been this *Vex*. See more of this first error as *Justin* placeth him) in the time of that part, *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seems to me, *Sutia*.

rightly accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Sesfthir*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65 years, according to the common account.

SECT. VI.

Of the Name of *Belus*, and other Names affixed unto it.

WHENCE this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bell*, or *Belus*, question hath been made; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrillus against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus*, *Archeus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bell*, as many Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the Chaldean Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the Chaldean Princes and *Babylonian* *Sarape*; so was it used by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of *Baal*, *Basim*, *Belphegor*, *Belphegar*, *Belsibub*, and *Belphephon*. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldean, convert the word *Baal* by the Latine, *Princeps Militiæ*, Chief in the War; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *Ob* honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum; In honour of his expounding secrets. Saint *Hierom* makes *Bel*, *Bel*, and *Basal*, to have the same signification: and saith, That the Idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his Father set up to be worshipped; to which, that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lycanus*) it came Idolatry, and the first use of Images into the world. *Hydrot* doth interpret *Belly Virus*, old, or ancient; adding, That as among the *Affrians* it is taken for *Satur*, and the *Suns*, so in the *Punic* or *Carthaginian* Language, it signifieth God: *Glycas* maketh an *Affrian* name properly; & *Josephus* a *Tyriz*. He also affirmeth, That the Idol w^{ch} the *Mozabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Peper*, or *Peor*, & called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Præputis*, the god of Gardens; which also was the Opinion of Saint *Hierom*. But, that the word *Bel*, or *Belus*, was as much to say, as God, appeareth by the word *Belsibub*, the Idol of *Acarnum*. For *Bel*, or *Bel*, (saith *Guendeth*) God and *Serub* (Flies or Hornets) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Jews* express the Prince of Devils, But the Prophet *Isa* teacheth us the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himself; And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me *Ilthi*, and shalt call me no more *Baalim*: for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouth. For, although the name of *Baal*, or *Babal*, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbade it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the Chaldeans for the Sun, was not, because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the Sun there

was worshipped as God; as also the Fire was *tantum Sols particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembered) as *Belphegor*, and *Belphephon*; *Belphephon* is expounded out of *Pacius*; *Dominus* *Phalx*, vel *castris*: The Lord of the *IPatch-tower*, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is written *Belphe*, or *Belphepon*; and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Demidari*; and therefore the word joyned, expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of *Satur*: for it was used among the Ancients, to name the Father *Satur*, the Son *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Satur* *discuntur fami*, equituli. *lium Nobilium*, *Regumque qui ubi condiderunt* *seffim*; *primogeniti eorum* *Joves* & *Junones*; *Hercules vero Nepotes eorum fortissimi*. The ancestors of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called *Saturs*; their first-born *Jupiters* and *Junones*; and their valiant *Nephews*, *Hercules*. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Viter*) was famous for his Warlike Son *Ninus*, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by Dreams of their Antiquities) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (saith *Virgilius*) upon *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Ægyptus*. They add, That this *Belus*, carrying a Colony to the River *Euphrates*, there built a City, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But there were any *Belus* the Son of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, or (with *Enfubius*) of *Tegulus*, who after the death of *Alys* married *Isis* (Cætop) then reigning in *Athens*: the fame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speak; but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* too much vaunted.

SECT. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images, begunn from *Belus* in *Babel*.

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Astronomy*, if *Pliny* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the fame Author affirmeth, that it did remain in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: *Græcili* Over the River, saith he, there are Gardens, where they say the ruines of *Belus* his Tomb, which *Serxes* brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appears by *Cyril* against *Julian*, that he obtained divine worship yet living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbeus*) *Arbeus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à Juidis Deitatis nomen accipisse*; *Perseveravit igitur Affriis & finissime illi gentes sacrificantes ei*. *Arbeus, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men, that was ever honoured by their Subjects with stike of Deity*, (or with the name of God) the *Affrians* therefore, and the bordering Nations have persecuted, sacrificing to him. Even *Arinus* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thurax*, who succeeded next after *Ninus*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninias*) *Thurax* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of

of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharp and fierce disposition, who bidding battle to *Caucasus*, of the stock of *Japheth*, slew him. The *Affrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*). Neither is it unlikely but that among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soon after: though I deny not, but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without divine worship, only in the memory of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and so afterwards the Devil crept into those wooden & brazen Caskets, when Deity had lost the memory of their first invention. Hereof *Hydrot* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deus affertur, homines fuerunt, & pro naturæ suæ virtute, vel magnificentiâ, coluntur; post mortem caperunt: sed (Dæmonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro suis meritis honoraverunt, minores Deus existimant: ad ipsa vero magis excolenda, acceperunt Potentum signata*. They were men (saith he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods: and every one for their merits or magnificence, began after his death to be honoured of his own: But, at length (the Devil persuading) they accounted them after gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the Opinions concerning the honour of the dead much more superstitious.

And, that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans and Heathen Nations, it is not *Hydrot* alone that witnesseth, but *Gregory*; *Genitilis* (saith he) *inventrix & caput est Imaginum*: *Genitilis* is the Inventress and source of Images; and *Ambrige*, *Genites lignum adorant, tanquam Imaginem Dei*; The Gentiles adored wood, as it were the Image of God. *Enfubius* also affirmeth as much, and callet the worshipping of Images, a Custom borrowed of the Heathen. The like faith Saint *Augustine* against *Ambrosius*. *En ventur* (saith *Lactantius*) *ne Religio vana sit, finit videntur quod adorant*. They fear these Religion would be vain, should they not see what they worship.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolmen think this fearful custom very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian fastidist it felt with the distinction of *Doulas*, and *Hyperdoulas*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should strive their wits to defend the use of those things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practicers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted as neither the express Commandment of God himself, *Thou shalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatening of *Moses* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any persuasions lead the hearts of men from it. For, where shall we find words of greater weight, or plainer instruction than these? Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no Image in the Book that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves; and make you a graven Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likeness of Males or Females.

And, besides the express Commandment, *Thou shalt not make thee any graven Image*, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; so it is written in the Book of *Wisdom*, That, the invention of Idols was the beginning of *Whoredom*: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.

And whereas the Schoolmen affirm, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest, that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal*, and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no Image* (saith *Moses*) *that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb*. Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*, *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumferas cum mente tua*: Do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too. Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a proclamation unlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do those men presum; that put him under the great Piece of a Painter, or the rusty Ax or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God, began in *Babel*; so did the Devil transport and spread this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The Romans, for a while, resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to let them in their Temples for 170 years; observing the Law of *Nema*, who thought it impious to resemble things most beautiful, by things most base. But, *Targuinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun most deluded by Satan) set up the Images of their gods; which (as *S. Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varron* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth: *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illi supplicat, genus populi illa adorant; & cum læs supplicat, fibros, qui illa fecere, contemnunt*. The Images of the gods are worshipped, they they pray unto, with bended knees; they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the Poet in this sort scoffed at:

Hec miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sensuque Religiosa sibi sculptant simulachra, seuque Patrem fingunt, & que fecere, venerant!
Quis furor est? que tanta animos domum? ludi?
Uti voluerunt, sursumque bovem, torumque Draconem.
Sem-hominemque canem supplex homo prostrat adorat.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And consecrate dumb Idols in their heart, Who their own Maker (God on high) despise, And fear the work of their own hands and Art! What fury? what great madness doth beguile Mens minds? that man should ugly things adore Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile Half-dog-half-man on knees for him to prostrate.

And though this device was barbarous, and stiff, and many years practised by Heathen Nations only, till the Jews were corrupted in Egypt, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laughed to scorn the ignorant stupidity of his Nation: but *Justin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybil* inveighed against Images: and *Hippolitus*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the Souls of men to erect and adore those labels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witness, that the *Perfians* did not erect or set up any Statue of their Gods. *Lycargus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impious to represent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Enfubius* also witnesseth, in his Sixth Book, *de preparatione Evangelicæ*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serice*, or among the

Brachman in India, that Images should be worshipped. The same do Tacitus and Crinitus report of the ancient Germans. Many other Authors might be remembered, that witness the diffin which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatry; of which *Hippolytus* hath written at large in his Tract, de origine Imaginum. And it was truly said, *Omnia mala exempla hominum initiis orta sunt. Alii exempla habere sprung from good beginning.* The Heathen, at first, made these Statues and Images, but in memory of such remarkable men, as had deserved both of their Countries and Common-wealths: *Efficies hominum* (saith Pliny) *non solum exprimi, nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuaretur merentium: Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered.*

And though of the more ancient *Papists*, some have borrowed of the Gentiles (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis litterarum, ut per ea difformis hominum Deum ineffabilem effigere: Images*, say they, *Cad* and *forbore* them the Heathen (said) *are in stead of Letters*, where, by men might learn to know the invisible God: in that understanding, perhaps, they no other ways esteemed them than Pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal*, or *Bol*, set up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the most revered Idol of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himself) were misled and cast away; so those very Rocks and Stones, and painted canvases (called the Pictures of Christ, our Lady, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not only adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. *On these Rocks we call (saith the Book of Wisdom) when we pass through the raging water, on these Rocks we rest: then the Ship that carries us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became so fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dii consentes, seu majorem gentium, scilicet, Patrii, insigneiores, dii minores: Consulting gods, or gods of the mightiest Nobility, scilicet gods, Patrii, gods of mark, and Common gods* (which the Romans called *Medioxum*) *diu infirmi, and terrestrial Heroes, and multitudes of other gods, of which S. Augustine hath made large mention, in his Book, de Civitate Dei. But (saith Lactantius) among all these miserable souls, and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did Epimenides Cretensis (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the Athenian Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which flood with the same title and dedication, even to the times of S. Paul: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Devil had for many years led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in general, or that every Nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them, as *Jupiter in Crete, Jove in Egypt, in Athens, Minerva in Samos, Venus in Cyprus, Venus, and of all other parts; but every City, and almost every Family, had a god apart. For, as it is written in the second of Kings, the men of Babel made Succoth Benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Asima, and the A. vites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvaim burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech, All which, how plainly hath the Prophet Ezechiel**

riden? Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath sent them from sight, and their heart from understanding. It is therefore fittest for a Christian, to believe the Commandments of God, to direct against Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. Paul, who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, My beloved, flee from Idolatry; I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Wars of Ninus: and lastly, of his Wars against Zoroaster.

UNTO this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that, without shame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars) so of this *Ninus* (whose Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the fame may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For, although that piece of *Berosus*, set out and commented upon by *Ammius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Corycæus* noteth) to the understanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnassus*, and others; yet, *Lodovicus Vivæ*, *B. Roberus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment proving directly, that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexander's* time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Josephus*; and whose Statue the Athenians erected, saith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, even from *Ninrod*, to the eighteenth King *Asiatades*, and to the times of *Josiah*. For of *Metaphyses* an Historian, of the Race of the Persian Priests, there are found but certain Papers; or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* Monarchies: but the afterwards, in the collection of the Persian Kings, is not without his errors.

Cyrenus, or *Caidus* (a City joyning to *Halicarnassus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Monius*, gathered his History out of the Persian Records, and reached as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and, though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenæus*, *Pausanias*, and *Terentian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his Works, leaving some very few exceptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can express them. *S. Augustine* affirms, that *Ninus* mastered all Asia. *Angeline* excepted. Others say that he was it all, save *India*, *Babylonia*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Armenia* of Arabia, the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entered into a freight league of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and

and a *Chusite* and the nearest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the sudden, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their King *Ariacus* (which bordered *Syria*) afflicted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his War against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia*, he bent himself that way toward the East; but, that ever he commanded the lesser Asia, I do not believe, for none of his Successors had any possession therein.

His third War was against *Pharus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seven Children; though others affirm, that they all died in one battle against him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Ninive*, or after, it is uncertain. It is said, that he made two Expeditions into *Babylonia*: and, that finding little or ill success in the

first, he returned, and set the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a second time entered *Babylonia* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horse, and 100000 fix hundred Chariots: being encountered by *Zoroaster* with four hundred thousand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaster* being slain, he entered farther into the Country, and besieged the chief City thereof, called *Babylonia*, or *Babylon* (saith *Strabo*) which by a passage found, and an assault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Meneus*) he entered and possessed. Upon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external beauty, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he took her from her Husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out, if he refused to consent. He therefore yielding to the passion of love in *Ninive*, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong persuasions of shame and dishonour, cast himself headlong into the Water, and died.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaster, supposed to have been the chief Author of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.

SECT. I.

That Zoroaster was not Cham, nor the first inventor of Astrologic, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.

Zoroaster, King of the *Babylonians*, *Vincennes* supposed to be Cham the Son of *Noah*: a fancy of little probability. For Cham was the Paternal Ancestor of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose Son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincennes* had heard of that Book which was called *Scriptura Cham*, devised by some wicked Knave, and so entitled; of which *Sextus Senefius* hath made the due mentions.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of Magick to Cham the Son of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his Scholastical History; which Art (saith he) with the seven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars: seven of which were made of Brass, to resist the defacing by the Waters of the Flood; and seven of Brick, against the injury of fire. There was also another devised Discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*, *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* words: Cham (saith *Noah*) *qui superstitionibus suis et sacrilegiis suis artibus infestus, sciens nullum se posse super his memoriam librum in Arcam profus inferre, in qua erat cum patre suo, &c.* Cham (the Son of *Noah*) who was infested with these superstitions and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, caused the Pre-

cepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, and hard Stone.

Saint *Augustine* noteth, that *Zoroaster* was said to have taught at his birth, when all other children were, which prefigured the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto: being taken for the Inventor of natural Magick and other Arts; for the Corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Justine*. But I do not think that *Zoroaster* invented the doctrine of the *Heroproses*, or *Naturalists*: or first found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipathetical workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldea* is also made the Inventor. I rather think that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his Sons. For *Abraham*, who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster* (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdom of after-times in this, that he knew, and acknowledged, the true cause and giver of life and virtue to Nature, and all natural things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispriced, and universal power) admired the Instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselves (from which the effects were knifable) which belonged to that wisdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things, and reneweth all.*

Now, whether this *Zoroaster* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist

Deo de
Creatura
et c. de
mag. fol.
135. 136.

gioni Persice, ut in populo Dei Levite, studisque vere
Philosophi, dedit erant: nec quidquam Rex Persarum
poterat effigere, nisi ante Magorum disciplinam
scientiamque pingeret. The Magi (saith he) were the
chief Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the Levites
among Gods people, and they were given to the
studies of true Philosophy: neither could any be King
of the Persians, who had not first been exercised in the
mysteries and knowledge of the Magi. Sixtus Seneca-
sis, in the defence of Origen against Polychronus and
Theophilus, hath two kinds of Magick, his own words
are these: Et ne quon mercant premia Poly-
chroni & Theophili, testimonio, sciendum est di-
scipulum esse Magum: alteram ubique ab Origine dena-
tatum, que per fadendum demonibus initia, aut vere,
aut apparenter, operatur: alteram ab Origine lauda-
tam, que ad praticum naturalis Philosophiæ pertinet,
discrete admirabile re operari ex applicatione naturæ
naturalium virtutum ad incitem agentium ac pati-
entium. That the Testimonies of Theophilus and Poly-
chronus (saith he) may not move any man, it is to be
understood, that Magick is of two sorts, the one evi-
dently where condemned by Origen, which mortally (and
there truly or seemingly) by Covenants made with De-
vils; the other Commended by Origen, which ap-
taineth to the pratic part of natural Philosophy teach-
ing to work admirable things by the natural ap-
plication of Natural Virtues, agent and suffering re-
ciprocally.

This Partition Hieron doth embrace in the first
of his Commentaries upon Daniel, where consid-
ring of the difference which Daniel makes between
these four kinds of Wise Men formerly remembered,
he useth this distinction: Quos nos barbares, ceteri
iranici (id est) incantatores, interpretantur, videntur
magi esse qui verbis rem præstant, & magi, qui de
singulis Philosophantur: Malefici, qui sanguinem an-
tur, & vitium, & sepe contigunt corpora mortuorum
torroin Chaldeis Gueblatores significari puti, quos vul-
go Mathematicos vocant. Confutetur autem communis
Magis pro maleficiis accipit, qui alter habebatur apud
gentem suam, eo quod sunt Philosophi Chaldeorum: &
ad artis huius scientiam, Reges quoque & Principes
quidam gentis omnia faciunt, unde & in nativitate do-
mini Sacerdoti, ipsi primum certum qui in Israelitæ,
& veteriores sanctum Bethleem, adaverunt puram,
stilla desuper descendente: They whom we call Sorcerers,
and others interpreters incantatores, seem to me such as per-
form things by words: Magicians, such as handle every
thing Philosophically: Witches, that use blood and sac-
rifice, and often lay hands on the body of the dead:
Further, among the Chaldeans, those who are called
by the name of Conjurers upon nativities, whom
the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custom
takes Mathematicians for Witches, who are otherwise re-
puted in their own Nation: for they are the Philosophers of
the Chaldeans: yea, King and Princes of that Nation
do all that they do, according to this Art: whence, at the
nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they first of all under-
stand his birth, & coming unto holy Bethleem, did wor-
ship the Child: & Star from above shewing him unto them.
By this therefore it appeareth, that there is great
difference between the doctrine of a Magician, and
the abuse of the word. For though some Writers
affirm, that Magus bodie dicitur, qui ex fadere facti-
matur diaboli opera ad rem quancunque. That he is cal-
led a Magician now-a-days, who having entred league
with the Devil, useth his help to any matter: yet as
our Saviour said of Divines it was not so from the
beginning. For the Art of Magick is of the wisdom
of Nature: other Arts which undergo that Title,
were invented by the fallhood, subtilty, and envy

of the Devil. In the latter, there is no other do-
ctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies, for making
fides, by an evil Faith: in the former, no other ill,
than the investigation of those virtues and hidden
properties which God hath given to his creatures,
and how fitly to apply things that work, to things
that suffer. And though by the Jews those exco-
municated Magicians, Philosophers, and Divines, were
came to worship our Saviour Christ, were tearmed
Mages, or Metaphysicians; yet had they no other
reason than common custom therein. Confutetur
autem communis Magis pro maleficiis accipit; Common
Dante-
cion (saith S. Hieron) understandeth Witches, not
the name of Magician: unde Ambiguit (saith
Peter Martyr) by the word (Magi) understand good
and wise men. Quid igitur operantur Magi non ma-
liciosum, non Evangelio gratulor, quod non ma-
licium & veneficum, sed sapientum sunt, & Sacerdo-
tes? O ubi scilicet, sed fidei Fictus? why doubtst thou, that
thou to use the name of Magus, a name gratum in the
Gospel, which doth not signify a Witch or a Conjuror, but
a wise man, and a Priest? For what brought this
flander to that Study and profession, but only idle
Ignorance, the Parent of countless admiration & Cause
fuit misficientia quorundam operum, que (ex vere) sunt
naturalia sunt: verumtamen quia procurantur demoni-
orum, naturæ ipsæ vel conjunguntur, vel communi-
cantur, vel alter ad operandum expedientium fida
sunt, opera demonum credentium ad ignorantiam hæc,
de operibus huiusmodi & Magis naturæ, quam Ne-
crumantium multi improprè vocant. The marvel-
lousness of some works, which (indeed) are natural, hath
been the cause of this slander: but because these works
have been done by procurement of devils, & by the
natures together, or mingling them, or by the nature
of the nature, they were thought to be the works of
the devils by the ignorant. Among these
works is natural Magick, which men call very impro-
perly, Necromancy.

Mirandula in his Apology goeth further: For by Fol. 80.
understanding (saith he) the uttermost activity of na-
tural agents, we are assisted to know the Divinity of
Christ: for otherwise (to use his own words) Ignor-
antia terminis potentia, & virtutis rerum naturalium,
non dubitare illa eadem opera, que fecit Christus,
posse fieri per media naturalia. The terms or limits of
natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs
doubt, whether those very work which Christ did, may
not be done by natural means: after which he goeth
on in this sort: Ideo non hereticè, non superstitiosè
dixi, sed verissimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adju-
vari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I
did not heretically, nor superstitiously, but most truly
in knowing the Divinity of Christ. And seeing the
Jews and others, the enemies of Christian Religion,
do impudently and impiously object, that those Mir-
acles which Christ wrought, were not above nature, but
by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: Mirandula, a man for his years, fuller of knowledge
than any that this latter Age hath brought forth,
might with good reason answer, That the uttermost
of Nature's works being known, the works which
Christ did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man
could do, do manifestly testify of themselves,
that they were performed by that hand which held
Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power in-
finitely Supreme and Divine: and thereby those
that were faithless, were thereby converted, or put
to silence.

SECT.

SECT. III.

That the knowledge in the ancient Magick is
not to be condemned: though the Devil here,
as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude
evil things, under the name and colour of
good things.

S E C I N G therefore it is confessed by all of under-
standing, that a Magician (according to the
Persian word) is no other than, Divinum Cultor,
& Interpret: a studium Observer and Expounder of
Divine things: and the Art of it self I mean the
Art of Natural Magick) no other, Quam naturalis
Philosophia absoluta consummatio: than the absolute
perfection of natural Philosophy: Certainly then, it
proceeds from ignorance, and no way forth with
wife and learned men, promiscue, and without dif-
ference and distinction, to confound lawful and
praiseworthy knowledge with that impious, and
to (use Pauls words) with those beggerly rudiments,
which the Devil hath thrust, and by them bewitch-
ed and begot the graceless men. For, if we con-
demn natural Magick, or the wisdom of Nature,
because the Devil (who knows more than any
man) doth also teach Witches and Poisoners the
harmful parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Ex-
ements: then may we, by the same rule, condemn
the Physician, and the Art of Healing. For the De-
vil also in the Oracles of Amphiarus, Amphidamas,
Trochilus, and the like, taught men in Dreams
what Herbs and Drugs were proper for such and
such Diseases. Now, no man of judgment is igno-
rant, that the Devil from the beginning hath sought
to thrust himself into the same employment among
the Ministers and Servants of God, changing him-
self for that purpose into an Angel of Light. He
hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion;
he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the
true God; he hath corrupted the Art of Astrology,
by giving a divine power to the Stars, teaching men
to esteem them as gods, and not as instruments.
And (as burning observeth) It is true, that Judicial
Astrology is corrupted with many superstitions: but
the abuse of the thing, takes not away the Art, con-
sidering that heavenly bodies (as even general ex-
perience sheweth) have, and exercise their opera-
tion upon the inferior. For the Sun and the Star
of Mars do drie; the Moon doth moisten, and go-
vern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as
they have several and proper names, so have they
several and proper virtues: the Stars do also differ
in beauty, and in magnitude: and to all the Stars
hath God given also their proper names, which
(had they not influences and virtues different)
needed not: He cometh the number of the Stars, and
calleth them by their names. But, into the good and
profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the
Devil seeketh not to thrust in his Superstitions: and
so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of Nature
hath he fastened his doctrine of Characters, Num-
bers, and incantations: and taught men to believe in
the strength of Words and Letters (which, without
Faith in God, are but Ink or common breath)
thereby either to equal his own with the All-power-
ful Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods
creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both
the wife and the simple observe when the Sea birds
forsake the shores, and flie into the Land, that
commonly some great storm followeth; that the
high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken
the fair weather: that the crying of Crows, and bating
of Ducks, foretold Rain: for they feel the Air moi-
stened in their quills. And it is written in Hierony-
the Prophet, Even the Star in the Air knoweth her ap-
pointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and
the Swallow. Hercupis, this enemy of Man-kind,
working upon these as upon the rest of Gods crea-
tures, long time abused the Heathen, by teaching
them to observe the flying of Fowls, and thereby to
judge of good or ill success in the War: and (with-
all) to look into their entrails for the same, as if
God had written the secrets of unsearchable pro-
vidence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds, and Beasts.
Again, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreams,
not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apo-
stles, but Heben Princes also: as Abimelech to Ge-
n. 12.
flore Sarah to Abraham; because he admonished
Joseph, and by a Dream informed Jacob, Laban,
Pharao, Solomon, Paul, Ananias, the Magi of the East,
and others. For as it is remembered in Job: In Job 33:17.
Dreams and Visions of the night, when sleep falleth up-
on men, &c. then God openeth the ears, that he might
cause man to return from his impiety, that he might
say, doth the Devil also practise his Divinations by
dreams, or (alter Paricifus) divinitati imitatio, & Paricifus.
his mock Divinity. This in the end grew to con-
mon Dreams: Misbrutates of those of his Con-
vices. Yea, the Romans, finding the inconvenience
hereof, because all Dreams (without distinction of
cases) were drawn to Divination, forbid the same
by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (ant
leg. & 8
narranda suntis oculum aliquam artem divinatoriam
accepta.
Deventury, Chap. 12, seducing Dreamers were or-
dered to be slain. Yet it is to be condemned, not
that Marcus Antonius was the cure of Pompeius the
poisoned Wound; nor that which Saint Augustin re-
porteth of a Millianus, whose Son (the Father dead)
being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his
Father in a Dream, where the Acquittance lay to
discharge it: nor that of Athyges of his Daughter,
and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all
which, for as much as the cause is not in our selves,
this place denieth dispute.

SECT. IV.

That Daniel's mistaking Nebuchodonosor's
condemning of the Magicians, doth not ju-
stifie all their Practices.

B U T it may be objected, that if such Divinati-
ons as the Heathen commonly used, were to be
condemned in them, who took on them very to
many and strange Revelations: how came it to
pass, that Daniel both condemned the hasty fen-
tence of Nebuchodonosor against the Magicians of
Chaldea, and in a sort forbid it? especially consid-
ring that such kind of people God himself man-
damed to be slain. To this, divers answers may
be given.

First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those
Chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the
Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten,
could

arg. de
orig. ho-
mianæ
agendæ.

Dnt. 13.
et 18.
Levit. 20.

could not be known to any man by any Art, either Natural or Diabolical: For there is none other (said the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh; and herein they testified the Power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, It may be conjectured (and that upon good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any of our unlawful Arts, but were merely Magicians and Naturalists: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, Daniel perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those men studied and professions were lawful, it may be gathered by Daniel's instruction: for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Enchanters: of which some were termed *Sooth-sayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi*, or *Wise-men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, Daniel misliked and forbade the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawful Arts (though not unlawful according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the King's thought, which the Devil himself could not know. So then, in Daniel's dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the Magicians, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

SECT. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds; if we not to condemn the right use of them.

Notwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: the Good, the Truth, the Purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Devil in the Image of Baal, *Astarte*, *Chemosh*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrify Abraham (if we may believe the most ancient and Religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it deter wise and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Stars and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympathetical, and Antipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrify the honest and learned Physicians or Magicians from the using of them to the help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreams, so far as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, The prohibition to marking of Fowls

(as signs of good or evil success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For, if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemn all honest Trades and interchange amongst men (for there are that deceive in all Professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge & all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornful and beggarly ignorance: and (as Pliny teacheth) we should thrust our selves, *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucum nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankful towards towards those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.*

Indeed, not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant: but the Mathematick also, and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned, judge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in Cula. C. omni fidei puerum, elucet: non modiciora similitudine, sed falsitas quam propinquitate. In the Glass of the Mathematick, that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge, not in an obscuring, but in a new and manifest representation.*

SECT. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawful Magick.

It is true, that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the Name *Magick*, and esteemed absolutely to be branches of that Tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy*, or *Goetic*: and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to whom the Devil himself gives answer in stead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul: and therefore the soul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring, or raising up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distracted, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) inforce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness, no, not by the fearful Word of the Almighty: and that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour Christ, whom him-delf called the Son of God. So, forgetting these things, proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet endeavour himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrify with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies, souls, and souls of those which raise them up; as *His Majesty* in his Book afore-named hath excellently signified, taught: *That the Devils obedience is only, secundum dam quid, scilicet ex pado; respectu, that is, upon the bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple

and ignorant Devils, which inhabit *Imbecillae* imagination: but sure I am, the rail arcaut enough to come uncall'd: and always attending the expectations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Or, it may be that these Conjurers dealt altogether with Cardanus mortals Devils, following the Opinion of *Rubii de scabulis* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kind of Devils lived not above a Thousand years: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise of *Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For, were it true, that the Devils were in awe of wicked men, or that they were compelled by them, then would they always fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mattered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the Air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this, perhaps, were done by *S. Peter's* Prayers (of which *S. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same pranks at other times, upon his own accord, the Devil played with *Theodosius*, who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortal fall that I had. The like success had

Bulus, a principal Pillar of the *Manichean* Heretic, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth: for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Protesius*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: For those that are wretched men (with *S. Paul*) *God shall find them lying in slanders*: Of these their supposed transfigurations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Majesty* in the Second Book, and the Fourth Chapter of the *Demologia*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are, who take on them to include Spirits in Glasses and Crystals, of whom *Cicero* says: *Falsi sunt Incantatores, qui in uragae & vitro volunt spiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauduntur corpore: They are foolish Incantators, which will shut up their Spirits within their nails, or in Glass: for a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.*

There is also another art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*, a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withals. But the admitting Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; so, seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the Professors thereof cover themselves by the ministry of Isis, by sitting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances, and abstract notions, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are users of evil Faith, and in the power of Satan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils, which willingly obey.

Others forsake their sort of wicked Divinations; as by Fire, called *Pyromantia*: by Water, called *Hydromantia*: by the Air, called *Mantechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other, is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the Practicers whereof

are no less envious and cruel, venomous and bloody, than the Devil himself. And these accursed creatures, having sold their souls to the Devil, work two ways: either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poisoning. The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majesty* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty *Witchery* (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomer's Dove*, which he had used to feed with Wheat out of his car: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomer's* shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomer* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly, if *Bask* had lived in elder times, he would have blamed all the *Inchanters* of the World: for never so much to make him famous among them, could never matter or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Incantments (which the *Magians*, a people of Italy, practised: *Colubros dissumpti Musci castis: undulating Muscia laeti, in maker the Snakes to hunt.*) That it hath been used, *Stryer*, it appears, *Psal.* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kind, and even by natural causes it may be done. For, there are many fumes that will either draw them out, or destroy them: as women hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Incantments than to draw out a piece of toiled Cheese.

SECT. VII.

By divers ways by which the Devil seemeth to work his Wonders.

But to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other dominion than he hath (not speak of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance: as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he other wise worketh but three ways. The first is, by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The second, by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And, that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first, a natural impotency: the second, their own reason disswadeth them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Teneas eos ligatus Sicut parit* (with the same Author) *velut inmississimam bellum, de universa St. Angustine* was of opinion, that the Frogs which *Pharao's* Sorcerers produced, were not natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For, as *Varius* observeth, those Frogs of the *Inchanters* were not found corrupted as those of *Miser* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof, faith *Saint Angustine*:
Q² Nec

ing to build Towns and Villages, for the use of themselves and their people, without either Walls or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Briers, Bush-mats, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was strong in youth; and purposing to follow the Conquest which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

SECT. II.

Of the end of Ninus; and the beginning of Semiramis Reign.

THis he did after the death of her husband *Ninus*; who, after he had mastered *Edris*, and subjected unto his Empire all those Regions between it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Philippin* (After the 16th excepted) and finished the work of *Ninus*; he left the world in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 25. years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute sovereign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus*, out of *Atheniens*, and others, speaks of five days. In which time (mov'd either with desire of Rule, or licentious liberty; or with the memory of her husband *Ninus*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal call on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her, after his death, the sole Rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which *Ninus* was said to be the first Monarch, because he changed his seat from *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, to *Nineve* in *Assyria*. *Justin* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to invest her self, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented her self to the people in person of her son *Ninus*, or *Zamus*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as the ruled long, so he performed all those memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that Letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her son *Ninus* had such a stature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 45. years after by any such subtilty (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband) but it may be true, that *Ninus*, or *Zamus* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

SECT. III.

Of Semiramis Parentage and Education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.

SOME Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of base Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, *Semiramis Alesonitis*, or *Aleson*, the ancient City and Metropolis of the

Philippin. Others report her to be the Daughter of *Derecta*, a *Carrizian* of *Aleson*, exceeding beautiful. Others say, that this *Derecta* or *Derecia*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profited a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the bank of a Lake adjoining to *Aleson*; and afterward falling in love with a goodly young man, he was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme punishment) she conveyed away and caused the same to be hidden among the high Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wild Beasts) the time wasted by certain Birds, which used to feed upon or near those Waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and fosterage of this child, who being purchased but for a base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of Vows; notwithstanding which, she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought, that from this *Derecta*, the invention of that Idol of the *Philippins* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans face, and a Fishes body; into whose Temple when the Ark of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground; and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off. For so *S. Hieron* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Justin*, write it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a Fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my self, I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philippins*, was an Idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritime (as all those of the *Philippins* were, and so were the best of *Phoenicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

SECT. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after disfigurement: with a note of the improbability of her vices.

BUT for her Pedigree, I leave it to *Assyrian Historians*; and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Greeks*. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princess more worthy of Fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the Wars she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report, that she never returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army, there survived but only twenty persons; the rest, being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famine, or slain by the Sword of *Sambrotes*. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbered; so were those that returned, less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of four Millions and upwards.

*Suid. f. 8.
45. lib. 5.*

wards. For these numbers, which she legied by her Lieutenant *Dereceus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three Millions; of Horse-men one Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on each side, one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burthen, two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses, three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three thousand, by which the might transport over *Indus* at once, three hundred thousand soldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phoenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. The incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every Man and Beast fed on grass) are taken from the Authority of *Ctesius* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* Expedition into *Greece* and afterwards; whose Army (though the same was far inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to over-load the belief of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellepont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the several Provinces whence those Gallies were taken, hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the Army of *Semiramis* consisted, the same being broken, and overthrown by *Statrabates*, upon the banks of *Indus*, *Canticum cantavit extremum*; She sang her last Song: and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came, that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Ensigns.

SECT. V.

Of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis; and of the Pyramids of Egypt.

AMONG all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the wall of the

City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carried four-square of great height and beauty, having on each square, certain brazen Gates curiously engraven. In the Gate of the square, the raised a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a *Ras* of a less circuit) she set a second Tower; and so eight in all, one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldeans* Priests made the Observation of the Stars; because this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this Tower, have many Travellers been deceived, who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod's* Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*) There were burnt in this Temple, one hundred thousand talents of Frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nebuchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Hierusalem*, and of the Temple of *Solomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the full; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired, by the perswasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the Pyramids by *Atemphus*, which were conspicuous nundique navigantibus, saith *Pliny*. Of these Pyramids, *Babylonians*, a careful observer of Barities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur Archer qui feroit a sa sonnerie, Belles. L. 2.*

Et tirant une fleche in l'air a peine pouvoit l'envoyer hors de sa base q' elle ne se tombast sur les degres; The best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramids, and shooting an arrow from thence into the air, as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

Finis Libri primi.

THE

THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of
Abraham, to the Destruction of *Solomon's Temple*.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time of the Birth of *Abraham*: and the use of this Question, for the ordering
of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.

SECT. I.

Of some of the Successors of *Semiramis*: with a brief transition to the Question, about the
time of the Birth of *Abraham*.



After the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninus*,
or *Zameis*, succeeded her in the Em-
pire, on whom *Berosus Aneanus* be-
lows the conquest of *Babylonia*, and
the overthrow of *Zameis*, con-
trary to *Diadorus*, *Justin*, *Orosius*,
and all other approved Writers.

For *Ninus* being esteemed no man of War at all, but
altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and deli-
cacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now,
because there was nothing performed by this *Ninus*
of any moment, other than that out of jealousy he e-
very year changed his Provincial Governors, and
built Colleges for the *Chaldean* Priests, his As-
tronomers: nor by *Arinus* his successor, whom *Suidas* cal-
leth *Thucis*, but that he reduced again the *Babylonians*
and *Cassians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninus* his
time: nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arinus*; but
that he added sumptuousity, invented Jewels of Gold
and Stone, and some Engines for the War: I will,
for this present, pass them over, and a while follow
Abraham, whose ways are warrantable (till we meet
these *Assyrians* again in this Story) by whom, and
by whose issues, we shall best give date to the Kings
of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ni-
nus*, *Semiramis*, *Arinus*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes*, or *Bala-
nius*. For, otherwise, if we seek to prove things
certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times,
which the Scriptures set us down without error, by
the reigns of the *Assyrian* Princes; we shall but patch
up the Story at adventure, and leave it in the same
confusion in which to this day it hath remained.
For, where the Scriptures do not help us, *Mirum non
est in rebus antiquis, Historiam non confutare*; No marvel

if then in things very ancient, History want assurance. *Plataarch*
the World, and how long these *Assyrian* Kings

reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first
assure the time of *Abraham's* Birth, and in what year
the same happened after the Flood. Now, since all
agree that the three and fortieth year of *Ninus*, was
the birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out
of the Scriptures, in what year after the Flood the
birth of *Abraham* happened, we shall thereby set all
the rest in square and order. But of this time there is
much jangling between those *Chronologers*, which
follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the most
part making 252 or 293 years; others 352 years
between *Abraham's* Birth and the Flood: a matter of-
ten disputed, but never concluded.

Archelaus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annius*)
makes but 250 years from the Flood to *Ninus*: then
seeing that *Abraham* was born in the three and forty-
eth year of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius* and *Saint
Augustine*, it followeth, by the addition of those two
numbers, that the year of *Abraham's* Birth was in the
year after the Flood 293; or, as the most part of all
Chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never resol-
ved Question, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth
me to give Reason for my own Opinion: and with
so much the greater care and circumspection, because
I walk alone, and in a way apart from the multitude:
yet not alone, and without companions, though the
fewer in number: with whom I rather chuse to en-
dure the wounds of those darts, which Envy casteth
at Novelty, than to go on safely and deeply in the
safe ways of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned

in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

SECT. II.

A Proposal of Reasons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292 after the Flood, and not in the year 352.

Those who seek to prove this account of 292 years, between the general Flood and Abraham's Birth, ground themselves, first, on these words of the Scripture: *So Terah lived 70 years, and begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran*: Secondly, upon the Opinion of Josephus, Saint Augustine, Beda, Ildor, and many of the ancient Hebrews before them: Authorities (while they are slightly looked over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembered, the later Chronologers gather these Arguments. First, out of the words as they lie; That Terah at 70 years begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthiest, Abraham to be counted the eldest Son of Terah, and to necessarily born in the fourteenth year of his life. Secondly, it was of Abraham that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the Blessings; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter, was to set down the Genealogie of Christ from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more assuredly in the 130th year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131, 132, &c. *Moses* having no where set down precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begot *Abraham* at 130 years: seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100 years.

SECT. III.

The Answer to the Objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan; and it, after his Father's death.

To answer all which Objections, it is very easy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of mine own, according to the small Talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the state of the Question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of *Abraham's* journey into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these Arguments, I will make bold with order and method to far as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travels, that serveth as a ground for this Opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived, that *Abraham* made two jour-

neys into *Canaan*: the later after his Father's death, the former presently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not staying for his Father's death at *Haran*: a conjecture drawn from a place in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, whereto is written, By *Heb. 11. 8.* *faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place which he should afterwards receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the Supposition it self.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran*, after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of Saint *Stephen*: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any Man's fancy or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*: one before *Terah's* death, and another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability or reason to induce it? For, if any man out of this place before alleged can pick any arguments, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan's* and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But, that he performed the Commandment of God, after his Father's death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead (saith *Martyr* *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land*. And as *Beza* north, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembered the other: and whence had *Stephen*, *saith Beza*, the knowledge of *Abraham's* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For, if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, his adversaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself, and the Gospel of Christ. Indeed, we shall find small reason to make us think, that *Abraham* passed and re-passed those ways, more often than he was enforced to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his Faith in Gods Promises: In which, if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to flee into Egypt for relief. His wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promise: And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice; all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, let us consider the ways themselves which *Abraham* had to pass over; the length whereof was 300 English miles; and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great River of *Euphrates*, to travel through the dangerous and barren Deserts of *Palmyra*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Herman*, or *Gilead*: and whether there were easy walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300 miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For, if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all, 1800 miles from *Ur* to *Haran*; and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove

prove this fancy; the manner of *Abraham's* departing from *Haran* hath more proof (that he had not *animum revertendi*, nor any thought of looking backward) than any man's bare conjecture, be he what what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written

Gen. 11. 7. of him, *Then Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's Son, and all their substance that they possit, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the land of Canaan they came.* Now, if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his Wife and Kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely, that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and preit with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his Father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the Egyptians, to whom he was more stranger, both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of *Abraham's* return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his Father's death: so they, perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage, their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Father's death, or some time after, being then by their account, 135 years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four or five years after that time, his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he bind with a very solemn oath his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a Wife for *Isaac* his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely, if *Abraham* had been there in person so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only Son, who was then five and thirty years old; before which age, most of the Patriarchs after the Flood had begotten children: rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any, in that Country. But, let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there, or that somewhat happened, which no man can devise; What might be the reason, that *Abraham's* man, in doing his Masters errand, was fain to lay open the whole Story of his Master's prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a Son in her old age, if *Abraham* himself, a more certain Author, had so lately been among them? would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable; considering how avers he was from permitting his Son to be carried thither, even though a Wife of his own kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. *Isaac* indeed was fitter thence by his Parents, to take a Wife of his own Lineage; and without God's special approbation, by whose blessing

he prospered in that journey; yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many injuries; and finally, was driven to convey himself from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written Examples it may be observed, that God allowed not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's Wife*, contains much matter. Let us consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and Egypt, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were delivered; we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the Posterity of the *Hebrews*. When *Hezekiah* was visited with an honourable Embassage from *Babel*, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the Prophets which thereupon he heard by *Ezra*, made him to know, that the counsel of God was agreeable to such thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the Waters of *Babylon* they late down and wept. Concerning Egypt we read, that *Sofar* and *Neoa*, Kings of Egypt, brought calamity upon *Israel*: and also that their confidence in the Egyptian succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into Egypt, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Dentonomy*, that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to return to Egypt, for the multiplying of his Forces. Whether the Lord had laid any such Injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But, because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can persuade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that *St. Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they saw any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are precisely set down in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur*, or *Camerna* in *Chaldea* to *Haran*, or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Father's death) to *Sichem*: from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Hai*: thence into Egypt: from Egypt he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattel were more, then could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to *Mamre*, near *Hebron*: and thence, having purified *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gera*, in the border of *Idumea* under *Abimelec*: and after, near unto it at *Borsabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son *Isaac* on the mountain *Moria*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran*, or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one Story, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* his *Cabala* hath feigned, it should in reason therewithall be believed, that he would in those his first travels have provided himself of some certain fear, or place of abiding; and not have come a second time with his Wife, Kinsmen, Family, Goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereto to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, passed through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the plain of *Mariab*; where, finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Hai*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out

some fit habitation : from whence again, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journeying towards the South* : and always unfettered. By reason of which wandering to and from, the Egyptians gave him and his the name of *Hebrei*.

Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the Country, we may note, that ere he came into *Beit-el* and *Hai*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy feet will I give this Land*, shewing it him, as unto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the Word of the living God : neither finding before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived, he received a second Promise from God, that he would give those Countries unto him and his seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should move any Man to think, that *Mosè* would have omitted any such double journey of *Abraham's*, seeing he fetched down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? as when he moved from *Sielen*, and fared between *Hai* and *Beit-el*, the distance being but 20 miles : and when he moved thence to the Valley of *Murre*, being 24 miles : and when he left *Murre*, and set down at *Gerar*, being less than six miles &c. *Mosè* past over all the times of the first Age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the Story of *Abraham*: shutting up all between the Creation and the Flood in six Chapters : which Age lasted 1650 years : but he belitteth on the Story of *Abraham*, fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five and twentieth : and this time endured but 175 years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Mosè* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham's* travels, or other actions ; or that he would let down those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have manifested some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham's* Story.

SECT. IV.

The Answer to another of the Objections proposed, shewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth year.

NOW, touching the Objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtieth year, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to have a Son at a hundred : this is hardly worth the answering. *Abraham* having respect unto *Sarah* his Wife, when he spake of their many years. For, when the Angel said unto *Abraham* in his Tent door at *Murre*, *Loe, Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son*, it followeth in the next Verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old, and stricken in age, and it seemed to be with Sarah after the manner of women* : therefore *Sarah* laughed, &c.

So then, when it is said, it seemed to be with Sarah after the manner of Women, it appears that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For after *Sarah's* death, as *Zimron*, *Jochanan*, *Madan*, *Isidore*, and *Simeon* : and the eldest of these was born 57 years after *Isaac* : and the youngest 40 years

after. What strangeness then, that *Terah*, being 130 years old, should beget *Abraham*, while they say may be gathered from this supposed despair of *Abraham* at 100 years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145, and *Isaac* was born in the year 2109, and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was 2145. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145, there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* began to beget Sons 36 years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137 years old; it is not strange, that his Father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Isaac*, *Isidore*, and *Jesse*, who lived so many years and Ages after *Abraham*, began Sons at 100 years, or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* began *Abraham* at 130, and *Abraham* others at the same age, and seven years after.

SECT. V.

The Answer to two more of the Objections, shewing that we may have certainty of *Abraham's* age from the Scriptures, though we make not *Abraham* the eldest Son, and that there was great cause, why in the Story of *Abraham* his two Brethren should be respected.

IT follows now, to speak something to the Objection, which brings *Abraham's* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70 years old. For *Abraham's* age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this Proposition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham's* age, unless we make him the eldest Son, is false. For it is plain in the Scripture, that when *Terah* was 205, which was the year of his death : then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at thage : I answer, That *St. Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham's* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah* : and *Terah* died at 205 : soas the 75th year of *Abraham* was the 205th year of *Terah* ; which known, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now, to come to the Objection, where it is said, That *Mosè* had no respect unto *Nabor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* only, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom *Christ* defended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, That *Mosè*, for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nabor* and *Haran*. For the succession of God's Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nabor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters, or otherwise. For *Nabor* was the Father of *Beit-el*, and *Beit-el* of *Rebekah*, the Mother of *Isaac* : and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milchah* : and *Sarah* was Mother to *Isaac*, and Grandmother to *Jacob* : *Milchah* also, the Wife of *Nabor*, and Mother of *Beit-el*, was *Jacob's* great Grandmother : and the age of *Sarah*, the Daughter of *Haran*, is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a Son at 90 years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet, because both *Nabor* and *Abraham* married the Daughters of their brother *Haran* : and because *Isaac* named *Rebekah* the grand-child of *Nabor* ; and *Jacob* *Lea* and *Rachel*, the Daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child also of *Nabor* : it was not superfluous in *Mosè*

Mosè to give light of those mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is, *Job* 24. 2. yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural Country and City of *Urin Chaldeæ*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldeæ* ; but *Lot*, his Son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan* : and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nabor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gave his Sons Daughters to *Isaac*, and *Sarah*, his own kinsmen : he himself having all married in his own Family ; not thinking it pleasing unto God, to mix themselves with Strangers and Idolaters. And that these men were believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For, when *Laban* had seen the servant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers house in this manner, Come in, thou blessed of *Jehovah*, &c. And when this servant of *Abraham's* demanded an answer as touching *Rebekah*, then answered *Laban* and *Beit-el*, and said, This thing is proceeded of *Jehovah* : meaning, that it was the Will of the true God it should be so ; wherein he acknowledged the Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse, it is written, *Take ye, that he may be thy Masters Son's Wife, even as *Jehovah* hath said*. Their then offering of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now, although it be the opinion of *Chrysostom*, and some late Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaster*, *Masiusius*, *Calvin*, *Morer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, because he retained certain Idols, or Household-gods, which *Rachel* stole from him : yet, that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledged the God of *Abraham* and of *Nabor*, and he called *Abraham's* servant, blessed of *Jehovah*, as above said. So as, for my self, I dare not avow that these men were out of the Church, who, sure I am, were not out of the Faith.

SECT. VI.

That the naming of *Abraham* first of the three brethren, *Gen.* 11. v. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest ; together with divers reasons, proving that *Abraham* was not the eldest Son of *Terah*.

TO the main Objection, which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70 year of *Terah's* life ; grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scriptures, And *Terah* lived seventy years, and began *Abraham*, *Nabor*, and *Haran* : To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the fame is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born Son of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequent, that if he be first named in Scripture was therefore eldest in blood and birth : neither doth it in appear, that if he be first named in Scripture was therefore eldest in nature and time : for *Seb* was not the first-born of *Abraham* : nor *Isaac* of *Abraham* : nor *Jacob* of *Isaac* : nor *Judah* and *Joseph* of *Jacob* : nor *David* the eldest of *Jesse* : nor *Solomon* of *David* : as it is formerly remembered.

But it is written of *Noah's* 500 years old, and *Noah* begat *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet* : shewing, that at the 500 year of his age he began to beget the first of those three Sons. For, according to *St. Augustine*, speaking generally, *Non accedunt ætatem in his ordinatam* : *sed specificatio tunc dignitatis in qua ordinatam* : *The order of Nativity is not here to be rejected, but the specification of the future dignity, in which Abraham was preferred*. And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of *Noah*, 60 is it here ; where it is said, *Thou Terah lived 70 years*, and begat *Abraham*, *Nabor*, and *Haran* : For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sons, himself being begotten by his Father *Nabor* at 29, as other his Ancestors were at 50. The like also happened to *Noah's* for *Kenan* *Abraham* begat *Sab* at 133, *Enoch* *Kenan* at 90, *Abraham* was begotten at 70, *Mahalal* *Jared* at 60, *Noah* was begotten at 500 years old when he began to beget the first of his three Sons, as above said. And *Saint Augustine*, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the Opinion, that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terah's* Sons, than otherwise, though for his excellency he was worthily named first : his own words are these : *Fori enim ut patuit politicois generati Abrahamus sed merito excellentis, qui in Scripturis dicitur : commendatus, prior fuerit nominatus*. It might be, said he, that *Abraham* was begotten later, but was first named, in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born : either in those issues of *Noah*, or in those of *Terah*. Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing : for *Mosè* nameth first the Children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods favour. *Prius ego, et post patris electio divina, que comitem sequitur trahit potestatem*. &c. *De timore, prius pariter dat Sem in libro Noe*. &c. *Abraham in libro Thare* : *Prius, fides he, or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it, Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedence to Sem among the Children of Noah, and to Abraham among those of Thare*.

For the self, it is manifest, that *Abraham* entered *Canaan* in the 75 year of his age. And it was in *Gen.* 12. 4. *Canaan* that *Hagar* bore him *Ishmael*, when *Abraham* had lived 86 years. It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had confirmed 100 years. It was from the valley of *Murre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* went out, when he refused *Lot*, and overthrew *Amraphel* : and he had then but the age of 83 years : and it is as manifest, that he departed from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But, if *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70 years old, then must *Abraham* have been 135 years when he first left his foot in *Canaan*, seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted of *Terah's* : which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembered. For he entered at 75, he refused *Lot* at 83, he had *Ishmael* at 86, he had *Isaac* at 100, proved by the former places.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70 year of his age : then had *Terah* lived till *Isaac* had been 35 years old, and *Ishmael* 49 : both which must then have been in *Misopotamia*, and therein fallen to thage : unless we would either deny credit to *St. Stephen*, who faith that *Abraham* departed from *Misopotamia* after his Fathers death, or else believe the interpretation of *Daniel Angelatorum*, *dum* : nor *Isaac* of *Abraham* : nor *Jacob* of *Isaac* : nor *Judah* and *Joseph* of *Jacob* : nor *David* the eldest of *Jesse* : nor *Solomon* of *David* : as it is formerly remembered. For it were most improperly spoken, to say, that

that those things were done about Terah's death, which were sixty years before. Wherefore, supposing Abraham to have been born in the seventieth year of Terah's; we must give those times and places of birth to Abraham's children, which no Authority will warrant: For Abraham was no Children in Ur of Chaldees, nor in Haran, nor in ten years after his arrival into Canaan. For the year of Terah's Death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the year of the World 2083; and the year of Isaac's Birth was the World's year 2094; which maketh ten years difference. And that Isaac was born in Canaan, and was to be offered upon the Mountain Moriab therein, thirty nine miles from Beysale, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be, that any of Abraham's Sons were born in Mesopotamia; nor while Terah lived; nor in less than ten years after Terah's Death; and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest Son of Terah, nor born in the seventieth year of Terah's Age.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75th Terah had begotten him at 70, then had Terah lived but 145; for 70 and 75 make 145, which must also have been the full age of Terah; but Terah lived 205 years, and therefore was not Abraham born in the 70th year of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest Brother of Abraham; for Sarah, or Iscrah, wanted but ten years of Abraham's age: Isaac being born when Abraham was a hundred, and Sarah ninety years old.

It followeth then, that, if Abraham had been the elder Brother of Haran, Haran must have begotten Sarah at nine years old: for granting that Haran was born but one year after Abraham, and Sarah within ten years as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her, when he had lived but nine years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Iscrah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth both names, faith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word Iscrah of Iscrah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? For, to speak of anything superfluous, it is not used in God's Book: and if Iscrah had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpose remembered.

Now, if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that Moses had no respect of Nahor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the Parents of Beheth and Rebekah, the Mother of Isaac, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Iscrah in this place, were the not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name, of whom there is nothing else said or left?

The age also of Lot disproveth the elderhip of Abraham; for Lot was called an old Man, when Abraham was but 83 years old: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were Father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; Abraham marrying one of Haran's Daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten years as old as Abraham; it may appear to every reasonable Man (not obtinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest Son of Terah, and not Abraham; who also died first, and before his Father left Ur in Chaldees. Also Lysa reasoneth against this opinion of Abraham's elderhip, upon the same place of Genesis; drawing arguments from the age of Sarah, who was but ten years younger than

Abraham himself. Lysa his words are these: Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur quod non babebat decem annos quando genuit Saran: imò ne etiā, &c. and afterward, & idē melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimus natus de tribus filiis Thare, limen nominatur primus, propter eius dignitatem: & ponendus erat caput stirpis, & generationis sequens: & quia primus factus est ei reponit expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c. If therefore (saith Lysa) Haran was younger than Abraham himself, it followeth, that he was not ten years old when he begat Sarah: And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that Abraham was the first born of the three Sons of Thare, nevertheless he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained Head of the Stock and Generation following, and because the Promise of Christ was first made unto him, as before it is said of Sem.

SECT. VII.

A Conclusion of this Dispute, noting the Authors on both sides; with an Admonition, that they which shorten the times, make all ancient Stories the more unprovable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest Son of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was born in the 130th year of Terah's Life, and not in the 70th year. For Abraham departing Charan after Terah died, according to St. Stephen, and that journey by Abraham performed, when he was 75 years old: these two numbers added, make 205 years, the full age of Terah: seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entered Canaan. For my self, I have no other end herein, than to manifest the World's Story. I reverence the judgment of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint Augustine was doubtful, and could not determine this controversy. For, whatsoever is borrowed out of his sixteenth Book de Civitate Dei, cap. 15, the same may be answered out of himself in his five and twentieth Question upon Genesis. But St. Augustine herein followed Josephus and Isidorus, and Beda followed St. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the Hebrews and Josephus sought to make Abraham the first born: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Josephus, together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorify the Jewish Nation) make Abraham a King, entitling Sarah by the name of Queen Sarah; and said, that Abraham was followed with 318 Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; & recitat & adducit in testem habuit, quorum singulis infinita militumda parvas. And that Pharaoh invaded him with a great Army, took from him his Wife Sarah: Such Fables argue that Josephus is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292 years from the Flood to Abraham, is upheld by many of the Hebrews. But how should we value the opinion of such Chronologers, as take Ananias for Nimrod? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the Persian Kings under whom they lived, whose History was not so far remote in time, as these Antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet grossly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakes

mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confusion treading on the heels of it. They of the Roman Religion are also generally on the same side; it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, Theodoret, and some following him; of later times, Beza, Bucer, Calaneo, Favinus, Biez, Brongnius, Dr. Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of the Protestant, hold Abraham to have been born in the 130 year of his father Terah. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion, and those nevertheless good Authors, as Bucer, Chisnerus, Favinus, and others, are very averse herein, especially Josephus Scaliger with his Sestius Calvisius, proclaiming Bernaldus an arch-heretic in Chronology, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise, Augustinus Tornilius, a Priest of the Congregation of St. Paul, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whose Annals are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; & not alleging Bernaldus, nor any Protestant Writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to Heretics. For my self, I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the Roman Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this later account of times, because many notable men of the Protestant Writers have approved it; but for the truth it self. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons and testimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the best approved Historians, divine, and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the Stories, and force-past actions of the World; and not the truth of Histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to our selves, which of these two accounts give the best reputation to the Story of the Scriptures, reaching the World's new plantation, and the continuance of God's Church: either that of Josephus, and those which follow him; who makes but 292 years, or thereabouts, between the Flood and Birth of Abraham: or this other account, which makes 352 years between the one and the other: the one making Abraham to be the first-born of Thare, in the 70th year of his life; the other a younger Son of Thare, and born when he had lived 130 years. And, if we look over all, and do not hastily criticise our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being fatigued do slothfully and drowsily fit down we shall find it more agreeable, rather to allow the reckoning of the Septuagint, who, according to some Editions, make it above 1073 years between the Flood and Abraham's Birth: than to take away any part of those 352 years given. For, if we adventurously consider the state and continuance of the World, such as it was in Abraham's time, yea, before Abraham was born, we will find, that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pass the times over deeply between Abraham and the Flood: because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole Story might perhaps be lost thereby, were not the testimony of the Scriptures supreme, lo was no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withal this Precept of S. Augustine, That whosoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mis-understood. For, in Abraham's time, all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. Egypt had many magnificent Cities: and so had Palestine, and

all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as India; and those not built with flocks, but of heaven's decree, and defended with walls and rampires; which magnificence needed a Parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to begot doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving aloft strength thereby to common evil-lers, and to those mens apish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters, in the Story of the World and Man-kind.

SECT. VIII.

A Computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Story of Abraham.

IN this sort therefore, for the reasons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general Flood, to the birth of Abraham, 352 years were consumed; and Abraham, taking the Assyrian History with us, the same number of years were spent from the Flood to the 43rd year of Nimrod: in which 43 year of Nimrod, Abraham was born: which happened in the year of the World, 2090.

Now, of this time of 352 years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinar, as to those that layged in the East, to wit, 30 years to Chus, ere he begat Saba; of which though the Scriptures are silent, yea, because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first Sons, we may the more fairly give the like allowance to these. For Ebor begat Poly at 34, Poly Regu at 30, Regu Seng at 32. Now, after Saba, Chus begat Hvilah, Saba, Ram, and Sabtes: and Raama begat Sheba and Dedan, before Nimrod was born, as it appeareth, Gen. 10, which S. Augustine approveth. Giving then 30 years more to Raama, ere he begat Sheba, and five years to the five elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be gathered, that 65 years were consumed ere Nimrod himself was born; and that Raama had that age before any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and comparison: for Poly the fourth from Noah, as Raama was, begat Rezin the fifth year of his life.

Let us then allow 60, years more after the birth of Nimrod, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build Babel; for few we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65 and 60 make 125. The rest of the time of 131 (in which year they arrived in Shinar, whereof there are six years remaining) we may then for their travels from the East; because they were peopled with women, children and cattle: and, as some ancient Writers have conceived, and because of later times, they kept always the mountain sides, for fear of a second flood. Now, if we take this number of 131 out of 352, there remains 221 of years, which number Berossus bewteth 65 years before, and 43 years before Abraham born: both which S. Augustine approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221, there remaineth 114 years of the 352, from Terah's birth to Abraham's birth; which number of 114 years needeth itself without Nimrod.

And if it be objected, that this time given to Nimrod is overlong; sure, if we compare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather

rather appear over short. For Nimrod, by this account, lived in all but 179 years, whereof he reigned 112; whereas Sale, who was the Son of Arphaxad, the Son of Sem, lived 403 years: and of the same age of the World was Nimrod the Son of Chus, the Son of Cham.

Now, after Abraham was born, Nimrod reigned 9 years, which added to 43 make 52. Nimrod died, and leaveth Semiramis his Successor.

Semiramis governed the Empire of Babylon and Assyria 42 years, and died in the 52 year complete of Abraham's life.

Ninus, or Zameis, succeeded Semiramis, and ruled 38 years; in the second year of whose reign Abraham left Mesopotamia.

When Abraham was 85 years old, he refused his nephew Lot, and overthrew by surprise Amraphel, King of Shinar, or Babilonia. Ninus reigned 38 years, and Abraham came into Canaan but 22 years after Semiramis died: which was the 75 year of his age; so that Amraphel may seem to have been this Ninus, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, whose 23 years, as aforesaid, being the 75 year of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85 year of Abraham, and the 33 year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this Amraphel could not be Ninus, are not easily answered. Howbeit, for the times of the Assyrian Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set down, according to the times noted by Moser in the Story of Abraham, it is most certain; unless we will either derogate from the truth of Moser's computation, which were impiety, or account the whole History of Ninus and Semiramis to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all ancient Historians for Fables.

SECT. IX.

That Amraphel, one of the four Kings whom Abraham overthrew, Gen. 14. may probably be thought to have been Ninus the Son of Ninus.

And now, touching this Amraphel, whom Moser makes King of Shinar, or Babilonia, in the 85 year of Abraham's life, that is, in the 33 year of the reign of Ninus Zameis the King of the Assyrians, the Son of Ninus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of Babilonia, Ninus Zameis then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it self as most probable is, that which hath been already noted, that this Ninus, or Zameis, was no other than our Amraphel: who, invaded Traconitis, or Bisan, and overthrew those five Kings of Pontus, or the Valley of Siddim. For the Scriptures tell us, that Amraphel was King of Shinar, which is Babilonia; and the times before accounted make him to be the successor of Ninus and Semiramis: and it falleth out with the 85 year of Abraham's life, wherein he reigned Lot, the Chedorlaomer, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest Monarch; for Chedorlaomer commanded in chief, though Amraphel be first named by Moser in the first Verse of the fourteenth Chapter of Genesis. For the Kings of the Valley of Siddim, or of Pontopolis, or the five Cities, were the vassals of Chedorlaomer, and not of Amraphel; as it is written, *These were the Kings which Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the Kings*

that were with him; and therefore was Chedorlaomer the principal in this enterprise, who was then King of Elam, which is Persia. Now Persia being seated over Tygris, and to the East of Amraphel's Country; and the other two Kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being seated to the West of Shinar, or Babilonia: Amraphel, who held Babilonia it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great force or large Dominion. For, had Amraphel been so great a Prince as prophane Historians make Ninus or Semiramis, whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three or four Kings for this Expedition. But though Chedorlaomer were the first and greatest of those four Kings (as it is manifest that he was: For these little Kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, &c. were his vassals, and not Amraphel's) yet it makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this Amraphel might be Ninus. For it may be that the great and potent Empire of Assyria had now (as we shall find) a down-right fall at the time of this War: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between India and the Phœnician Sea; to wit, in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

SECT. X.

Of Arioch, another of the four Kings, and that Elias, whereof he is said to have been King, lies between Cœlosyria and Arabia Petraea.

Now the two other Kings joined with Amraphel and Chedorlaomer, were Arioch and Tidal; the one King of Ellasar, the other the Nations. For Ellasar, Aquila and Hieron write Pontus; so Josephus thinketh that it should be Hellespont: which opinion Pererius favoureth. But this is only to defend the Latine translation. For as Pontus, is in Hellespont far distant, and out of the way to find any Armies into Arabia Petraea, or into Idumæa; which Countries these four Kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain that the Assyrians (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in Asia the less. For at such times as the Assyrians feared the invasion of the Medes and Persians, they sent not into Asia the less as Commanders; but used all the Art they had to invite Cæsar to their assistance; persuading him, that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the success of the Medes against the Assyrians. But examine the enterprise, what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) *made War with Bera, King of Sodom, Birsha King of Gomorrah, Shinab King of Admah, and Shemebar King of Zeboim, and the King of Bela, which is Zoar.* All which five Kings had not so much ground as Middlesex; being such a kind of Reguli, as Josephus found in the Land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small Territories adjoining; of which Canaan had three and thirty, all slain or hanged by Josias. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and therefore to call in Kings from Pontus, or Hellespont, had manifested a great impotence and weakness in the Kings of Babylon and Persia.

And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings far off came to assist Pompey against Cæsar; yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these

petty

SECT. XI.

Of Tidal, another of the four Kings.

The fourth King by Abraham overthrown, was Tidal, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it Gogim, which Vatablus takes to be a proper name: *Lyx* of mixt People; *Calcia* of Rummages without habitation. *Pererius* out of Strabo, finds that Galilee was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt People: namely, of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phœnicians. *Nam talia sunt qui Galilee inhabitant; Such are the inhabitants of Galilee, faith Strabo; and therefore was Tidal called King of these Nations, as they suppose.* And so it may be; but the authority of Strabo is nothing in this Question. For Galilee was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of Strabo. For, when Abraham came into Canaan, the Canaanite was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not but there are many petty Kingdoms adjoining to Phœnicia, and *Palœstina*, as *Galymæa*, *Betanea*, *Ladicea*, *Apamea*, *Chalcidea*, *Cappadia*, *Calathonia*, and all these do also join themselves to Mesopotamia on the North, and to Arabia on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under Tidal, I take to be the probable conjecture.

SECT. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, the chief of the four Kings, was not of Assyria, but of Persia; and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

Lastly, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrap, Viceroy, or Provincial Governour of Babilonia, and that the other Kings named, were such also, I cannot agree with Pererius in this. For Moser was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinar*, to call the Assyria King of Elam: those Kings named in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldeæ*, *Shinar*, *Babilonia*, or *Assyria*; but never by *Elam*; and Chedorlaomer, or Chedorlaomer was so called of Kider, from *Cidarius*, which in the Hebrew signifieth *Regale*; for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the Persians wore on their heads.

Neither do I believe, that the Assyrian or Babilonian Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. Alexander became Lord of all Asia, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so forth a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it felt had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Timberlan* conquered *Asia* and *India*, with a storm-like, and terrible success; but to prevalent fury, God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things Nature her self worketh in haste, he taketh the least care for their continuance. The fruit of his Victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus, being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour-

petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on Cæsar's and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes no less doubtful than fearful: But the whole Country by these four Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; a narrow Valley of ground, lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Sair*; inclosed by the River of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanon* on the North; consisting of two small Provinces of *Tracœnia*, or *Bisan*, and the Region of the *Machabees*; a conquest far unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the Assyrian Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of Hellespont, or any other part of Asia theless. But as the Vulgar, and *Aquila*, convert *Ellasar* by *Pontus*; so *Symmeon* makes *Arioch*, a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as far fetched to join with the Assyrians in this War, as the World had any at that time.

The Septuagint do not change the word of *Ellasar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the Mountains whereof the Ark did rest; so do they in this place retain the word *Ellasar*, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himself remembereth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellespont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latine translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Græcian Cosmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellar* in the border of *Calosyria*; and *St. Hieron* calleth *Ellar* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now, although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Calosyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King; who formerly joyned with *Ninus* in all his Conquests, because of the same Family, and defended from *Cham* and *Chus*; after whom the name of *Arin* was by the Hebrew written *Arioch*; and afterward again *Arabis*: as in the *Machabees*; the Kings of *Arabis* holding that name even to the time of *St. Paul*, who was fought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Aretas*, commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes, for the most part confederate and depending upon the Assyrian Empire. It is true that we find in *Daniel*; that in the time of *Nebuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his Army, and the principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings; which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the Son of that *Arioch*, Confederate of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*, nor of *Syria*, Regions far removed from the Assyrians and Babilonians. The name also of *Arioch*, who commanded under *Nebuchodonosor*, is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans*; who are a Nation of *Peftars*, bordering on *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*, though *Pliny* sets it between the Sea-coast and *Media*; and if any Brother of the Arabian Kings, or other of that House (known by the name of *Arin*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the Government of that Persian Province, called *Elymas* (as it seemeth they had, by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nebuchodonosor's* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of, may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabis*, the Son of *Arin*, the Confederate of *Ninus*, which the Sons held league as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West into *Babilonia*, and *Chaldeæ*; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own blood and blood; which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Dei. Sic. lib. 2. c. 1.

bout-Princes, and became victorious over them: a Man violent, insolent and cruel. *Siniramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious than her *Paramour's* enlarged the *Babylonian* Empire, and beautified many places therein, with buildings unexampled. But her Son, having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a succour. For, *In Reges Babylonico hic pariter resonant:* This King *ruled little* (saith *Nauclous* of *Ninias*) in the *Babylonian Kingdom*. And likely it is, that the racks of mortal Men, having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and dejected condition of living in slavery: no long descent having as yet invited the *Affryan* with a right; nor any other risk, being for him pretended, than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his Vassals, with a powerless trafficking, and a Mind less industrious than his Father and Mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to reign forty two years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to Man's estate, winced to the World, that he so much preferred Ease before Honour and bodily Pleasures before Greatness: as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentions peril enjoy.

These confulations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Mofes*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* was rather an inferior to the King of *Persia*, than either his superior, or equal; make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Siniramis* was at that time broken asunder, and re-joined again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion, I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to inspire that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldea* to *Chorran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700 miles, or little less, with Women, Children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandered were then settled, and in peace. For it was the twenty third year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of twenty three years after the death of *Siniramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Siniramis*'s Army of four Millions, with her self, utterly confined in *India*, and all her Armies and Engins of War at the time time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest Souls and weakest hearted of the World, to repurchase their former liberty.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arins* the Son of *Ninias* or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians*, and *Caspians*, and again subverted them: which needed not, if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninias*'s Death. And as *Arins* recovered one part, so did *Baleus*, or *Belaneus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*; and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *Victor* or *Triumphator*, *A Conqueror* and *Triumphator*, which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those Countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection.

Now, if we shall make any doubt thereof, that is, of the conquest of *Arins* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Siniramis* to be but feigned; but if we grant this conquest, then it is true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Affryan* Empire was torn asunder, according to that which had been gathered out of *Mofes*, as before remembered.

SECT. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the four Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves; and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if so, we need not say, that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

THE consent of all Writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these four Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows, were Lords of those Regions, wherunto they are, or seem intitled; doth almost enforce us to think, that the History must so be understood, as I have delivered. But, if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for People of those Lands; or if (as *Hierom* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidit* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of People, either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry Regions; then may we otherwise conceive of this History: removing thereby some difficulties, which Men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For, as it had been a strange conjecture to think that *Arins* was drawn to assist the *Persian* against the *Solimitic*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation, it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should pass through to great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Affrya*, *Chaldea*, *Misopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those five Towns, whose very names how they should come to his Ear, being disjoyned by so many great Nations of different Languages, a wise Man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea, the Kingdom of *Elasar* and that of *Tidit*, so far off removed, were become his dependents; what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*? and when he should have fought the establishment of his new-gotten Empire, by rooting out the Posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great City *Damascus*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now, as these doubts, which may be alledged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that

that small Province, or rebel against so powerful a Monarch? Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them; was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible Army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion; yea, to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea, between themselves and the River *Indus*? Likewise, on the part of *Chedorlaomer*, we should find no great wisdom, if he, knowing the weakness of this People, had raised such a World of Men against them: whom by any Lieutenant, with small forces he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Country, was not sufficient to countervail one Month's charges of so huge an Army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the waiting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few Prisoners, and the pillage of the Country, although he had broken their Army in the Field? Now, the Scriptures do not of this invasion (supposed so great) make any fearful matter; but compose the two Armies as equally match, saying, they were four Kings against five; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that *Abraham* slew all these Kings: of which great slaughter no History makes mention: Neither will the reign of *Ninias*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon; neither would Histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that these four Kings were not the same that they are commonly thought; nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these Kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same Title; Lords and Commanders every one of his own Company, which he carried forth as a Colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troop of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Country which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of Discoveries, Conquests and Plantations in the infancy of Greece; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almost as many Kings as several Armies; or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoveries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*; may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual for the Leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted; nor to make alliances together, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of

Commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the slothful quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Affrica*; whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking Spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed in the Reign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded, whilst others, more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the content of the whole stream of Writers upon this place, make this conjecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture, *Amraphel* was *Ninias*; and that the power of his Ancestors being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferior to the *Postum Chedorlaomer*; or if this do not satisfy, we may say that *Amraphel* was an under-King, or *Satrapa* of *Shinar*, under *Ninias*; who may be supposed to have had his Imperial Seat in his Father's City, *Ninive*; and to have preferred it before *Shinar* and *Babylon* the City of his Mother, whom he hated as a usurper of his right. But, if it were possible that in a case not concerning any Man's Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might err; then can I think that the opinion, that those four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant, both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a *Postum* King, than King of *Postu*: And that *Arioch* (whose Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a Man of Action, or being a worthy Man's Son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these Captains or petty Kings. These, and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost belov'd upon it; especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seem better than these. But of what countries or people forever these four were Kings, this Expedition is the only publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to this Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews, *Elsau* and *Jacob*, as they are regulated by *Mosés*, because it is not our purpose, either to stand upon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we pass them here in silence. And because in the Story of *Abraham* and his Posterity, there is much mention of Egypt, by which it appears, that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing Kingdom; it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the Antiquities and first Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, from the first Peopling of it after the Flood, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

SECT. I.

A Brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt; with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

Soon after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seems) *Cham*, with many of his issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Flood) came thither and took possession of the Country ; in which they built many Cities ; and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The antient *Governours* of this Kingdom, till such time as *Israhel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the *Table* following.

<i>An. Mundi. An. dil.</i>		
1847.	191.	<i>Cham.</i>
2008.	352.	<i>Ofiriz.</i>
2269.	613.	<i>Typhon</i>
		<i>Hercules.</i> }
2276.	620.	<i>Orus.</i>
2591.	735.	<i>Sesoftris the great.</i>
2424.	768.	<i>Sesoftris the blind.</i>
2438.	782.	<i>Buffis, or Ofiris the second.</i>
2476.	820.	<i>Ancubere, or Thermutis, or Me-</i>
		<i>852.</i>
2458.		<i>Rathoris, or Athoris.</i>
2497.	841.	<i>Cenchoe, drowned in the Red</i>
		<i>Sea.</i>

The *Table*, and especially the *Chronology*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obcurity manifest and manifest truth cannot be found. For *S. Auguftine*, a man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had fought into all Antiquities, and had read the Books of *Parr*, which now are loft, yet omitted the fucceffion of the *Egyptian Kings*, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonian*, whom he remembereth, than whom doubtles they were more glorious. One great occafion of this obcurity in the *Egyptian Story*, was the ambition of the Priests; who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many fearings, and recounted unto frangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for thefe reports of fuppofed Kings, it fhall appear anon. Sure it is, That the magnificent Works, and royal Buildings in *Egypt*, fuch as are never found but in States that have greatly flourifhed, witnefs that their Princes were of marvelous greatnefs, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether falfe. A fecond caufe of our ignorance in the *Egyptian Story*, was the too much credulity of fome good Authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of fundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own names what they as pleafed them belt, have confounded them, and as it were enforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general caufe of more than *Egyptian* darknefs in all ancient Hiftories, is the Edition of many Authors, by *John Annins*, of whom (if to the confufion of fundry very Learned I may add mine) I think

thus: that *Annius* having seen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved Writs confirm him; but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass, that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronology* or *Genealogy* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The *Christian* Writers, such as are antient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Annius*: his Authors: The profane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

SECT. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Cham's reign in Egypt began in the year after the Flood.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about whom is most controverted, the best mean is by help of the *Dynasties* of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Affairs*, *Trjans*, *Italy*, *Babylonia*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16th *Dynasty* is joined by general consent with the 43 year of *Nimrod*, in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, so that all the twelve which were call'd the greater gods, so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13th *Dynasty* endured 14 years; the fourteenth 26, the fifteenth 37. These three last, are said to have been continued by the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161 years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties*, was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, that *Annius* hath it so; considering, that both hitherto, it hath pass'd as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty*, in the year of *Abraham's* birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161 years, which, according to our account, were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352 years, which were between the Flood and *Abraham's* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynasty*, which was the beginning of *Chus's* reign in Egypt, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind

SECT. III.

*That these Dynasties were not divers Families
of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents,
oft-times many under one King.*

The first continuance of the *Dynasties* doth shew that they were not several races of Kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to fill themselves with. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in refutations of decayed Antiquities, it is more easy to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian Kings*, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some truly Counsellor, onely relieving the Sovereignty to themselves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to do. The *Ministers* of the Palace, and as the *Turks* doth to the Chief Eunuchs, were the *Chams*, and so doth to the number of the *Dynasties*. Many are under the name of *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris*, *Amphote*, and must therefore have been successors, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such Princes borders to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Amphote* the

Phylip, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about concension, did nothing without *Phicol*, Captain of his Host. Though in taking *Abraham's* Wife, and in his private carriages, he followed his own pleasure. Likewile of *Abimelech*, the King of *Gidon*, it was said: *It is not he the Son of Jerubbaal* *12* *Isaiah* *his Officer*. *Alfo Jibethah*, the Son of *Saul*, feared even the Captain of the Host. Yea, David himself, hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *His* *the Edomite*, living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: there- fore likely, both by his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of the Government upon others; and upon jealousy, the companion of un- worthiness, to have changed his Lieutenants often. Above all, the proofs the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*: *Only in the King's Throne will I be above thee* *13* *Isaiah* *I have fite thee over all the Land of Egypt*. *William de Trobrioh* of *Tyre*, will, *Tyre*, who flourished about the year of our Lord, one thousand and one hundred eighty, affirms that, like, or ens. *19*. a very fame form of Government by *Viceroy*, as in his time practised in *Egypt*, having there been a *Pharaoh* (as he believed) ever since the time of *Flois*. He plainly shewes, that the *Soldans of Egypt* were not Lords of the Country, however they have been so deemed; but that they acknowledge'd and humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the *Caliph*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of Civil Government, but the power of making War and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority Royal, to the *Soldans* hands. He that shall read *14* *Isaiah* *of Tyre*, the flatness of the *Caliph*, or *Mulien Edwahed*, with the form of his Court, shall plainly behold the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling like a *Viceroy*. *Lib. 19.* c. 22.

To think that many names of inferior *Regents*, or Lieutenants, as *Joseph* was, have crept into the Lift of the Egyptian Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Joseph's* brethren call him *The man that is Lord of the Land*, and *The Lord of the Country*; besides, it is not unlikely, that the vain-glorious Egyptian Priests would as easily report him a King to poltrotry, as ignorant men and strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royal managing of the State had passed, whilst that the King himself, intending his quiet, had given his Office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joseph's* brethren doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*; each of whom, citing their relations, as good Authority, after *Menas*, and *Sesibius* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; whereas, that he was the 332 after *Menas*; which could not have been, if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, that the *Dynasties* were not so many Races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the Kings of so many sundry Linages or dynasties of men. Now, by whatsoever means a *Dynasty* is raised, *Herodotus* continued; whether in one Family, as being made an hereditary Office; or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is, that was the King's gift and free choice, that gave the Office. But the Crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election; which (besides consent of Authors) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the Land of Egypt for *Pharaoh*, if the Crown had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh's* children hereby, either have been intralled amongst the rest of the people, or the

next successor : or enjoying their father's Land, though not his Estate, have been more mighty than the King : as Land-lords of all Egypt, and the King himself their Tenant. Likewise we find in Exod. 12. that God *thence the first-born of Pharaoh, that was to sit on his Throne.* And in Esay, it is said of Pharaoh, *I am the Son of the ancient King.*

Esa. 19.

SECT. IV.

Of Cham, and his Son Mizraim, or Ofiris.

THAT the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from Cham to Chenezer, now it followeth to shew. Egypt is called in the Scripture the Land of Ham. That this name is not given to it, because the Posterity of Cham did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances.

For I think it is no where found, that the Countries of *Chloph, Put, or Canaan*, as well as Egypt, were called the Land of Ham. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Ofiris* called himself the eldest Son of Cham, saying, *Mili pater Saturnus duxit omnium junior : alio, Sim Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso herens* ; which must needs be understood of Cham ; for this *Saturnus* was Cham : as it is said, that on the Monument of *Ninus* was an Inscription, wherein Cham was called *Saturnus Egyptius*.

Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not far from Egypt, doth testify, that *Ham* reigned in those parts: And *S. Hieron.* in *questuibus Hebraicis*, faith, that the *Egyptians* themselves did in his days, call their Country *Ham* ; as in four several places in the *Psalms* this Country is called the Land of Cham. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plinius* in *Ofiris*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Country of Egypt was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chemia, ut puto* (faith he) *a Chamo Noe filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidoro*, *Aegyptumque hodie Aegyptum lingua Kam vocant* ; that Egypt unto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is called Kam. For the beginning and continuance of Cham's reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the 15 first Dynasties : Neither is it strange, that the reign of Cham should last so long as 161 years ; considering that *Son* lived 600, *Arphaxad* and *Seth* above 400. But strange it had been, if one *Salus* created by *Momus*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 12 years, and with *Beon, Apocan, Apocis* and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Ofiris*, *Orus* and *Sesoftris*. *Reinecius* in *Hist. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Ofiris*, according to *Diodorus* ; who, faith he, was the Son of *Hammon* : *Krentzenius* faith, that *Mizraim* and *Ofiris*, are words of near affinity and found in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the Son of Cham, was Lord of Egypt ; and *Reinecius*, citing good authority in this case, affirmeth that Egypt is now called by the naturals in their own language, *Maze*. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether *Ofiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to these manifestly, how long *Mizraim*, or *Ofiris* reigned : For whereas the year of his death is no where precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Ammius* his *Borsius*, to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynasty* of the *Tubekai* began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of *Eusebius*, who avoucheth as much ; next, by *Diodorus*,

who faith, that he inhabited *Thebes* ; which habitation of *Ofiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynasty*, I can well believe ; assenting so far to *Reinecius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named only according to the several seats of the Kings.

SECT. V.

Of the time when *Ofiris* reign ended, and that Jacob came into Egypt in the time of *Orus* the Son of *Ofiris*.

THE death of *Ofiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The only conjecture that I know is made thus : *Lebaim* the Son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in Italy, to revenge his father's death on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41 year of *Baluts* King of *Affrica* ; before which year he had made many great Wars in Egypt, *Phoenicia, Tygris, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia* and *Spain* ; and having ended his Egyptian Wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Borsius*, or Authors following *Borsius*. That *Orus*, last of all the gods (as they were styled) held the Kingdom of *Isir*, *Diadema Sicutus* finally faith ; and *Plutarchus* as much, to which all Historians agree. *Krentzenius* hereupon saith, that six years may be allowed to the Wars, which *Hercules* was made in so many Countries, after the Egyptian Wars were ended : so should the death of *Ofiris* have been the 34 of *Baluts*, when himself had reigned 297 years. I think that *Krentzenius* was a greater Scholar than Souldier. For surely, in those days, when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent ; which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Ofiris* had been the 34 of *Baluts*, then must *Israel* have come into Egypt but 7 years before the death of *Ofiris* ; and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon* : A thing not easily believed. For it was the same King who advanced *Josaph*, had him fend for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his father's Funeral ; as may easily be gathered out of the Book of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Ofiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7 year of *Israel's* coming into Egypt, we must needs cut off 23 years from that number, which *Krentzenius* conjectures his reign to have continued ; namely, seven which he should have lived after *Jacob's* coming into Egypt ; nine, in which *Josaph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming ; and other seven, in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Ofiris*, yet before *Josaph's* advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his Wars. For the War which *Hercules* made in Italy, is said to have endured ten years : After which proportion, we may well give not only six years, as *Krentzenius* doth, but 23 more to so many Wars, in so many, and so far distant Countries, as are named before ; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto *Orus* the 12 years, which passed between the time of *Josaph's* being fold into Egypt, unto his advancement, considering that *Pauphar*, who bought him, and whose daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto *Pharab* ; a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilst in Egypt, as the tyrannous usurpation of *Typhon* must needs have brought

Diad. Sic.
1. 2. c. 1.
Plut. Lib.
Ibid. 16.

brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old Author, I should confidently say, that *Pauphar*, for his faithfulness to *Orus* the Son of *Ofiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reign, made his chief Steward, at which time, buying *Josaph*, and finding him a just Man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate unto *Josaph's* hands, than unto any of his Egyptian followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome days of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and say, That when the buying of *Josaph* pleased *Pharab*, and all his servants ; then *Pauphar*, Priest of *On*, being chief Officer to *Pharab*, did acknowledge in *Josaph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment : whereupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife ; and being old, resigned his Office of chief Steward unto him, who afterwards, in regard of *Pauphar*, did favour the Priests, when he bought the Lands of all other Egyptians. This might appear to some a tale not unlike the Fable book of *Aesop*, *Pauphar's* Daughter : but, unto such as consider God works usually by means ; and that *Pauphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died, it would seem a matter more probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the Wars of *Hercules*, in which, by this reckoning, he should have spent forty two years after he left Egypt, ere he began in Italy, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian Wars considered, and his former enterprises and achievements proportioned to them) doth not make against us ; but for us ; or, if it were against us yet could it not weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the indisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless, I freely grant, that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

SECT. VI.

Of *Typhon*, *Hercules*, *Egyptus*, *Orus*, and the two Scollotes, successively reigning after *Mizraim* ; and of divers Errors about the former Scollotes.

CONCERNING the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angulo* saith, he giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable ; alleging no witness, but as it were, saying, *Tell me this* ; yet herein we may think him to speak probably, for as much as the learned *Krentzenius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soon undertake his fathers revenge ; and was not long in performing it ; and that leaving Egypt to his Brother, he followed ether Wars in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzenius* doth) out of *Borsius*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon's* year, seeing *Avontius*, a follower of *Borsius*, hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzenius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus's* seven years after the death of *Ofiris* ; forgetting to set down his reasons, which in a matter so

probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth ninety years of the eighteen *Dynasties* to *Ofiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus* ; it seems that the reign of *Orus* lasted a hundred and fifteen years. From the death of *Orus*, to the departure of *Isir* out of Egypt, there passed a hundred twenty two years by our account ; who (according to *Brasard* and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the hundred and thirtieth year of *Torab*, and thereupon reckon thus : From the end of the Flood to the Birth of *Abraham* 352
From that Invocation of *Abraham* 75
Time to the Departure out of Egypt 430
Summa 857

which Sum divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of Egypt, there do remain (as is aforesaid) only a hundred twenty two years from the death of *Orus* ; we are now to consider, how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesoftris*, or *Sesoftris's*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiasts* *Apollonius* ; not without good probability. For this great King or Conqueror, is by many Histories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Asia* ; to have built a Fleet of Ships on the Red-Sea, and so to have entered into *India* ; like wife with another Fleet on the middle-*Earth* Seas to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reinecius* judgeth) whom *Julius*, crying in account of his time, callth *Vexoris* ; For *Julius* placeth *Vexoris* in Ages before *Ninus's* ; whereby it would follow that *Sesoftris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient then was *Ofiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Isir* out of Egypt, no one *Pharab* came into the Land of *Canaan* (which liech in the way from Egypt into *Asia*) till the Father-in-law of *Salamon*, *Pharab* *Vaphres*, took *Gera*, and gave it to his Daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after which time, *Sesoftris* (said *Robinson*, and *Necho* sought passage through the Land of *Israhel*, when he made his Expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Vaphres*, and *Necho*, it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sesoftris*. Of *Sesoftris*, it is doubted by some, for as much as he came into *Judea* with a great Army, *Reinecius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided ; unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth *Sesoftris* next to *Orus*, following the *Scholiasts* *Apollonius*. But further answer may be made, to them that they were not one. For as *Julius* witnesseth, *Sesoftris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made War on people far removed, abiding from his neighbours. *Sesoftris* came purposely against *Hierusalem*, *Sesoftris*, as *Diadema* witnesseth, had but 24000 Horse, *Sesoftris* had 60000. *Sesoftris* had 8020 Chariots, *Sesoftris* 1200. *Sesoftris* made his Expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name *Sesoftris*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Jerusalem*, and give him countenance in his new reign which he had avoured even against *Salamon* ; therefore *Sesoftris* must needs have reigned whilst *Israhel* abode in Egypt.

Whereas *Krentzenius* collecteth out of *Hercules*, and *Diadema*, that one *Momus*, or *Mosis*, was next to *Orus* ; because those Historians affirm that he reigned next after the Gods ; it moveth me nothing. For *Ofiris* did succeed those fifteen Gods ; namely, the twelve great, and three lesser himself also (as the learned *Reinecius* noteth) being called *Momus*. Which name, as also *Momene*, and *Momus*, were titles of *Dignity* ; though mistaken by some, as proper names, *Krentzenius* doth very probably gather, that *Momus* was *Momene* *Tetramomene*, the Hebrew word *Momus* signifying an *Arithmetician* ; in which name *Tetramomene* might

might well be attributed to *Ofis*, who was a great Conqueror, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowess and great undertakings, *Seffis* was no whit inferior to *Ofis*. For he fought Victory not for Gain, but Honour only; and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into Egypt. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great Treason, the House in which he was, being by his own Brother purposely Fired; which nevertheless, he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty years: after which time, he chose rather to die than to live, because he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Seffis* lived a Son, whose name was *Phoron*, or *Phoronis*, who afterwards took the name of *Seffis*, but was nothing like to his Father in Glory; for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness, *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the River Nile with a Javelin which tale *Diodorus* having like with heard, yet reports as a fable, saying, that perhaps he took the difficulty naturally from his Father. How long this Man reigned, it is nowhere expressed; yet, forasmuch as *Orus* the second (otherwise *Bafis*) who succeeded him, began fourteen years after this *Seffis* had been King, it must needs be that this reigned fourteen years at least. That *Bafis* began not until these fourteen years at least were expired, the very account of time from the first *Bafis* to the departure of *Israel* out of Egypt, plainly shews, being almost generally agreed upon, to have been seventy five years. That none came between *Seffis* the second, and *Bafis*, or *Orus* the second, it stands only upon probabilities, which are these: After *Seffis* had reigned some while he fell blind; after certain years, he recovered his sight, as is said, which may have been true, but is more like to have been a Fable: surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set down, is very fabulous; namely, that by looking upon a Woman, or washing his Eyes with her Water, who had only known her own Husband, he got his sight again. As the time of his reign before his blindness, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of fourteen years; so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very short. His works are largely set down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; a part of which may seem to have been the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the Chancels and Sluces of *Nilus* whom, I think, he rather frighted (as his Father had done) with Spades and Shovels, than with Darts and Javelins; and by his diligent oversight of that work, was like enough to lose both his Eye-sight and his People's love; whom his Father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

SECT. VII.

Of *Bafis*, the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his Successor *Queen Thermutis*, that took up *Moses* out of the Water.

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Bafis*, who was afterwards King, is like to have had a son, as *Tenochus* did with the Son of *Solomon*. For that *Bafis* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the

drudgery wherewith he wearied the Children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Seffis*, as *Tenochus* was by *Solomon*, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the King by industry; and afterwards with the People, by inciting them against their new King, as *Tenochus* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Prince hands, they will not at another's; unless he have either an equal Spirit, or a fairer Foundation. However over he fought to derive all the pain and labour of public works from the Egyptians to the *Israelites*: he surely did so to his own People which was very plausible; who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now, that *Orus* the second, or *Bafis*, was the King that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of downing the Hebrew Children, which (saith *Cicero*) lasted ten Months: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned Writers: who also think that herupon grew the Fable of *Bafis* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exodus* 1, that the King who knew not *Joseph*, was a King of a new Family. That *Bafis* was of a new Family, *Herodotus* doth shew; who also thinks him an Author of the bloody *Edict*. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Bafis*, according to all Mens computation, began his reign five years after the Birth of *Moses*; before whose Birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more, that the persecution began; which *Banning* thinks to have lasted eighty seven years, ere the departure out of Egypt. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Seffis* the second, how great the power of the *Regent*, or *Viceroy* in Egypt was; and how great confidence the King did put in them, seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all Egypt, and all the Egyptians for Bread; giving at the same time the belt of the Land to his own Father and Brethren for nothing; seeing also that when the Egyptians cried out upon *Pharaoh* for Bread, *Pharaoh* said to all the Egyptians, *Go Joseph, who he saith to you, do ye*. If to a stranger born, lately fetcht out of Prison, a King well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and sovereign Authority: it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a Man of special Reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked Men also, as his instruments against the day of Wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as many have done) resign his Kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the Death of *Seffis*. But whether *Bafis* did usurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the blind King resigned it, keeping the Title; or whether *Bafis* were only *Regent* whilst the King lived, and afterwards (as it is acknowledged by all) King himself: it might well be said that *Pharaoh's* Daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was King in effect, and thereby after, King in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind King *Seffis* the second oppressed *Israel*: But, for as much as it may seem that the wicked Tyrant showed his evil nature, even when he first rose: I think it more likely, that *Bafis* did it, using at first the Power of a King, and shortly after the Title. Thus of the 122 years which passed between the beginning of *Seffis* his Reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of Egypt, forty seven being spent, the seventy five which remain, are to be accounted to *Bafis*, or *Orus* the second, and his Children. *Bafis* himself reigned thirty years, according to *Enchiridion*; whom very many judicious Authors herein approve. After him his

Daughter,

Daughter, who took *Moses* out of the Water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned twelve years. Her name was *Thermutis Pharis*, or *Mathis*, according to *Cicero*: *Enchiridion* calls her *Aceris*; and out of *Arrianus* his History, *Meris*: *Joseph* calls her both *Aceris*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panoplia*, saith, that she was honoured afterwards of the Egyptians, by the name of *Thermis* the Daughter of *Amnefis*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken; for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaoh's* Daughter, but *Pharaoh's* Daughter. *Amnefis* indeed is set next before *Bafis*, or *Orus* the second, by *Enchiridion* and others; but whether he were King, or only a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians, name the Son of *Seffis*, *Phoron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amnefis*; and his Daughter by the Egyptians called rather the Niece or Grand-child, than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the Glory of *Seffis*, and the disreputation of his Son. If so, and that *Bafis*, or *Orus* the second, marrying her, pretit it to himself, by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was the both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto *Pharaoh*; and surviving him, Queen of the Land twelve years. But if she was Daughter of *Orus* the second, and Sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her Brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule when her Father died.

SECT. VIII.

Of the two Brethren of *Queen Thermutis*; and what King it was, under whom *Moses* was born; and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.

HE had two Brethren: the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telgonis*, who is only named by *Enchiridion*; but his lineage and off-spring delcared by *Reinacius*. *Rathoris*, after his Sifters Death, reigned nine years; after whom *Cheneris*, thought to be his Son, reigned ten years, and then perished in the Red Sea. During the reign of *Cheneris*, *Enchiridion* saith, that *Telgonis* begat *Epaphrus* upon *Is*, of which History elsewhere he reporteth upon *Is*. After the death of *Cheneris* (whom some call *Aceris*, but all, or most do file *Sakus*), a night against God) *Athoris* reigned eight years; and then *Cheneris* fifteen. This descent seems from Father to Son. In the eleventh year of *Cheneris*, it is said by *Enchiridion*, that *Epaphrus* reigning in the lower part of Egypt, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely; viz. That Egypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea: else could it not have had thus reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Posterity, seems to have taken all from *Cheneris*, the Grand-child of *Cheneris*. For whereas *Amnis* is said to have reigned four years after *Cheneris*; and *Amnis* one after *Amnis*; these two Kings are by *Enchiridion* and others, accounted as one, and his Reign said to have been five years. His name is called *Amnis*, otherwise *Danais*; and his Pedigree thus described by *Reinacius* in *Historia Julia*.

Telgonis:
Epaphrus:
Lybia, who had
Agenor, Belat, and Basiris.

Epaphrus or *Ramephis*, who gave name to the Country, having expelled his Brother *Danais*, reigned, and begat *Lycanor*, married to *Hypermetra*.

How it might come to pass, that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphrus* should have occupied the Kingdom after *Cheneris*, it is hard to say; considering that *Epaphrus* himself is reported by *Enchiridion*, to have been born in the time of *Cheneris*. But for as much as the History of *Epaphrus* his Birth, is diversely related by *Enchiridion*, it may suffice, that *Isidor* the Father of *Danais* and *Epaphrus*, otherwise called *Amnis* and *Ramephis*, was equally distant from *Bafis*, or *Orus* the second, with *Cheneris* the Grand-child of *Cheneris*. And that the Posterity of *Telgonis* did many very young, it appears by the History of these two Brethren, *Danais* and *Epaphrus*; of whom the former had fifty Daughters, the latter fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers Women: yet surely they began to beget Children in their first Youth: Howsoever it were, the general consent of Writers is, that *Amnis*, or *Danais*, did succeed *Cheneris*; and (according to *Enchiridion*, and good Authors approving him) reigned five years. *Ramephis* followed, who reigned 68 years. This *Ramephis*, or *Epaphrus*, is that *Amnefis*, *Amnefis*, or *Amnefis*, under whom, in the opinion of *Enchiridion*, and of *Banning* that follows *Mosaicus*, *Moses* was born; and the cruel *Edict* made of drowning the Hebrew Children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mosaicus*'s opinion. For, whereas as the Lord said to *Moses*, Go, return to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: *Mosaicus* herupon conceives, that it was one and the same King under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he flew the Egyptian at the fortieth year of his age; and fled into the Wilderness, and there abode for fear: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Ramephis* who reigned so long, wherefore, dubious rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common Error, he placeth one *Amnefis* (whose name is found in the List of Egyptian Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an Age 112 or 113 years, more ancient than others left him in; and to continuing the Catalogue of his Successors from *Thomosis* (whom *Enchiridion* calls *Anafis*) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each Man's reign than is the difference between *Mnefis* and *Enchiridion*; he finds *Moses* born under *Amnefis*, and *Israel* delivered in the days of his Son *Amnefis*. The very name of *Amnefis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharaoh*, of which name one was thought to have flourished, either as a King, or as a wife Man, about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Amnefis* to *Pharaoh*, *Pharaoh*, *Pharaoh*, or *Pharaoh*, the change is not great. *Mosaicus* was a Man of excellent Learning and Industry; and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable Works: yet my assent herein is withheld from him by these Reasons. First, I see all other Writers agree, that *Cheneris* was King, who was drowned in the Red Sea.

Sea. Secondly, the place, *Exod. 4. All are dead*, &c. may better be understood of *Israhel*, and all his children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, *S. Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian the Apostate*, faith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120 years old, which was this *Armenianum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Ramefles*, *Amosis* reigned 19 years; who is thought by *Morator*, and perceptibly by

Bunting pronounced, to be the King that perished in the Red Sea; of which our Opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to order the Kings ensuing to their own times (which a *Chronological Table* shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; which for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-pass.

CHAP. III.

Of the Delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

SECT. I.

Of the time of Moses Birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt

TRue it is, that the History it self is generally well known; yet concerning the time of *Moses* his Birth, who was the excellent and famous Instrument of this, and other great Works of the *Highself*, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that Argument.

L. Vives, in his Annotations upon *S. Augustine*, cites very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrio* out of *Sanchoniat*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*; But, if he did mean the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit; for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories, divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, the commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely; neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Mabites*, or *Edomites*, while he ruled, in verum natura.

A second Opinion he remembereth out of *Apoth*, taken from *Pholomy*, a Priest of *Mender*, who faith, that *Moses* was born while *Isachard* did rule the *Argives*, and *Amose* in *Egypt*.

The third Opinion is taken out of *Pistemon*, in his *Greek History*, the first Book; that *Moses* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatiani Affrica*, who, though he cite some Authorities, that *Moses* lived after the *Trojan War*, is himself of opinion, that *Moses* was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of *Nannius* the Philosopher, who took *Moses* and *Mose* to be one; confirming the same out of *Atapannus*, who consisteth that *Mose* was called *Museus* by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Cheneph*, or *Thermatis*, the Daughter of *Egypt*; the same which *Eupolamus* calleth *Moris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus* or *Thomaster*, *Eufebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolamus*, in his first Book, *de Bonis*, *Moses*, *vir Dei conjunctissimus*, is called *Museus Judaeorum*. *Eufebius*, in his *Chronologie*, finds that *Mose* was born while *Amosis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Mention* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Mose* birth, *Thomasis*, or *Thomsi*: the same, perchance, which *Apoth* the *Grammaticus* will have to be *Amose*, and elsewhere *Amosis*, the father of *Sablos*: to whom *Lydus*, *Isidore*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, gave the name of *Nicobris*. To me it seems most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Sphorus*, or *Sphorus*, governed *Affrica*; *Ortopolis*, *Seyonia*, and *Crisius* the *Argives*; that then (as *Seffir* the second, ruling in *Egypt*) *Mose* was born. For, if we believe *S. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Ceop*'s time, that *Amose* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Edm* *Mose* ex *Ar-*

gypto populum Dei novissimum tempore Ceopis Armenifum Regis; *Mose* (faith he) led the people of *God* out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Ceop*'s time. Now, *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his successor *Mamulus* thirty years; *Spartus* after him forty years; in whose fourth year *Ceop* began to govern in *Affrica*; *Affrader* followed *Spartus*, and held the Empire one, and forty years. Soas *Mose* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Affrica*; *Ortopolis* *Seyonia*, and *Crisius* *Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, faith *S. Augustine*, as *Ceop* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Mose* was in the nineteenth year of the *Affrican Saphrus*; for take one year remaining of twenty (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamulus*, and the forty years of *Spartus*, these make seventy one, with which there were waited three years of *Ceop*'s fifty years: then take nine years out of the reign of *Affrader*, who was *Spartus* successor, those nine years added to seventy one, make eighty, at which age *Mose* left *Egypt*; and add these nine years to the three years of *Ceop* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Ceop*'s fifty, and so it falleth right with *S. Augustine*'s words, affirming, that towards the end of *Ceop*'s time, *Mose* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now, the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppressed in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Mose*, and fifty four years, or rather more, after *Josaph* between whose death, and the birth of *Mose*, there were consumed sixty four years, some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For, as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burdens*; and *they built the Cities*, *Pithom* and *Rameses*, &c. And by cruelty, they caused the children of *Israel* to serve, and made them weary of their lives, by fire labour in Carters and Brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid upon them by a mastering power, and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of *God* appointed; even from fifty four years, or not much more, after the death of *Josaph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370 to the eightieth year of *Mose*, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514 towards the end thereof, as

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cording to *Adamus*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Mose*, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal place therein named in this Discourse.

SECT. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elsewhere in the Scriptures.

THis City, which the *Hebrews* call *Zaan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*, and so doth *Jeremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tartim*; *Tosaph*, *Protadus*, alter the name of an Egyptian Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Tachis*; *Hegippier*, *Thanna*; and *William Tyrus*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the Land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Jeremy* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the Egyptian and *Josaph* Idolatry.

Zaan, or *Taphnes*, was, in *Mose*'s time, the Metropolis of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eufebius* out of *Atapannus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read *Aitonym* in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharaoh* the King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolamus*, hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the Egyptian Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eufebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the *Vulgar Edition*, for *Zaan*, write *Heliopolis*, *Paginis*, *Volubis*, *Junius*, and our English call it *On*; and *Ptolome*, *Onion*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, toward the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easternmost branch of *Nilus*, falling into the Sea at *Pelufium*. And it may be, that *Heliopolis*, to the South of the River *Trojan*, was the same which *Atapannus* and our English call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the same which *Pomp. Melan* and *Plinius* call *Salis oppidum*; *Tyrinus* in the Holy War, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Babalbeth*; and *Simon Sethi*, *Fons Salis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Phisphar* Priest, or Prince, whose Daughter *Josaph* married. In the Territory adjoining, *Isach* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the High Priest of the *Jews*, built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal *God*; not much inferior to that of *Jerusalem* (*Ptolome* *Philopater*, then governing in *Egypt*) which stood in the time of *Vespasian* 333 years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Josaph* fully reporteth hereunto, to have fulfilled a Prophecy of *Esay*, Chap. 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terre Egypti*; *In ista die shall be the Altar of the Lord be in the midst of the Land of Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, at the time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour *Christ* *Jes* remained, while *Josaph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (faith *Brocard*) the Fountain is still found, called *Jes* *Wad*, whose streams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hence it is more in *Brocard*, in his Description of *Egypt*.

There is also that City of *Noph*, remembered by *Elyan* and *Ezechiel*, the same which *Herod* the Prophet calleth *Noph*; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, so called; which Mountain *Herodotus* remembereth. And this is that great City, which

was called *Momphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Misra*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alababys*; and *Tadala* *Misraim*.

Pelufium, which *Varolabus*, *Paginis*, *Junius*, and our *G. Tyr.* English, write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiat*, as *Gul. Tyrinus* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelufium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (faith *Tyrinus*) *que olim dicta est Pelufium*; *Belbeis* that in times past was called *Pelufium*.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diophys*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Herodotus* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Babylus (for so *Herodotus* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Phisphar*.

To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Description of the Land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembered in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes*, or *Zaan*, *Heliopolis*, or *Eufebius*, *Balsamum*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Mose*'s passage through the Deserts of *Arabia* the Story. For all Story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, is at watch a great part of the pleasure, for it noway enrichth the knowledge and understanding of the Reader: neither doth any thing serve to retain, what we read, in our memories, so well as these Pictures and Descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such Discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Aris Montanus*; who, in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Si enim absque locorum observatione recte agere narrantur, ac sine Topographica cognitione Historie leguntur, adeo confusae sunt perurbatae erunt omnia, ut ex illis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit*; *Is narratum* (faith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places wherein they were done; or if *Histories* be read without *Topographical knowledge*, all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

SECT. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young Children in Egypt; and of Moses his Preference to Education.

BUT to return to the Story it self. It appeareth, that notwithstanding the labour and slavery which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: in so much as *Pharaoh*, considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Devil, resolved to slaughter all the male Children of the *Hebrews*, as soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *Quae praeant* (faith *Comitor*) *multitudini obsequium, quo sed comant* (faith *Comitor*) *order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict*. For, to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had been a strange Parliamtent. Now, whether the two (before named) were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diversly disputed. *S. Augu-*

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fine calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exod. 1. 1.* The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew women, &c. But *Josaphus*, *Ambrosius* and *Perrinus* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the World might witness both the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding these Women filled with pity, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent: and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his Dominions.

Now, besides the doubts which *Pharaoh* had of multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice which every King oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have employed, or sent away, at his pleasure: *Josaphus* giveth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be born a child, who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole Nation.

To prevent which (and predicting that he could not fulfil the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature, he stretched out his bloody and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spiritual Kingdom of *Christ*, as if it should have been temporal, he could all the male children at that time born, to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kind of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verse of the fifth of *Exodus*: Come, let us work wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that if there be War, they pay themselves off unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land. But we see, and time hath told us from the beginning, how God doth the widom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkened, understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nile*, being then a child, turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a sucking and powerful Infant. And this Prince having beheld the child, his form and beauty, though but yet in the bloom, perceived his compassion, as she did not only preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be educated as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, the child was called *Moses*, as it were, *extraxit*, or *captus*, taken out, to wit, out of the Water: or after, *Josaphus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing Water: and *Hier*, as much as to say, as that which is drawn out of Water, or thence taken. *Clement Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Freedom*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, and by men of the most understanding, taught and instructed: *Quem regio more educavit, postea in spiritibus Egyptianum Magistris, a quibus eduxit*, *hinc* *hæd*, into whom the great Prince education, appointing near him wife *Moses* of the *Egyptians* for his instructress. Thence (say *Josaphus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which also the Martyr *Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth: And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. Which wisdom, or Science, such as it was, or at least of much

thereof as *Six Senensis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moses* and the reign of *Josias*.

SECT. IV.

Of *Moses* his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certain ancient Historians of his War in Ethiopia; and of his Marriage there: *Philo* his judgment of his Pastoral life; and that of *Pererius* of the Books of Genesis and Job.

WHEN *Moses* was grown to mans estate, *Josaphus* and *Enschier*, out of *Atarapius*, tell us of ten years War that he made against the *Ethiopian*s, of the besieging of *Seba*, afterward by *Cambyses* called *Muc*; and how he recovered the City by the favour of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Ethiopia*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Comitor* a pretty tale of *Moses*, how after the end of that War, *Tharbis* refusing his return into Egypt, *Moses*, most skillful in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increased in memory, the other could forgetfulness: These he set in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself: which Ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, he began to neglect the love the bawdy Husband: and so *Moses*, without danger, returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the fourtieth year of *Moses* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrews*, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petrea*, the next bordering Country to Egypt; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times, were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting of the Daughter of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Country nearest Egypt, fit to return from so necessary to be known, because interjacent between Egypt and *Judea*, through which he was to lead the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaoh's* Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, sitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of those poor Beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia* near *Median*, he continued 40 years; and though (as *Philo* in the Story of *Moses* lib. (obscurely) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary Desert, he enjoyed himself: and being separate from the cares of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof

whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Eft enim* (saith *Plato*) *ars Pastoralis, quæ prælatum ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, quæque prælatum ad bellum, ingenia præexercens* (as in *vanatibus*, *experientia in feris, quæ potest in militia, & bello præferenda sunt; brutis prælatibus maxime exercitum, tam belli quæque pacis tempore. At vero præferenda manifestè peccat, habetque in se, cum prælatum in subditis idcirco Reges cognominantur Pastores regna in subditis idcirco Reges cognominantur Pastores popularum, non consumunt, sed honoris gratia: The art of keeping Sheep, as it were, an introductory exercise to a Kingdom, namely, the ruling over men, the most gentle flock; Even as warlike natures do before-hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild beasts the things which after they will accomplish in warfare: these brute beasts affording matter whereon to train themselves both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattle, hath a kind of resemblance unto a Kingly rule over subjects: therefore Kings are styled Shepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in the time of his abode at *Median*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Perrinus* supposeth. I can not judge of it, because it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to *Perrinus* opinion, that *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the Book of *Genesis*; although I cannot deny the reason of *Perrinus* conjecture. That by the example of *Job's* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrews*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plenty, promised.

Of his calling back into Egypt by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade *Pharaoh* that he was the Messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and there in to treat of all the particulars therein contained, is needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught of God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent: he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being Nature. Out of which he derived him in the first part of his Answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest; and in his second, to be understood by all. For, there is nothing that is, or hath being of it self, but the Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their substance waxes and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same, in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay: neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Una est Dei, & sola natura que verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cetera que creata sunt, etiam videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit: It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seem to be, yet they are not: for sometimes they were not, and that which hath not been, may again want being. And with this, in respect of the divine Nature, the saying of *Zeno* Eleuter excellently agreeth: Totâ rem natura umbra est, aut inanitas, aut fallax: The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitful: in comparison of whom (saith *Euseb*) in all Nations are nothings, less than nothing, and meer*

Of the ten Plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were strucken, the first was by changing the Rivers into blood; God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of the *Revelation* may be aptly applied: And I heard the Angel of the water say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and lastly, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink. *Apoc. 16. 6.*

Thence of the Plagues by Frogs, Lice, Flies, or stinging Wasps; by the death of their Cattel; by poisonous Scabs; by Hail and Fire; by Grasshoppers; by Darknes; after which, *Pharaoh* forbade *Moses* his presence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer than the pain and peril lasted; till such time as his own swift-bon, and the swift-bon of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God performe) stood upon no condition; whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; and then of the men, women, and children, reserving their bettials but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being past) he suddenly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For, when everyone of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moses* received) slain a Lamb, without spot or blemish, for the *Passover* (a Sacrament of the most clean and supported Saviour) and with the blood thereof coloured the post and lintern of the doors: the Angel of God in the night smote every first-born of Egypt, from the Son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave, the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did, in after-times, imitate this colouring with blood, which the *Israelites* used after the *Passover*; ascribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not only mark their Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserve them from lightning, and other harms.

SECT. V.

Of *Pharaoh's* pursuit of the *Israelites*; and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so far as Succoth.

NOW, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardened by God) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the frame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despite of himself. And having before this time great Companies of Soldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. He knew that the shortest and easiest passage was through the Country of the *Philistines*. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and (in all probability) of his Allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to find some other out-let, to wit, through the Desert of *Ethiopia*; and therefore, towards the Country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel,

Cattel, he thought impossible for the *Israelites* to encamp them that way. In the mean while, having gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and six hundred of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the plains of *Gofon*, which way fewer they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharp bows on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Britains* used against the *Romans*, while they made the War for the conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharab*, *Josaphath* affirmed, that it consisted of 50000 Horse, and 20000 Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that *Pharab* intended long before to attack the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gofon*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army to set on them. For as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrews* might join themselves to his Enemies within the Land; or, being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the Plagues which God grieved him withal, enforced him, at this time, to give an assent to their departure; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Josaphath* partial in this affair, yet, by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haste. For *Moser* made but three days march, ere *Pharab* was at his heels; and yet the last day, he went on sixteen miles: which in so hot a Country, and to drive their Cattel and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerful Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moser* well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprises; so he lay not still in the Ditch, crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wise Man, and a valiant and Skillful Conductor; as by all his Actions and Councils, from this day to his Death, well appeared.

When *Moser* perceived that *Pharab* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned *Ypsa* of the *Passover*, he appointed a general Assembly, or *Konvent* of all the *Hebrews* at the dispersed *Hebrews*; and gave commandment, that every Family should bring with them such store as *Moser* after they had of Dough, and Pate, not staying to make it into Bread; knowing then that *Pharab* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of *Pharab's* Horse-Men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moser* was utterly unprovided (though as it is written, the *Israelites* went up armed) he marched from *Ramfess* East-ward, towards the Defarts of *Elsam*, and encamped at *Sasob*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Month *Abib*, which Month, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first Month of the Year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their Year in some other Month, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now re-called by *Moser* to the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their Politick Year, which was now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was continued, and still continued in use.

Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, middle, or ending of the Year; that distinction of the Sacred and the Politick Year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every Month, and the whole form of their Year, like enough it is, that *Moser* himself in forty Years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their Kalender was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now, because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to show here, at their first setting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* Year; with the difference between them and other Nations, in ordering the account of Time.

SECT. VI.

Of the Solar and Lunar Years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew Year, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Months are thus named.

The First Month, Nisan, or Abib.	1. March.
II. Iyar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin.	2. April.
III. Sivan, or Sinan, or Sion.	3. May.
IV. Tamuz.	4. June.
V. Ab.	5. July.
VI. Elul.	6. August.
VII. Tisri, or Elshavin, or Elshanin.	7. September.
VIII. Marchesvan, or Mechshan, or Bx, or with <i>Josaphath</i> , Morshan.	8. October.
IX. Chislev, or Caslev.	9. November.
X. Tebeth, or Thobeth.	10. December.
XI. Sebeth, or Sabeth.	11. January.
XII. Adar, and Fe Adar.	12. February.

VE Adar, was an intercalary Month, added some years unto the other twelve, to make the Solar and Lunar Year agree; which (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by calling the Months of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, because of the divine Precept. For God appointed special Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Month of the Year, and withall on a set day, both of the Month, and of the Month: as the Feast of the First-fruits, the New-Moons, and the like; which could not have been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in some other part of the Month, or the Month it self been found far distant from his place in the season of the Year.

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time that is, the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing Years required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of days made up a complete Year. For though by the continual course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough, even to the most favage of all People, when a Year hath passed over them;

them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbered by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole Years insufficient for the final record of more daily Affairs. Therefore Men observed the Monthly conspicuous revolution of the Moon, by which they divided the Year into twelve parts, subdividing the Month into twenty nine Days and Nights, and those again into their Quarters and Hours. But as the marks of Time are fenible and easily discerned; so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing less time by eleven days, or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sun through the Zodiac, in the space of sixteen Years, every Month was found in the quite contrary part of the Year to that where in it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the Year, making it to consist of twelve Months, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any set number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one Hour; but the very Minutes and lesser Fractions were to be observed by him, that would seek to reduce their motions (which motions all were not still alike) into any certain rule.

Here lay much Wisdom, and deep Art, which could not soon be brought to perfection. Yet, as making an eliminate at random, the *Athenians* held the Year to contain three hundred and sixty days; wherein most of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That three hundred and sixty days filled up the *Grecian* Year (besides many collateral proofs) it is manifest by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in the honour of *Demetrius Phalerus*, which were (saith he) 360, whilst as yet the Year exceeded not that number of days. By this account, neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their Months; neither could their Months continue many Years in their own places; but must needs be shifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the days forgotten to be inserted into the *Almanack* by Men, but not forgotten by the superior Bodies in their courses, should occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, because the solemnity of the *Olympian* Games was to be held at the full Moon, and withall on the fifteenth day of the Month *Heurambes* (which answered in a manner to our *June*) they were careful to take order, that this Month might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding some two days to the last Month of every Year; those Games being held once in four Years. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter even; which caused them sometime to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the Month *Bedomion* (agreeing nearly with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insert another for it in their fourth Lunar Year, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Month of *June* would every Year have grown colder and colder; had they not sought to keep all upright, by intercalating into each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth Year, one whole Month, which they called the second *Pafdon*, or *Demetris*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one Month of twenty nine days, another of thirty days, and so successively through the whole Year. Thus, with much labour, they kept their Year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but

these marks, which they observed, were found at length to be deceitful guides. For it was not possible to fashion this eighth Years intercalation, that it should not deceive them in eleven hours and eighteen minutes at the least, or some ways in thirty four Hours and ten Minutes, or thirty fix and forty one Minutes; which differences, would in few Ages have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Mason the Athenian*, who, not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth Years intercalation, devised a Cycle of nineteen years, within the Moon, having 235 times run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the same place, and on the same day of the Year; as in the nineteenth Year before past he had done. This invention of *Mason*, was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalender in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden Number; which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been used; for by the intercalation of seven Months in the nineteen Years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one Year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moons anticipating in one Cycle seven Hours, and some Minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* devised a new Cycle, containing four of *Mason's*, that is to say, seventy fix Years; and afterwards, *Hipparchus*, a noble *Astronomer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former Observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalender, was that which *Julius Caesar* made, who, by advice of the best Mathematicians then to be found, examining the courses of those Heavenly Bodies, reduced the Year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing 365 Days and six Hours, which Hours in four Years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth Year, the 24 of February. The correction of the *Julian* Year by *Pope Gregory* the 13th, *Anno Dom.* 1582, is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeed used by a Note added unto the Work of *Caesar*; yet a Note of great importance to: For whereas it was observed, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Council*, *An. Dom.* 325, entered the *Aequinoctial* on the twenty one day of March, was in the Year 1583 ten days sooner taken, in that time *Pope Gregory* struck out of the Kalender ten days, following the fourth of October; so that in stead of the fifth day, was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feasts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in their true time, as at the *Nicene Council* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the Council of *Trent* ordained, that from thence-forward, in every hundred Year, the Leap-day should be omitted, excepting till the fourth hundred; because the Sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the 365 days; but faileth by many minutes, as in 400 years make about three whole days.

But the Cycle of twenty nine Years, which the *Hebrews* used, was such as neither did need any nicety of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the days of the whole Year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fell out, that always the *Kalends*, or first day of the Month, was at the new Moon; and because that day was Festival, they were very careful, as well to observe the short Year of the Moon, passing through all the twelve Signs in one Month, as that longer of the

the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gave to *Nisan*, their first Month, which is about our *March*, or *April*, thirty days; to *Iar*, their second Month twenty nine days; and to *Iueidiv* thirty to one, twenty nine to another. Hence it came to pass, that twenty two Months of theirs contain'd somewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing twenty nine days twelve hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous, or *Ephat* days; which made up seven Months in nineteen years; to fix of which seven were commonly given thirty days, to one of them twenty nine days, or otherwise, as was found requisite. Their common Year (as appeared by the several days of each Month) contained 354 days, which fall of the Year, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, eleven whole days, with some Fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one Year, yet in the Cycle of nineteen Years, were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that fill at the end of the Cycle, both the Sun and Moon were found on the same day of the Year, Month, and Week, yea, commonly on the same Hour of the Day, where they had been at the beginning of it nineteen years before.

Sir, duty, Heb. lib. 3. cap. 1. Divers have diversely set down the form of the Hebrew Year, with the manner of their intercalations.

Steganius tells us, that every second Year, they did add a Month of twenty two days; every fourth Year a Month of twenty three in regard of eleven days and a half wanting in twelve Months, to fulfil a Year of the Sun. But *Isaac Steganius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finish her course in twenty two or twenty three days; and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the Year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the Months in the Years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. *Giesebrand* faith, that every third Year, or second Year, as need required, they did intercalate one Month, adding it at the years end unto the other twelve. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the Years the intercalation was (if it be worthily of consideration) me-thinks they do not properly deliver, who keep all far from covenants, until the very last of the nineteen Years. For (to omit such as are grossly) from there are who say, that after three Years, when besides the days spent in thirty six courses of the Moon, thirty three days are left remaining, that is eleven days of each Year; then did the Hebrews add a Month of thirty days; keeping three days, as it were, in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth Year; at which time, besides the intercalary Month, remained six days, namely, three surmounting that Month, and the *Ephat* of three Years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the eighteenth Years; at which time they have eighteen days in hand; all which, with the *Ephat* of the nineteenth Year, make up a Month of twenty nine days, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; but surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18th Year every Month were removed from his own place by the distance of 48 days, that is half a quarter of a Year and more; which inconvenience, by such a reckoning, was unavoidable. Whence I prefer the common opinion, which prevents such dissimulation of the Months, by fitting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the eighth Year. For the six days remaining after

the two former intercalations made in the third and sixth Years, added unto the twenty two days, arising out of the *Ephat* of the seven and eight Years, do so fill, as to make up a Month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the Year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the Year triflingly vary the less from the proper season of every Month. This may suffice to be spoken of the Hebrew Months and Years, by which they guided their Accounts.

SECT. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red-Sea; and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

FROM Succoth, in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desert of *Eihim*, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horfe-Men and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himself from being encompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Eihim* he halted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance between it and Succoth being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia*, being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects: the first two, natural, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moses* took, persuaded himself, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of above a Million, if not of two Millions of Souls (for it is written, *Exod. 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly pass over those Defart and high Mountains with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that fatness he should have overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest number of them. For these his own words, *They are tangled in the Land, the wilderness hath shut them in*, do show his hopes and intents; which *Moses*, by turning another way, did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Ramessis*: from whence (inilling *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the Hebrews kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of Horfe and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses*'s confidence in the All-powerful God was such, by whose Spirit, only wife, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600,000 men, to call the success upon his own understanding, with conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Eihim* towards the Valley of *Phibzerath*, sixteen miles distant; and fate down between two ledges of Mountains adjoining to the Red Sea, to wit, the Mountains of *Eihim* on the North, and *Bazilephon* towards the South; the time which *Onias* callith *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple, dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* notices, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as

Dominus

Climax is *Dominus specula, five cogitatio*; Lord of the watch-tower. For the Egyptians believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their Lords and Masters. For the Egyptians had gods for all turns. *Egyptii dii fauendi*: The Egyptians were fruitful in gods, faith *S. Hieron*. But *Moses*, who encompassed at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watch-tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Now, these two passages leading out of Egypt into *Arabia* upon the firm Land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusion* and *Cafotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judea*, as the other by *Eihim*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembered, and took the way by the Valley of *Phibzerath*, between the Mountains, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horfe-men and Chariots, as he gave the Hebrews no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but got fight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wath of the Sea; in so much as the Hebrews being terrified with *Pharaoh*'s sudden approach, began to despair and to mutiny at that time when it behoved them most to have taken courage for their own defence's laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves forelaw those perils in which they were w-apped. And fear, which, faith the Book of *Wisdom*, is the berying of *God's* succours which reason offends, made them both despair in God's former Promises, and to be forgetful of their own strength and multitudes.

SECT. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea; and of the Red Seas self.

BUT *Moses*, who feared nothing but God himself, he perfwaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those that assuredly trusted in him using this comfortable and reolved speech: *Fear not, &c.* For the Egyptians whom ye have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you. After which, *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on, in these words; *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward; and lift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the midst of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voice of God in the dark of the night, finding the sands uncovered, pass on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*; two parts of the night being spent ere he entered the Ford, which it pleased God by a forcible Eastern Wind, and by *Moses* Rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written, *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, removed, and went behind them; and the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein, either by his immediate Power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to interpose his defence between the Hebrews and their Enemies; to the end that the Egyptians might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue Israel with any harmful speed. But in the morning-watch, *Moses* seized the other bank of *Arabia* side; and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of

the day began to enlighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the Sea's return, hasted himself towards his own Coast: *But Moses stretched forth his Rod, and the Sea returned to his force, that is, the Sea, moved by the power of God, ran back to its place, the Land with unreluctant fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole Army of Pharaoh, so as not one escaped.* For, it is written, that *God took off their Chariot wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the Egyptians being stricken with fear of death, ran one a-thwart another, and running the path by which they had pass on after the Hebrews, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawn out; the Sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lysanias, upon *Exod. 14.* and others, following the Opinions or old Traditions of the Hebrews, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the Children of Israel were fearful to enter it, *Amnadaab*, Prince, or Leader of the Tribe of *Judah*, first made the adventure; and therefore was that Tribe ever after honoured above the rest, according to the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, *Gen. 49. 8. Thy fathers Sons shall bow down unto thee, But Hieron*, upon *Hosea 11.* condemns this Opinion: And though it be true, that *Judah* had the first place in all their miracles in the Desert, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet, that *Moses* himself was the Conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77th Psalm; *Thou didst lead thy people, like Sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

The Hebrews have also another fancy, that the Red Sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every Tribe pass over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135 Psalm, according to the vulgar: *Divisit Mare Rubrum in divisiones; He divided the Red Sea in divisions.* Also that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulenfis*, and *Genebrand*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the Egyptians. It is written, *Psalm 77. v. 16. Thy way is in the Sea; not thy way*; and in the last Book of *Wisdom*, *verf. 7.* In the Red Sea there was a way.

Now, this Sea, through which *Moses* pass, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chloene*, perished in the 16th year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the Red Sea, though the same differething at all in natural colour from other Waters. But, as *Philostratus* in his third Book noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entrench at a narrow rift, between *Arabia* the Happy, and *Aethiopia*, or the Land of the Abyssinians: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Platony* callith *Possidom*, to the other Land of *Aethiopia*, hath not above six leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every where with Islands, but afterwards it extendeth it self 88 leagues from coast to coast, and it runneth up between *Arabia* the Happy, and *Arabia* Porosa on one side, and *Aethiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Suez*, the utmost end and indraught of that Sea; where the Turk now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian Gulf; but the North part towards *Suez*, and where *Moses* pass, is called *Hoplotites*, of the City *Hera*, sometime Troy, and of later times *Suez*. *Pliny* calls it *Gambifia*, by which name it was known, fifth he, before it was called *Hera*, many years. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North, *Apoena*, *Eccaron*, and *Suez*. *Artemidorus* the North, *Apoena*, *Eccaron*, and *Suez*. *Artemidorus* others wites it *Zeleniticon*; King *Jubal*, *Leonticus*'s others

plm. l. 6.

z. 23.

more

more properly, *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*, which the *Separingit* call *Elath*; *Prolema*, *Elana*, *Pliny*, *Leua*; *Josaphus*, *Ilana*; and *Marius Niger*, *Alia*: there is also *Ilath* in *Affrica*, to which *Salmanassar* carried the *Israelites* captive, 2 *King*. 8. 11, which *Ilath* in *Affrica*, the *Separingit* call *Elath*; and in the part of *Chron*. 5. *Ala*. But, as for the *Red Sea*, on the terms thereof, thus diversely named, the *Moor*, and *Arabians* (Vallais to the *Turk*.) know it by noother appellation, than the *Gulf of Mecca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the *Sea Erythraean*, of a King called *Erythra*, or *Erythraeus*: and because *Erythra* in the *Greek* signifieth *Red*; hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythraeus*, the Son of *Peplus* and *Andromeda*, it took the name of the *Red Sea*, as *Quintus Curtius* conjectureth; which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it seems to me, by the view of a Discovoy of that Sea, in the year 1544, performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy of the East-India* for the King of *Portugal*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of ardeurs, both from the banks, cliffs, and Gales of many Islands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For, I find by the report of *Gama*, a principal Commander under *Gama* (which *Discourse* I gave Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* to publish) that there is an Island called *Dalagui*, sometime *Legues*, containing in length 25 leagues, and 12 in breadth; the earth, founts, and cliffs, of which Island, being of a reddish colour, force for a foil to the waters about it, to make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Gama* reporteth, that from 24 degrees of *Sepentrional* latitude to 27 (which make in length of Coast 180 miles), lying as it doth, Northernly and Southerly all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beams give a kind of reddish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea, towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, of which the greatest fount of Coral grows, which is carried into most parts of *Europe*, and elsewhere. There are also on the Islands of this Sea many red Trees, fairs, *Synths*, and those, growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadow of these stones, founts, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first took the name of the *Red Sea*, because in many places it seemeth to be such; which *Johannes Barro* in his second *Decade*, eighth Book, and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Geographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which walseth the coasts of *Madian*, or *Midian*, is for 16 or 17 leagues together, along Northward toward *Suez*, some three leagues, or 5 English miles over, and from that Port about 25 leagues, of which, the first 26 have 9 miles breadth, as afore said, and afterward, the Lands, both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and strengthen it, so that, as for 6 miles together, it is not above 3 miles over; from thence upward the Land on *Egypt* side fallth away, and makes a kind of *Bayes Cove*, for some 10 miles together, after which the Land grows upon the Sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at 4 miles breadth, or there about, in which Tract it was that *Moses* past over, though others would have it to be over against *Elana*, or *Toro*, but without judgment; for from *Ramses* to *Pharaboth*, and *Baalzepon*, there is not above 30 miles interjacent, or 35 miles at most, which *Moses* past over in three days; and between the Land of *Egypt*, opposite to *Elana*, or *Toro*, the distance is above 80 miles. For *Ramses*, to which City *Moses* came (being the

Metropolis of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharab* at *Zaan*, and took his last leave, standeth in 30 degrees 5 minutes of *Sepentrional* latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pharaboth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzepon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty English miles, the way lying, in effect, North and South.

S E C T. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

The *Egyptians*, and of them the *Momphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who, in hatred of the *Hebrews*, have objected that *Moses* past over the *Red Sea* at a low ebb, upon a great Spring-tide, and that *Pharab*, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the flood, and therein perished; did not well consider the nature of this place, with other circumstances. For, not to borrow trifles from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that believe not therein, perfwadeth nothing) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they falsified themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses* and the children of *Israel*, than ordinary, and casual, then could not *Pharab* and all his Army have perished in that pursuit.

For whereforever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the Ocean, leaving all that part towards the Land, as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to the dry Land. Now, *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzepon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) must have left all that end of the *Red Sea* towards *Suez*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water 10 or 12 miles farther into the Sea than *Suez*, and between it and where *Moses* past, who entered the same low below it, and towards the body of the same Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve, or Strait, had been by the ebb of a Spring-tide discovered, when *Pharab* found the flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might have gone on in his retreat before the tide, on his right hand; and so taken ground again at the end of the Sea, at *Suez* it self, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moses* past on between two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, *Pharab*, by any return of waters, could not have perished, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to return back by a strong East-Wind, do rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebb more than ordinary; for that Sea did not fly East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North-West wind, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-East into the Sea. But the East-Wind blew a-thwart the Sea, and

cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained toward *Suez*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharab*; while he was cheet by that Sea, which used in times before to ebb away, the flood preit him, and over-welmd him. Thirdly, seeing *Josaphus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not only of excellent judgment, generally, but also, so great a Captain, as he over-threw the *Zethians* in battles, being employed by *Pharab*, and wan divers Cities, becoming impragable; it were barbarous to condemn him of the grossest, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardness of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded to take that way, and fore-told him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharab*), he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharab* might have found him, and put him, as well when it flowed, as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharab's* approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despised altogether of their falsity; and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God; *Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward, and lift thow up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it*: which proves that there was not at that time of *Pharab's* approach any ebb at all, but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters by a strong East-Wind, whereby the Lands discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Suez*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, so that the Waters were a Wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the Waters so defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could only follow them in the same path, not that the Waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the School-men have fancied. For, had *Pharab* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soon have quitted the chase and pursuit of *Israel*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharab* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes

of the Sea, in his own Country, on his own Coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had many hundreds of years experience of the Tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural Accident, but by God's powerful Hand only; which then fallth most heavily on all men, when, looking through no other spectacles but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been over-taken by the ordinary return of the flood, before they could recover their own coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood, which runneth up to *Suez*, and to the end of the Sea, and not have been cast a-shore on the coast of *Arabia*, where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against *Baalzepon*, on *Arabia* side; where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them; which flood doth not any where cross the Channel, and run a-thwart it, as it must have done from *Egypt* into *Arabia*, to have cast the bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that Sea; and to which their carcases should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius*, in the lives of the Fathers, affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which layed in the Country, and did not follow *Pharab* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honour those beasts, birds, plants or other creatures, about which they were builded at the time of *Pharab's* destruction; as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a God of that Plant or Root about which he was occupied, and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. *Origen*, in his first Book and tenth Chapter against the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400 years after *Christ*, the prints of *Pharab's* Chariot-wheels were to be seen at a low water, on the *Egyptian* lands; and though they were sometime defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But herof I leave every man to his own belief.

C H A P. IV.

Of the journeying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them; with a discourse of Laws.

S E C T. I.

A transcription, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie; with a continuation of the Story, untill the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

But to go on with the Story of *Israel*, in this fort I recall'd the times. *Moses* was born in the Year of the World, 2424. *Saphron* then governing *Affrica*; *Orthopis*, *Sycania*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Crisp*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Dacalion*, *Thebly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived forty years, in the Year of the World, 2474; and two years after that was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zaan*, in the year, 2514, the last Month of the Year. On the fourteenth day of the first Hebrew Month *Abib*, or the fifteenth of that Month, beginning the day (as they) at Sun-setting, in the Year of the World, 2514 was the celebration of the Passover; and in the dead of the night of the same day, were all the first-born slain through *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. the fifteenth day of the first Month

At this Mantion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 25th Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that Book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the rest of that Chapter. Whereof (because there is no Story nor other Passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and use thereof; whereby, if the Reader find the Story any way disjointed, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, level, and square of Laws: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfullest man (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquests. For, as the North Star is the most fixed Director of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the Guide and Conductor of all in general to the haven of eternal life. The Law of Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, the rule of all his Creatures is the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and virtuous Men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every Estate in the World, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just Law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Mind without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have. This becometh the *divine*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Laws were honoured as Gods, or, as the Sons of Gods: and the rest, that made either additions, or corrections, were commended to all Posterity for men of no less virtue, and no less liberally beneficial to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one; as the *Israelites*, from *Moses*; the *Lacedæmonians*, from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians*, from *Solon*; the *Romans*, sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senators*, from their *Luneyers*, and from the peoples themselves: others from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in England, France, and in other Christian Monarchies and Estates.

SECT. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law and Right.

The word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversely, and in an indifferent sense used. For, if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the Rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or, it is taken for any private Ordinance of Superiours, or Inferiours: for the Commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their Decrees do usually surpass that Title, according to the general acceptance of the word *Law*: of which *Eph. 3. 2*, *It is now that these wicked Decrees, and write grievous things*. Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the People. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Laws, though evil and insufficient: *Mala lex est, que tumultuaria posita*

est: It is an evil Law that is made tumultuously. So as all Ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of Laws.

The word *Law* is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it self, as to their pattern and plat-form. And thus the Law of the flesh, which the Divines call *legem fœnalis*, is to be understood. For every Law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which sense, as elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart, is called the frame, or *figmentum* of the heart: so in *S. Paul* to the *Romans* it is called a Law; But I see another Law in my members, rebelling against the Law of my mind, and leading me captive into the Law of Sin. Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures, are sometime called (a) Laws, so far as they agree with the reason of the Law eternal; as the Law of a *Leop.* to be fierce or valiant.

All private contracts among Merchants, and other Trades-men, do often put on the name of Laws. But Law, commonly and properly, is taken for a right Rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civil Community. The rest, also it is have not the common good for their ends, but being tal, they are *leges inique*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ leges*, *quæ leges non sunt, sed compulsionis tantum*: And whatsoever *Leges* and is not just, *S. Augustine* doth not allow for Laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, que nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*: The Scripture useth constitutions of men, which are neither to be termed Laws, nor *leges*. For, faith *Aristotle*, *Legalitas iustitia* called the just *Legalitas*, & *conformitas fœlicitatis*: Just Laws are the workers and performers of happiness: because by them we are directed ad *vitam quietam*, to a quiet life, according to *Cicero*: Yea, to life everlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, faith *Plato*, is God, and his Worship: *Finis legis Dei & cultus ejus*. *Lex*, or the Law, is so called by the *Latines*: *Legendo*, or, a ligando, of reading, or binding: *Leges quia lictæ & ad populum late*, faith *Varro*: For, after Laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Etymologie, a ligando, is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *conferunt jugum, divergent vincla*: they have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the second Psalm, *Dirumpamus vincla eorum, & projiciamus a nobis funes israhel*: Let us break their bands asunder, and let us cast away their cords from us.

The Covenant it is called, because of the conditional promises of God; and because of God's peoples voluntary subjection of themselves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*, use the word *diabolum*, a Testament, or last Will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator: for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force, as *Heb. 9. 17*, it is said, *Testamentum in morte ratum est*.

The *Hebrews* call the Law *Thorah*, of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and Men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomus*, of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the Law is the power of God: Justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium Legis, imperium Dei est*: The reign of the Law, is the reign of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the Philosophers: *Lex est vite regula, præcipiens que sunt sequenda, & que fugienda*:

sequenda; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun: or, *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; Law is the Queen, or Princess of things both humane and divine. But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable Law. The very wisdom of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For, as a right line is called, *Index Juri, & curvi*, the demonstration of it self, and of the crooked; so is the Law the judge and measure of right and wrong.

Mr. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodness of operation; and though Law, as touching the substance and essence, consists in understanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; Yet it comprehendeth the act of our will. The word *Jus* is also diversely taken, as sometime for the matter of the Law, and for common right: sometime for the Law it self, as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium*. *Idcirco distinguitur* the two general words, *Jus* and *Fas*; whereof *Jus*, faith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana*. To go over another man's field is permitted by Gods Law, not by Mans; and therefore in a thing out of controversy *Virgil* useth both these words: as *Fas & jura sinunt*, God and men permit.

The word *Jus*, or Right, is derived or taken from the old Substantive *Nomus jussus*, a bidding or commandment: or, perhaps, from the *Greek* *Zeus*, which

is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latine* Genitive case *Jovis*; because, as the Scripture speaks, the judge is God. For, as it is certain that *jur-jurandum* is come of *Jovis-jurandum* (for so we find it written in *Nomus* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jovonis*): so also we may say, that *Jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis est*; because as God is the Author, and Pattern, and Maintainer of Right, so also in his *Viceregents*, the Magistrate, he is the Pronouncer and Executor of Right. Of this *Jus* the just are denominated, *Justus à Jure*, and *Justitia à Juslo*: The Right gives name to the Righteous; and Justice takes her name from the Just.

SECT. V.

Of the definition of Law, and of the Law eternal.

But, because Laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean, those sorts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane Laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.

Eternal, or uncreated.

Natural, National, or Internal.

Laws imposed, or imposed, or of addition, or of common, or of perfective, or of the law called positive.

1 Divine, which hath two parts.

2 Humane, which is also twofold.

Written. The writ-
ten is al-
so double, The Gospel.

Unwritten. As the Doctrine and Religion of the Patriarchs before the written Law of Moses, which some call *Cabala*.

Written. Which *Cicero* in his second Book of *Invention* calleth *Jus Legitimum*, and divided into the Ecclesiastical, and Secular.

Unwritten. As the Laws of Custom and Use.

The Law Eternal is thus defined by *Thomas*. *Lex æterna est æterna divine sapientie conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præordinatarum*. The eternal Law is the eternal concept of God's Wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himself. Or, *Lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio divine sapientie: quatenus res omnes ad determinatum finem sua dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*: It is high and eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity, according to their several natures, or conditions. Now, the difference lies in this: That as the flame divine understanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called Providence: but, as it imposeth a necessity, according to the nature of all things which it directeth, so it is called a Law.

Of this Eternal Law *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his Book of Laws he wrote in this manner: *Erant ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a delicto avocans: que non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est, sed tum orta est. Orta autem fuit ex eum mente divina: quomobrem lex vera atque principis, opta ad juvendum & ad vitandum, ratio est recta*

summi Jovis; That perfect reason and nature of things, encouraging or impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not (faith he) then begin to be a Law when it was written, but when it had Being, Being, and beginning it had together with divine understanding; and therefore a true Law, and a fit Principle to command and forbid, is the right Reason of the most high God. This eternal Law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, for the reason of man finds it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one Law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another Law to men, another to other creatures having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal Law all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this Law all Laws are derived, as from the rule universal, and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ only in the consideration; the eternal directing more largely: *arg.*

as well every creature, to their proper and natural ends, as it doth Man to his supernatural; but the divine Law to a supernatural end only: the natural Law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal; as it were a stream from the fountain.

The Law humane or temporal is also thence drawn, in that it hath the form of right Reason; from which if it differ, it is then *impositum iniquis, a wicked imposition*; and only borroweth the name of a Law.

To this eternal Law all things are subjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, natural or moral, and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the Law also of things which are simple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director: as, *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sun and Moon, all bright Stars: Hercules of heaven, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Drops: Fire and Hail, Snow and Vapour, fiery Winds which execute his Word: Mountains and Hills, fruitful Trees, and all Cedars: Beasts and all Cattle, &c.* Now, as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity propoised unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other natural things and creatures have in themselves, and in their own natures an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end propoised. For Beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward; things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoever is appoised. This kind of working, the *Arbitrarius* ascribe to common Nature; others to Fate: a difference used in terms only: it being no other than God's general providence: for, as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived, thereunder subjected, thencefrom by his eternal Law and Providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and on earth.

The School-men are very curious and ample in the consideration of these Laws: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But, as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thencefrom, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetitions, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For, according to *S. Augustine*, *Lex eterna est, quae iustum est, ut omnia sint ordinata*; *the Law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.*

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal Law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not: for which *S. Augustine* useth a sufficient argument in his first Book of *Free-will*, the sixth Chapter. For the Law of *Moses*, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the Pedagogy of Gods people, or Introduction to *Christ*, should be expired; which time of expiration, some think our Saviour noted to come, when on the Cross he said, *Consummatum est*. But I rather think these words of our Saviour of Man having no other signification, than that now the Prophecy of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so *S. John* expounds it, when he saith, *28. That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, Ut consummaret Scripturam*, (That the Scrip-

ture in this also might be fulfilled, said, *I thirst*: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the Law Ceremonial, and of so much of the Judicial, as appertaineth peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the Law of the New Testament and Gospel of *Christ*. For the immutable Law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it; but the things prescribed change according to this eternal Ordinance, of which the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *And being one, she can do all things, and remaining in her self, reneweth all.*

SECT. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the Law of Nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the School-men; only as it is considered in Man, it is called *The image of divine Light, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reasonable creature*. *Lex Naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, et participatio Legis eternalis in rationali creatura*. *Thom.* defines the natural Law to be the same which Nature hath taught all living creatures: *Lex naturalis est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and he afterward addeth, *Lex non dedit hominibus generis propriam, sed omnium animalium quae terra marique nascuntur, actionem quoque commune est*. The Law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures, as well Birds, as to those the Land and Sea produce. But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, enlightening our formal reason: so it is more than sense in Beasts; and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to flee from the enemies of their lives: seeing that Bulls and Horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible, than the least kind of Dogs; and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and fleeth from the other, yea, though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it sense, which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Nests high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or of the Birds of *India*, to make their Nests on the smaller twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other parts of the Trees, or elsewhere, to save their Eggs and young ones from the Monkeys, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear, and which would fear to fall into the Water. The instances in this kind are exceeding many and may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of *Palmitus*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unsearchable Wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt: corrupt, where the reason of Man hath made it self subject, and a Vassal to Passions, and Affections Brutal: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in Men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it

was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which *St. Augustine* calleth the Law of Reason, but by a nature blinde and corrupted: that the *Germans* did antiently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrained to become Idolaters: that by the Laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to Men to use one another's Wife, and to the Women, to chide their others besides their Husband, to beget them with Child: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Seythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the beiloved Wives: as also they have many other customs remembered by *G. Valentinus*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Laws some Men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithful: to provide for our selves by another Man's delinquency: that Injury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural Laws, either out of *St. Augustine*, or *Aquinas* (the one calling it the impression of divine Light; the other, the *discrete* ordinance of practical Reason) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of Justice and uprightness: and not to offend or perform any thing toward others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For, such is the Law of Nature to the Mind, as the Eye is to the Body; and that which, according to *David*, *thenceforth is good*, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end; which is eternal life: though of themselves not sufficient without Faith and Grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the Law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in Men, and a participation of the Law increased and eternal. For without any Law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God and distribution of right to Men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. For *about the Gentiles* (saith *St. Paul*)

Rom. 1.11. which have not the Law, do by nature those things contained in the Law: they having not the Law, are a Law unto themselves. Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all Men, which we define should be done unto us, is an effect of the pure Reason; in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of Conscience hath made her resting-place and habitation: *In ea altissima rationis quiete habitat.* Therefore the *Gentiles* (saith *St. Paul*) which *have the effect of the Law written in their hearts, have their consciences for a witness of those effects: and do reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.*

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a Law unto himself (while he is, thenceforth to abuse the World by the advantage of hypocrisy, worketh nothing evil, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt Hearts from the World's Eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite Eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the World, *Sed Florulae, dum loquimur, arcescit: Those Flowers wither, while we discourse of their Colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearful Witnesses of our secret evils, did that reverend Philosopher *Pythagoras*: teach in this golden Precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum; maxime omnium cor teip-*

sum. Commit nothing foul or dishonest, faith he, neither to be known to others, nor to thine own Heart: but above all Men, reprove thine own Conscience. And this may be a Precept of Nature and right Reason; by which Law, Man and all Creatures, and Bodies, are inclined to those Operations, which are antiverbal to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable Mind is the form of Man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form pertaineth unto him; to wit, that which right Reason offereth; and the Acts of right Reason, are the acts of Virtue; and in the breach of the rules of the Reason, is a Man least excusable; as being a reasonable Creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first Creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in Nature: for it bringeth forth the seed of the Herb, which feedeth feed, &c. and the Seed, which liveth thereon. He gave a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds; which they obey. He made a decree for the Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the Thunder. He caused the Sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signs, and for seasons. Were there as rebellious as Man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the Law of their natures and forms: the whole World would then perish, and all return to their first Chaos, darkness, and confusion.

By this natural Law, or Law of humane Reason, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedness and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but thereupon of Men, it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doings was pure to our natures by God, and his eternal Law, before the Law was written, *Moses* in the person of God witnessed, *Gen. 4. If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, sin lieth at thy door.*

The School-men are large also in this Question of the natural Law; the same being opened apud by *Rodericus, Antonius, and Valentinus*. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this Subject.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of Reason taken properly*; and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practical reason; they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that Good is to be followed, and Evil disfavoured) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it antiverbal the natural appetite, preferring things to be defined as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the first, to desire to live, and to fight he hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every Man there are three sorts of Appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to live, and to preserve our being and life, as also the desire of life, with care to provide for them: for the Father, after his death, lives in his Children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of Children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable Laws of Nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all Creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as Man is a Being, *Ens* or *Res*; so he doth desire good, and thus evil. For it is common

to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own nature, is to desire their own good. And is good, which is desired by *Animals*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Rashi* upon the 44. Psalm approacheth: *Rece quoniam homines desiderant, quia omnia expectant recte bene sunt. Men desired good, or goodly, to be that which all things desire.*

The second kind of Appetite, is of those things which appertain unto us, as we have fence. Whence, by the Law of Nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For, as *Seneca* it felt is for the preservation of life and being; so it meet, even by the Law of Nature, that the sensitive Appetite should not carry us to the destruction either of our life or being. And although (saying both these kinds of appetites are in Beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath given divers Laws unto them: In which sense the *Gentians* desire natural Right, or *Jus naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all living Creatures: Yet the *School-men* admit not, that the instincts of Beasts can properly be called a *Jus*, but only a *Jus*, or Right, which is the matter, and aim of every Law. For to they distinguish it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living Creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Ulpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to living Creatures in general, from the right belonging to Men; calling the one *Jus Naturae*, the other *Jus Gentium*: the Divines understand the Law of Nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine Reason, both in Beasts and Men; and restrain the Law of Nations to a kind of humane Right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to Man, as he is a living Creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the Laws of this Appetite are the Commandments of our Religion.

Now, although there are many other branches and divisions of this Law of Nature answering the division of matter, which it preceiveth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the Law of Nature but one Law, according to *Aquinas*'s hint, because it hath one Fountain or Root in the natural or motive Faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this Law of Nature binds all Creatures, it is manifest, and chiefly Man; because he is endued with Reason: in whom as Reason groweth, so this band of observing the Law of Nature increaseth. *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, transiit quod scriptum est, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revocatur: When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass which was written by St. Paul, When the commandment came, sin reviveth.* Neither is it a small warrant for this Law of Nature, when those that break the same, are said by *St. Paul*, To be delivered over into a reprobate sense (or mind): to do those things which are not convenient: And again, that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them. For though this Law of Nature stretch not to every particular: as to command fasting, and the like: yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to Right and Reason.

And therefore said *Damasceus*: *Homines facti sunt multi, desideranda in id quod contra naturam est; ut homo. Men (saith he) are made evil, by declining unto things which are contrary to Nature: And St. Augustine, Omne creaturæ naturæ necesse est, per hoc contra naturam est; Every creature's duty wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this Law of Nature so freight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For, whereas by this Law, all Men are born Lords of the Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all Men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of Justice and Equity.

And though the Law of Nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some cases, this law the fullestness to be broken: as to deny a mad Man his Weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the Universal principles can no more be changed, than the Decrees of God are alterable: as according to *St. Paul*, *abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.*

SECT. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

AFTER the Eternal, and Natural, the Law Positive, or imposed is the next in order, which is called Law, being nothing but an addition, or rather an explication of the former, hath two kinds: Divine, and Humane. Again, the Divine positive Law is doubles the Old, and New: The Old was given unto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, at such time as the World had stood 2513 whole years: and in the 67 day of this year, when as *Absolutes*, or *Afades* governed the *Abyssinians*, *Muraton* the *Syeonians*, *Triop* the *Argives*, *Ceropt* *Attica*, and *Acheres* *Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430 years. And this, it seems, was the first written Law which the World received. For the very word *Nomus*, signifying a Law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Greeks*: no, not in *Homer*'s time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* eighty years at least: and Troy it self was called down 335 years after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleased God to engrave in Stone, that it might remain a lasting Book of his expressed Will in the Church: and that the Priests and People might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of *Christ*: and that so these Children of *Israel* though bred among an Idolatrous People in *Egypt* might be without excuse, the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us, why this Law was not written before, is, that when the People were few, and their lives long, the Elders of Families might call, without any written Law, instruct their own Children; and yet as they increased, so doubts they had, besides the Law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, for as much as the Law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular; nor sufficiently terrify the consciences of offenders; nor so expound Divine Worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written,

ten, and set before the eyes of all Men; which before, they might, but would not, read in their own Consciences. The *School-men*, and the Fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written; whereof these are the chiefest.

The first for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The Law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The Testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to Children.* For, the humane Law, saith *St. Augustine*, meeteth not with all offenses, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profits; but the divine Law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore, by *David*, it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our minds. For the Laws of Men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words, *converting our Souls*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*: *Actioes hominum nulle essent, nisi prius in mente discernatur. The actions of Men (say they) would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the Mind.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledge of Truth, which by reason of diversity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar Laws among sundry Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the Law of God bindeth all Men, and is without error; and therefore also said *David*, *That the Testimony of the Law of God is faithful, giving Wisdom to Children.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of Time, between the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of God were left altogether to the Law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the *Patriarchs* of the first Age received many Precepts from God himself; and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*; from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea, many particular Commandments afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the *Jews* afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: Precepts received from the Mouth of their Priests and Elders; to which the *Jews* after the Law written, added the interpretation of secret Mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their Priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the Divine Law revealed to the *Patriarchs*, and from them delivered to their Posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The Commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all Beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding, they were sufficiently known. For, finding the reason of his own name *Adam*, or *Adameh*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to Beasts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some

take it, one that was laid for the Ground or Foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain; and *English* signifieth Man, or miserable &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all Fruits but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was Marriage first instituted, all Men thence-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That Murder and Cruelty was also forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood it felt, is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of Mankind by the general Flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *And end of this world is come before me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them from the Earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all specially, that perished: God's Mercy and Justice interposing between the Untaught and Revenge. This Commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters but a repetition of that which was said before: *Who sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed; for in the Image of God hath He made Man.*

Also the Law of honouring and reverencing our Parents, was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the Father's curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a Servant of Servants shall he be unto his Brethren*. Again, we find that the unnatural sin of *Sodom* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from Heaven. The sin of Adultery and Ravishment, was before the Law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for *Dina*'s forcing; and by the judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, that she should be burnt; and by the repentance of *Pharao* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast taken: for she is a Man's Wife*. To these we may add the Ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, of Circumcision, of the Brother to raise up Seed to his Brother that left a Widow Childless, and divers other Constitutions, partly Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law, were after by it confirmed. So that this Divine Law imposed, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called, *The Old Testament*, may be said, not only to have been written in the Hearts of Men, before it was engraven in Stone, but also in substance to have been given in Precept to the *Patriarchs*. For, as *St. Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I know not sin, but by the Law*: to ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the Creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law: the Angels intuitively; Men, by Reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetative Powers; and things Inanimate, by their necessary motions, without sense or perception.

SECT. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, how the Scripture speaketh not always in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

NOW, as the word [Law] in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain to the Law, called the Law of Moses in particular, is taken by St. Paul diversly; as sometime for the Old Testament; as, *Now we know that whatsoever the Law saith, it saith to them which are under the Law.*

When it is opposed, or differed from the Prophets and *Prophets*, it is there taken for the five Books of Moses: For so St. Luke hath distinguished them; *All must be fulfilled, which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.*

When it is opposed to the Gospel, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a Man is justified by Faith, without the work of the Law.*

When it is opposed to Grace, it signifieth the declaration of God's wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the Law, and *Summum Jus*: as, *For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.*

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for the things signified; as the Sacrifice for Christ, and the like; in that it signifieth but shadows and figures; as, *The Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ.*

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of Christ's coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the Jews Common-wealth; as, *Before Faith came, we were kept under the Law, &c.* Or the Law of the Order and Institution of the *Aaronical Priesthood*; as, *All the Priests, &c. photos and the Law, or the Priests, prophesied unto John.* And if the Priesthood be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the Priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word [Law] is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interit, Authority, and Empire, or for continuing forces; as, *The Law of the Spirit, &c.* *Spirit of Life, the Law, or the force of sin and death, the Law, &c.*

But the *Written Law of Moses*, or the Law of the Old Testament, of which we now speak, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of Men by God, and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness and Justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatening Death to those which break the Law in the least. For, according to St. James, *Whoever shall keep the whole Law, and fail in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition used by the School-men, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex dicitur est divinum decretum hominibus preceptis mandata necessarium, ut apte pervenire possint ad supernam vitam, quod est ultimum bonum, et vitæ finis, the divine Law (that is) is the Decree of God, prescribing unto Men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of Man's Life.*

The Law of Moses hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am*

the Lord; whereas the Law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral Law entreateth of Virtue and Goodness; the Ceremonial of divine Service, and of Holiness; (for external Worship, and the order of hallowing our selves unto God, is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular Government, for the Common-wealth of the Jews, and prescribeth orders for Justice and Equity. And therefore was it said of St. Paul, *The Commandment is just, holy, and good*: Just, or Justice being referred to Judicial: Holy, or Holiness to the Ceremonials; Good, or honest, to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the Government of the Common-wealth of the Jews, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such things were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sacrifices belong Beasts, and the Fruits of the Earth; to Holy things, the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passover, and such like. For Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain Meats, as not to eat the Blood and fat of Beasts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifying, anointings, and attire; as not to wear mix'd Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper communion; as, *Thou shalt not yoke together in a Plough an Ox and an Ass*, or call mingled Seed in one Field. It also exhorted to natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty, even to Beasts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the Creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to Man. For to some refer these Precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the Bird sitting on her Nest, nor beat down the Ends of the Tree, nor muzzle the Labouring Ox*, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of Moses, but it hath as yet in some respect the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the Moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away; saving in the ability of justifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God; and to use charity one towards another; which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done; which power of directing by special Rules and Precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed: though principally for fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial also lived in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it self is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; although in a far fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end, and the natural and universal Equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of Justification, the Ceremonial as touching the use and external observation (because Christ himself is come, of whom the Ceremonies were signs and shadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the Jews Common-wealth and Policy.

SECT.

SECT. X.

A Proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in general consideration of the divine Written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majesty of the Law-giver.
3. The propriety and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the Law.
8. The fence and understanding of the Law.
9. The duration and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proved by St. Paul, in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and just, and good*: which three Attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

2. The Majesty of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their livings and being, he only gave the Law, who could only give the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to Moses immediately, but by the ministry of Angels, as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator*: And in the Acts, *He gave the Law by the Ordinance of Angels.*

3. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the People receiving the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and differed. Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the Promise they were, for the Promise was made by God unto Abraham and his seed; not unto his seeds, as to Esau and Jacob, but to his seed, as to Jacob or Israel singularly, of whom Christ. *Nam, Gal. 3.16. to Abraham and his seed was the Promise made; he saith not, to the seeds, as speaking of many; but, to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.*

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by St. Augustine; that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from Adam to Moses; the Law written in the Commandments received by Moses in the Worlds year, 2514, continued to the Baptism of John; from which time, began the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of our Justification; but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in Ceremonies, and a preparation to Passions of Christ were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the World; and therefore St. Paul calleth the Rudiments of the Law, *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no Grace; weak, as not able to forgive and justify. The blood of Goats and Bulls,

and the Ashes of an Heifer could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of Christ's blood, which doth cleanse the inward Soul. For if the Law could *Gal. 3. justify*, then Christ died in vain.

SECT. XI.

Of the sixth Point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

THE old and new Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the old by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree; which is, mans happiness and salvation. The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesses of Gods Will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witness. Yet the New is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate, the ways of our Redemption. It also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: In that he saith, *The New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old*. For the Old Law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and delivered with wonderful miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy pessible; but the New was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a Testament and Gospel for ever enduring.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is of the Law of Moses, of which the Prophets and Psalms are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof, is the glad-tidings of our Redemption: the other Books, as the Epistles, or Letters of the Apostles, and the Acts or Story of the Apostles, are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as Homer used it) the reward given to the Messenger bringing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by Xenophon. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad-tidings in general, as in *Ezra 52. n. 7*, concerning peace. Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained, to signify that most joyful message of Salvation, as in *Luke 2. 10*, when also by figure it is taken for the History of Christ; and so we understand the four Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the Doctrine of Christ, as *1 Cor. 9. 14*, and *2 Cor. 8. 18*.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Daniel* comprised in these four.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the Effects, that is, in Righteousness and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and Will of God in substance of Doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so was there one Covenant and Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old Law doth point at Christ, so doth the new Law teach Christ; the old promising him as to come, the new already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation

of our Nation, more in *England*, than in any Region of the World among *Christians*; out of doubt, he would have censured them by Death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For, I speak not of the poor and miserable Souls, whom hunger and extreme necessity intrencheth; but of those detested Thieves, who, to maintain themselves Lord-like, Assault, Rob, and Wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring-Men; or break by violence into other Mens Houses, and spend in Bravery, Drunkenness and upon Harlots, in one day, what other Men have sometime laboured for all their lives; impoverishing whole Families, and taking the Bread and Food from the Mouths of their Children. And that this Commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear; if Princes would resolve, but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these Hell-kindred. And if every Man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Commonwealth, but these Men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table is, the prohibition of false witness: from which Men could not forbear, all fury of state and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially, in matters criminal, that the Law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falshood to lay on his Brother.

The last of the ten Commandments, forbideth us to covet any thing, which belongs to another Man, either the bodies of their Wives for concupiscence, or their goods for the desire of gain. And this Precept seemeth the hardest for Men to observe; so effected by reason of our frail affections; and yet, if we judg here rightly, it may be doubted, whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies, and vain thoughts. For, although it be not ealie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for Grace. How the word *Coveting*, reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For, *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est offensiva libentis appetitus: An unbridled, or unrestrained Appetite of having*; And, as touching such an Appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any our natural frailty, or unadvised errors. But, as I suppose, the word *Concupiscentia* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the latter sort; which is, *Altus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quæ est principium proprium altus boni et studij*. Such passions, or inclinations, are imperfect *Actus*, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper Principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not: as they say, *Quamdiu resagamus, nihil nocet: nocet autem cum dominari permitimus*; As long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some, that they hurt us not; and that when only they hurt, when we suffer them to bear sway. But these Men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in the tenth Precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held; that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For, even so the Moral Philosopher can tell us, that the continent Man hath evil desires, but with-

out assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right Reason) as, on the other side, the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evil desires, which they are accompanied with assent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act; and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent Man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are hence forbidden. For though he that bridled his evil desires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet, such a Man according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous Man. For *involuntarius* makes *Continencia*, not to be vertue, but only a degree unto it; confiding, that though the Continent Man do well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent Man the having of these evil desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a Virtuous Man: so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excel him here; that we are able out of Divinity, to give the true reason of this Doctrine; which is, that every one smeth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil desires of the Continent Man that is, of him which bridled them, must needs be sin: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witness our love toward himself; we may not fately give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God (who is Justice it self) that he hath given us Precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impossible for us to keep. For, as he is accused (saith St. Hieron.) that avows that the Law is in all things possible to be observed: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Dum præcipisse. Accusæ est he that saith, that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible*. Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; so is our weakness also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no Man just, David witnesseth: *Enter into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liveth shall be justified*. And in the fruit of Kings, *There is no Man that sinneth not*; *Ps. 145. 2. 46.* And again, *Who can say, I have made my Heart clean?* But, seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every Mans Conscience judg him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can, yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject, neglecting the same, seek to satisfy his Savage with fitting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himself to be derided therein.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

And if we consider advisedly, and soberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of Moses gave unto his People, it will appear, that such was his merciful Providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no Divine Power at all, nor any Religion among Men; yet, if we did not for our own fakes strive to observe these Laws, all Society of Men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every State and Commonwealth in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore the Laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every Man might enjoy the Fruits of his own travail, that Right might be done to all Men, from all Men: that by Justice, Order, and Peace, we might live the lives of reasonable Men, and not of Beasts; of Free-men, and not of Slaves; of Civil Men, and not of Salvages. And hence making our humane Reason only Judg, let us see the inconveniences in this life, which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Laws.

As first, what would the issue be, if we acknowledged many Gods? would not arise greater Hatred, War, and Blood-shed, than that which the difference of Ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit Mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thencefrom, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to Man, that whosoever taketh the Name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his Holy Name.

The observing the Sabbath Holy, giveth rest to Men and Beasts, and Nature her self requireth intermission from labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our Children to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murder be not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished; and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no Man could stay unto himself. This is my Son: there would be no Inheritance proper, no Honour descend to Posterity, no endeavour by vertue and undertaking to raise Families; Murders and Poisonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed; and every Man subject to much filth and unclean Disasters.

If Stealch and violent Rapine were suffered, all Mankind would shortly after perill, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and Acorns. For no Man laboureth but to enjoy the Fruits thereof.

And such is the mischief of Robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed Restitution four-fold, Policy of State, and Necessity, hath made it death.

To permit false Witness, is to take all Mens lives and estates from them by corruptions the Wicked would swear against the Vertuous; the Walter against the Wealthy; the idle Begger and Lye-teller, against the careful and painful Labourer: all trial of Right were taken away, and Justice thereby banished out of the World.

The coveting of that which belongs to other Men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of Mind, with an inward vexation; for while we cover what appertaineth to others, we neglect our own appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the Wives, or Goods of our Neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our selves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of God's Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them: without the observation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the Earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute Beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

SECT. XV.

Of humane Law, written, and unwritten.

Humane Law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two, (*viz.*) Written, and unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time; which *Idore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vestitæ probatæ*; to be Customs approved by Antiquity, or unwritten Laws. Now Custom differeth from Life, as the cause from the effect; in that Custom is by use and continuance established into a Law; but yet there, where the Law is defective, faith Ulpian.

And of Customs there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars; the first are written Customs, received, and exercised by Nations, as the Customs of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*, the ancient general Custom of *England*, and the Customs of *Castile*, and other Provinces.

The second are these petty Customs, used in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National Customs are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty Customs are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the Inhabitants. The Custom of the *Duchy of Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Statutes of Devon*, as touching *Tines*, and *Tine Causes* are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever, use and time hath made these Customs Laws, yet ought every Custom to be rational, as well as prescribed. *Non firmatur tractu temporis, quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith Ulpian) *quod ab initio viciatum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere*; Course of time amends not that which was naught from

In Reg.
Fur. v. 1.
c. 117.

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from

from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all Laws of Custom: the one, that it be not repugnant to the Law Divine, and Natural: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest that every Custom which is against the Law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature, were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they have been since continued: because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved. For, *Non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this fort over-ruled in the Law: *Per populum Constituta non contra Legem induci non possunt, nisi de voluntate illius qui vocatur Legem: et cum Constitutionem sit auctor potest, quæ sit Princeps populi. The People cannot bring in a new Law and Ordinance, which is only the Prince.*

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane Law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practical Reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. Papius calls the Law a common Precept, the advisement of wise Men, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Ubi dicitur* the Law, a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fit for government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod natione conficitur: Alii* that stands with reason.

Greg. de
Fal. ca.
7. l. 1. c. 2.
c. 2. l. 1. c. 2.
c. 2. l. 1. c. 2.

Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined, Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law natural and eternal, made by the rational discourse of those that exercise public Authority: prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every Law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augustine* teacheth, saying, *Mibi Lex esse non videtur, que iusta non sit: ita sicut non est Lex ad omnes, quæ non est iusta*: and just it cannot be, except it agree with the Law natural and eternal. For there is no Law just and legitimate (saith *S. Augustine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. *Nihil iustum aut Legitimum est, quod non ab æterna Legge sibi homines derivaverunt.*

Lib. 1. de
iur. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of Reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law natural, to wit, the natural, demonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the Law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorized Magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the Government of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those Decrees called *Violentæ, or inique Constitutiones: Violence, or wicked Constitutions.*

4. Part.

Of humane Law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawn out of the Law of Nature: to every particular of the humane Law may be referred into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by public Authority, it prescribeth and directeth all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia Lex Julia de Adulterio, alia Cornelia de Sacerdotibus. The Law of Julian against Adultery, is one: the Cornelian against Sacerdotes is another.* Now the humane Law generally taken, is in respect of these considerations divided into the Law of Nations, and the Civil.

The Law of Nations is taken less or more properly: it is properly for every Law which is not of it self, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it

cometh that *Ulpian* understands it: to be that which *Jus Gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is only common amongst Men, as Religion, and the Worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations: but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate, or sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet to probable, that all Nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadors be granted between enemies, &c. Which National Law, according to divers acceptations and divers considerations had of the humane Law, may be sometime taken for a Species of the Natural, sometime of the Humane.

Jus Civile, or the Civil Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in divers Estates it is all divers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately derived from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For, it is partly deduced out of such principles, as all Nations do not agree unto, or easily assent unto: because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and do not fit all Estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus Civile neque in totum à Naturæ & Gentium recedit, neque per omnia est servit: itaque cum aliquo de se addimus, vel detrahimus juri communi, jure proprium, Jus Civile efficitur: The Civil Law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore, when we add unto, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civil Law.*

In l. 6.

The Law now commonly called the Civil Law, had its birth in Rome: and was first written by the Decemviri, 303 years after the Foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the ancient Roman Customs and Laws Regal. The Regal Laws were devised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ, or Papiæ*, because they were gathered by Papius, Trajan when reigning. For, though for many of the former Laws as maintained Kingly Authority, were abolished with the name: yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion and common Utility, were continued, and were a part of the Laws of the twelve Tables. To these Laws of the twelve Tables, were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the Senate, called *Senatus consulta*: those of the common People, called *Plebis-scita*, those of the Lawyeis, called *Jurisperitorum*, and the Edicts of the *Annual Magistratus*, which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to Adrian the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, and made perpetual Laws, and the *Volume* styled, *Edictum perpetuum*: as those and the like collections of *Justinian* afterward were.

Dicitur.

C. Sign.
l. 1. out
of Papi-
mina.

The difference antiently between Laws and Edicts, which the French call *Règlemens*, consisted in this, that Laws are the Constitutions made or confirmed by Sovereign Authority (be the Sovereignty in the People, in a few, or in one) and are withal general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Justinian* Magistrate, unless by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the Officer who made the same, faith *Papir*, *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuitur, Legem annuam esse dicunt. They who ascribe the most to an Edict, say that it is a Law for one year*: Though *Ulpian* doth also express by the word *Constitutiones* or Edicts, those Ordinances called *Acti of Prærogatives*: as, *Constitutiones* and *Edictum* of *quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit: An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperor doth ordain, or proclaim.*

Lastly, the humane Law is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiastical*, or Canon. The *Secu-*

lar commanding temporal good, to wit, the Peace and Tranquillity of the Common-wealth: the Ecclesiastical, the spiritual good, and right government of the Ecclesiastical Common-wealth, or Church: *Illud natura legem, hoc divinum spectat: That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And so may *Jus Civile* be taken two ways: First, as distinguishing from the Law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and diverse from the Ecclesiastical. But this division of the School-men is obscure. For although the Civil be the same with the *Secular*, as the Civil is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more general, and comprehendeth both the Civil, and all other Laws not Ecclesiastical. Law, of *Secul* Laws in use among Christian Princes, and in Christian Common-wealths, there are three kinds: the Civil, which hath every where a voice, and is in all Christian Estates (England excepted) most powerful: the Laws of England, called *Common*, and the Laws of Custom, or *Provincial*. In Spain, besides the Law Civil, they have the Customs of *Castile*, and other Provinces. In France, besides the Civil, the Customs of *Burgundy*, *Blaye*, *Borris*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodovici*, &c. *Tons les lieux finies & assis on Lodovici, seigneur gouverneur selon les Coutumes du dit pays: All places lying within the precinct of Lodovici, shall be governed according to the Customs of that place.* There are also in France the Customs of *Normandy*, and these of two kinds, General, and Local: and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Estates. The Charter of confirmation of these ancient Customs, becometh and since their reformation have these words: *Nos autem Regitrum prædictum, usque laudabiles, & Constituentes antiquæ, &c. Laudamus, approbamus, & autoritate Regia confirmamus: The Register approve, laudable use, and ancient customs, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly Authority confirm.* The Common-Law of England is also compounded of the ancient Customs of the same, and of certain *Maxims* by those Customs of the Realm approved. Upon which Customs also are grounded those Courts of Record, of the Chancery, King Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small Courts.

Act. 3.
tit. 5.
c. 1. cap.

These ancient Customs of England have been approved by the Kings thereof from Age to Age: as that Custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, diffided, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the Statute of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient Custom of England, that the eldest Sons should inherit without partition. In Germany, France, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In Ireland, it is the Custom of all Lands (that have not been resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enjoy the Inheritance during his own life: and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many Brothers) before the Heir in lineal descent, this is called the Custom of *Tenacity*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four Sons, and the eldest of those four have also a Son, the three Brothers of the eldest Son, after the death of their Brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-child: the Custom being grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times, having always lived in a sub-divided Civil War, nor only the greatest against the greatest, but every Baron and Gentleman one against another, were enforced to leave Successors of age and ability, to defend their own Territories. Now, as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of France, the great and general Custom of the Land, so are there in England, and in every part thereof, but the greatest bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the *Acti of Par-*

liament: Laws propounded and approved by the three Estates of the Realm, and commended by the King, to the obedience of which, all men are thereto fore bound, because they are *Acti* of choice, and legislative. *Leges nulli sunt casus non tenent, quæ non subditi, because they are received by the judgment of the Subjects. Tum domini humane Leges habent vim, cum ferunt non modo instituta, sed etiam ferunt de approbatione Communitatis: It is then that humane Laws have their strength, when they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of the People confirmed.*

Ulpian saith these properties to every Christian Law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custom of the Country: also for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifest: and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives four effects of the Law, which *Modestinus* comprehendeth in two: to wit, obligation, and mitigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice: the latter encourages with hopes, to follow Vertue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum: It becometh the Law to be a model of Vertue, and a commander of Vertue.* The part obligatory, or binding us to the observation of things commanded, or forbidden, is an effect common to all Laws: and it is two-fold: the one constraineth us by fear of our consciences, the other by fear of external punishment. These two effects the Law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Cædive* and *Dirigive*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is *Ligative*, or incouragement to Vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the Law, to make men virtuous. For Laws being such as they ought to be, do both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing: laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the Law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline thou from evil, and do good.*

SECT. XVI.

That only the Prince is exempt from humane Laws, and in what sort.

NOW, whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well *Drines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Sovereign Princes be compellable, yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforesaid: the one *Dirigive*, the other *Cædive*: to the power *Dirigive* they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For, as touching violence, or punishments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment against himself: and, it is usual have not any power over each other, much less have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of Laws, simply then is the Prince so much above the Laws, as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and senseless Carcase. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum, & Lex animata: An animate, and living Law.* But this

D. 4. 1. 2.
 this is true, that by giving authority to Laws, Princes
 both add greatness to themselves, and conferre it
 and therefore was it said of *Brutus* out of *Jugurthin*'s
Mouth *dedit Regibus legi* and *Lex auctoritas est: nam*
Lex facit in seipso Rex, Rightfully enge the King to
 attribute that to the Law, which the Law first attributed
 to the King, *For it is the Law that doth make Kings.*

But whereas *Brutius* attributeth this power to the humane Law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and Laws divine; and by humane Laws only declared to be Kings. As for the places mentioned by the *Prætor* and *Lætor*, which inter a kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of confidence, and profit arising from the examples of various Princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God onely.

[illegible]

Now, to forming the Political Laws, given by
 Above the Nation of the *Isaacites*, whether they
 ought to be a *President*, from which no civil Infringe-
 ments other People should preface to dignities, I
 will not presume to determine; but leave it as a ques-
 tion for them men to decide, whose provisions give
 their greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to
 say, that they ought not to fixen wider than God's
 hand, who hath made them, and who has no Laws
 for Nations, or their wisest pleads for Liberty, and
 for their Rights, to be governed by. True it is,
 that all Nations have their several qualities, wherein
 they differ, even from their next borders, no less
 than in their peculiar Languages, which differ-
 ent conditions to govern aptly, one and the same
 Law very hardly were able. The *Roman Civil Law*
 did indeed contain in order a great part of the then
 known World, without any notable inconvenience;
 but when it was extended, and lived and become
 familiar, it was not the admittance of a new Law
 in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural Cu-
 stoms of the thirty people which it governed. For
 whether it be through a long continuing posses-
 sion (as *Atholores* were willingly granted; some in

To this effect it was observed by Mr. Docter *Widd*, that the moral Judicalls of *Mofes* do partly bind, and partly k free. They do not bind affirmatively, that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is given by *Mofes*; Christian Magistrates ruling under *Chrift* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the severity of *Mofes* Law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burthen more heavy: for to the more mercour than *Mofes*, becometh not the Gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversy among worthy *Divines*. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial Law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and only Law; yet still we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Judge may rest, with equal satisfaction in striking interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judges could have been witnesses, if when *Forense*, that notable Bulwark of our Laws, doth speak, complaining of a judgment given against a Gentl^{woman} at *Salisbury*; who was accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murthering her Husband, was thereupon condemn-

ned, and burnt to ashes: the man who secured her, within a year after, being convicted for the same offence, confessed that his Midwife was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (though everlastingly) grievously lamented; and thus Judge Giffard the same Author, *Sapientia ipsi multo affinis est, quæ nunquam in citis sita animorum effusio de hoc facto ipsi peragitur*: He himself often confessed unto me, that he should ever, during his life, be able to clear his conscience of that fact. Wherefore, that acknowledgment which other *Sapientia* vult unto the *Midwife*, that she should have drawn her offspring out, before the price of Science, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other publick Institutions, to that of *Meber*: and so much the

CHAPTER V.

The Story of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moses.

S E C T. I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the reverence given to the Worship of God, in this ordering of their Troops.

When *Moses* had received the Law from God, and published it among the People, and finished the Tabernacle of the *Ark*, and *Sanctuary*; he mustered all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*; and having seen what number of Men, fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe: from twenty years of age and upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the LORD, such Princes and Leaders, as in Worth and Reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603,550 able men for the Wars, besides Women and Children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moses* into four good and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The fait of these containing 186,400 able Men consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their number, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600 fighting men, led by *Natanson* in *Issachar*, 54400 led by *Nathaniel*, in *Zabulon* 57400 led by *Eliab*. A third marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vant-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general encamping on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures, the host of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simson* and *Gad*, in number, 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe *Reuben* were 46500 under *Elizur*; in *Simson*, 59300 under *Shelumiel*; *Gad*, 45650 under *Elisaphah*. These had the second place, and encamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of Ephraim, to whom were joyned the Regiment of Manasseh and Benjamin; who joyned together, made

in number, 108100 able men. These marched in the third place, encamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500 under *Elifaz*; *Manasse* 32200 under *Gamilie*; *Benjamin* 35400 under *Abid*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600 able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joined the two Tribes of *Nephthali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rerc-ward, and moved last, encamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700 under *Abiezars*, *Asher* 41500 under *Paezil*; *Nephthali* 53400 under *Abiezars*.

41500 under *Agass*, *Nephtali* 53400 under *Abraham*,
 Besides these Princes of the several Tribes, there
 were ordained Captains over Thousands, over Hun-
 dreds, over Fifties, and over Tens: as it may appear
 by the many and infurrection against *Misero*
Numb. 16, *verf.* 1, and 2. For there arose up against
Misero 250 Captains of the Assembly, famous in the
 Congregation, and men of renown: of which numbers
 were *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*. Which three principal
 Mutineers, with those 250 Captains that fol-
 lowed them, were not any of the Princes of the
 Tribes or general Colonels before spoken of, as by
 their names, *Numb.* 1, is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children took place not only in the division of the Land of *Yirméah*, and other things of more consequence, known after following; but even in fortifying them under the several Standards in the Wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedence, and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Leah*, *Joseph's* Wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simon*, who had under-gone his Father's curse; and with *Gad*, the Son of his Mothers Handmaid. *Issachar*, who, in temporal things, had the pre-eminence; the first-born, double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments; the younger (according to *Joseph's* Prophecy) taking place before the elder, by was assisted

by

by Benjamin, his best beloved brother, the other son of Rachel. To Dan, the eldest son of Jacob's Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to Jacob's prophecy. He had with him under his Standard, none of the children of Leah, or Rachel, but only the sons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of these four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, (surrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the *Heathen* and *Pagans* could not approach, by reason of these four powerful Armies which guarded the fume: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moveable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000 persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof. c. 85. and 86. had the peculiar charge, according to their several Offices and Functions: the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the People divided the former order in the encampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves. The first of them square, on every side of the Tabernacle; the *Gad* on the West, within the Army, and the Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Elisaph* commanded, in number 7500. The Army of *Kohath* on the South-side, guided by *Elisaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8000. The third Company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuril* commanded, in number 6200, and these were lodged on the North-side, within the Army of *Dan*. On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* bore, did *Misael* and *Aron* lodge, and their children, who were the fifth and immediate Commanders, both of Centuries, and of the People: under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eleazar*, the son of *Aron*, his successor in the high Priesthood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their encamping and marching : the Tabernacle being always left in the middle of the front thereof. The reverend care which *Moses* the Prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged to the outward and leaf parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal born towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every and the least part thereof ; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed ; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions, the dutiful observance in the laying up, and preserving the holy Vessels ; the solemn removing thereof ; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and easily seen in this super-late Age, by those of the *Famly*, by the *Academy*, *Bonny*, and other *Servitors*, as all that was once bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of *Togery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous display of vanity ; so much that would soon bring to puffs (if it were not rebuked) that God would be turned out of the Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, and under the Hedges, and the Offices of the *Ministry* (robbed of all dignity and respect) to be as contemptible as those places ; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newwinds of Opinion, and men's fancies ; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parliaments within *England* ; every contentious and ignorant party clothing his fancy with

the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; inasmuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less various than contrary to it felt, the Faith of men will soon for aye decay by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which diffraction gave a great Price of *many* caule, of this Answer to those that perfwaded him to become a *Lutheran*: *Si me adjuvatores, tunc condonabo et alius*: *Si me alius adjuvat, a vobis condonabor*: *quid fignifico vobis, sed quid sequar, non habeo*: *I f I adjuvay my self to you, I am condoned by others*: *I f I joyne with others, I am condoned by you*: *what I should avoid I see, but I see not what I should follow*.

SECT. II.

*The offerings of the twelve Princes : the Pass-
over of the second year : the departing of
Iethro.*

NOW, when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the Laws, numbers, and Army, and divided them into the Barrels and Trunks before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all the forts; the twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, their transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged therunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried uppon the shoulders of the Sons of *Korah*, to whom the Levites was committed; and the Chariots, in which was contained the other parts of the Tabernacle and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely, to the sons of *Gerson* and *Mozah*.

Besides the Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charge of fine Silver, weighing 130 shekels; a silver Bowl of 70 shekels, after the hkeel of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of Gold, of ten shekels, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aron*; and before they marched forth, *Moshe* *Sinai* towards their conquest, belides the Beasts of Burden offered for sacrifice, according to the Law Commanded; and two hundred and twelve silver Chargers, and two hundred silver Bowls, amounting unto 2400 shekels of silver; and two hundred and twelve Incense-Cups, to 120 shekels of gold; the weight of gold makes of shekels of silver 1200, each shekel of gold valuing ten of silver; so that the whole value of silver and silver vessels which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moshe*, as in all the rest, by the Spirit of God con-
 sidered, gave order for the celebrating of the *Paf-*
 son of the second Month, which was performed on the fourteenth day of the twelfth day of the second Year; and on up from above the Tabernacle, as a Cloud was lifted forward; *Moshe* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Refr up, Lord, and let thy face be*
feattered; and let thou that hast thee, be before
thy people. Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their encamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Army, or great squadron of *Juda-*

the common, and the Sanctuary *Siehl* were all one, *Numb.* 9. 5. *Numb.* 10. 11. *Exod.* ult. 34. *Numb.* 9. 17.

Chap. 5.

led by *Nafeth*, taking the Vant-guard, followed *Nathaniel* and *Eliah*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*; after whom the rest marched, as in the Figure express'd. And because the passage through to many Defarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Mofes* leaving nothing un-forethought, which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father-in-Law, whom, in the tenth of *Numbers*, he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprise, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as he was of great understanding and judgement (as appeared by the counsel he gave to *Mofes* for the appointing of Judges over the People) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Midian*, when *Mofes* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42 years before this request made. And though *Mofes* himself had lived 40 years in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to assure his passage, and to great a multitude of souls, which could not be fed as a Million, it was necessary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of *Mofes*, it is answered in these places, *Deu. 18. 27. and Num. 10. 30. that Yitum*, otherwise *Yethum*, *Hobab*, yielded his not; for it is evident, that he went back to *Midian*, into his own Country. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the Prosperity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Issachar*, it is most likely that this his return to his own Country, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his own Country, by fitting things in order, than to abide there.

SECT. III.

The Voyage from Horeb to Kades; the Mutinies by the way; and the cause of their turning back to the Red Sea.

After the diffinitive of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the deserts of *Paran*, and after three days wandering, they came down at the *Sinai* of lust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incensaries*; by reason that God consumed with fire those Meneers and Murmurers, which rose up in this remove, which happened about the 23 day of the fame Moneth. And from this 23 day of the second Moneth of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to call up) three days, the 24 day of the third Moneth; & so to wit, all the Moneth of *Sin*, and the first whereof surviving, they died certain numbers: from whence in the following Moneth, called *Thamus*, an answering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazereth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moser* was stricken with the Leprosy, which continued upon her seven days, after whose recovery *Israel* removed toward the border of *Edomes*, and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, whence *Moses* sent the twelve Discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the country; as also to take knowledge of the Ways, Passes, Rivers, Fords and Mountains. For *Ara*, King of the *Canaanites*, surprized divers companies of the *Israelites*; by lying in ambush near those ways, through which

[illegible]

S E C T. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof; and of divers accidents in the return.

Now, when *Moses* had revealed the purposes of God to the People, and made them know his heavy displeasure towards them, they began to bewail themselves, though over late; the times of Grace and mends Repentance having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, they had so often paid and dallied with his merciful sufficings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the Land, contrary again to the advice of *Moses*; who assured them that God was not among them; and that the Ark of his Covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the Enemies sword, which God had hitherto bended, and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no less cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrews*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by their Conductors offered; and might then have entered *Judea* before their Enemies were prepared and joined; did afterward, contrary to Gods Commandment, undertake the enterprise of themselves, and ran head-long, and without advice, into the Mountains of *Idumea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joined, and attending their advantage, let on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Horeb*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former Joys and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites*, to prevent their displacement and destruction threatened. Of which powerful assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joined together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages of the Deserts, through which they had formerly travelled, in which they found the banks of the *Red Sea* again; in which recess, before they came back to pass over *Jordan*, there were consumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600 and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Israhel*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborn and careless generation were wholly worn out, and the promised Land belov'd on their children; which were increased to 600000 and more. For, besides the double fault, both of refusing to enter the Land upon the return of their Discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Molech*, and the Hosts of Heaven. For, although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of sundry other places.

Now, after the broken Companies were returned to the Camp at *Cader*, *Moses*, according to the

Commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoars of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cader*, or *Rithma*, he removed to *Reammunpara*, to call of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* he crossed the Valley, and fate down at *Ressa*, near the foot of the Mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and encamped at *Ceclata*; where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the Sabbath, was flogged to death. After which, *Moses* always keeping the Valley, between two great ledges of Mountains (which bound the Defart of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) cross'd the fame from *Ceclata*, and marched Eastward to the Mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*; this making the twentieth Manfion. From thence he passed on to *Hirada*; and then to *Maclaboth*; and then to *Tharab*, and so to *Tharab* or *Thare*; the four and twentieth Manfion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who, for their contempt of God and his Ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered Incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700 of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgments of God that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his Government; or before. For among so great a multitude, those laymen, who would have usurped Ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the Earth, with their Families and Goods; even while they fought to over-throw the Order, Discipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrats, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Commonwealth of his People. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant *Aaron*, by the 12 Rods given by the Heads of the 12 Tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which, being all withered and dried Wands, and only Rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron's* son that of *Levi*, it pleased God, that the Rod of *Aaron* received, by his power, a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the Ark, one night, had on it both Buds, Blossoms, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharab*, the whole Army removed to *Meibora*; and thence to *Efmona*; and thence to *Mosferoth* (or *Mesurith*, after *S. Jerom*) and from *Mosferoth* to *Benjacan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Jerom* calleth *Gadida*; thence to *Setabata*, the thirtieth Manfion; where, from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adriamim* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian*, and *Afiongaber*.

Now, although it be very probable, that at *Afiongaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleet for the *Egyptians*, there was loss of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia* the Stony, which he calleth *Coryr*, from whence (saith he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyses*; yet is *Adriamim* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Setabata*, being the ninth and twentieth, or thirtieth Manfion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in

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Chap. 5.

of the History of the Exodus.

Deuteronomy the tenth, and the seventh Verse, is also call'd *Setabata*, or *Tubab*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoining. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea* at *Afiongaber*, or *Elath*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of fresh Water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*; which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty land, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

From *Setabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and encamped at *Horebna*, and from thence to *Efiongaber*; which City in *Tophan* time, had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hierom*, *Efisa*. From thence, keeping the Sea and *Elath* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded; *Efiongaber* being the farthest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Efiongaber*, or *Afiongaber*, *Elath* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake unto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Horeb*, near the coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Horeb* was at this time in the South border of *Idumea*. And if *Efiongaber*, and the other places near the *Red Sea*, had at this present been subject unto the *Idumeans*, *Moses* would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumeans* obtained those places; for it is said; And they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Paran*, and took Men with them; which were those Companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumea* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Jush*. Likewise it is said of *Solomon*, that he made a Navie of Ships in *Efiongaber*, besides *Elath*, in the Land of *Edom*.

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S E C T. V.

Of *Moses* arrival at *Zin Cades*: and of the accidents while that they abode there.

From *Efiongaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*; or in *Berob*, of the Children of *Jacan*; where the fire down in the first Month of the fortieth Year, after they left *Egypt*. For, at the next Manfion, *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Month of the fortieth Year; the nine and thirtieth Year taking end at *Efiongaber*. And at this City of *Cader* (for it was thought to be) or near it, died *Miriam*, *Mary*, *Moses* Sister, whose Sepulchre was to be seen in *S. Hierom*'s time, as himself avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to the Mountain *Horeb*, all the People murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of Water. For neither the punishments by Fire from Heaven; nor being devoured and swallowed up by the Earth by the sudden Pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites; but in stead of feeding, for help and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and calling ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yet, though they well knew that their own Fathers

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had left their Bodies in the Deserts, and they were now entered into the fortieth Year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in fight of the Land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times; and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rock adjoining, with his Rod, and the Waters issued out in great abundance, with which both themselves and their Cattel were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron* at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to send the travels of *Aaron* at the Mountain *Horeb*, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain *Horeb*, *Aaron* was depouled of the garments of his Priesthood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his Son, as God hath commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this Mountain call'd *Horeb*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Dout. 10. vers. 6.* those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the even and twentieth Manfion; and *Mosera*, which they write *Mosera*, for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Manfion, and is also call'd *Horeb*, to be two distinct places; because *Mosera* in passing from *Cader* towards *Efiongaber*, encamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hefmona*, and before he came to *Benjacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also call'd *Horeb*, came unto after he had left *Cader*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* Sister, died; the first being the even and twentieth, and the second being the four and thirtieth Manfion. But for *Horeb*, which is also call'd *Mosera*, it should have been written, *Horeb* *justa Mosera*, *Horeb* near *Mosera*; for it is but one Root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are; Whereof the West part *Mosera* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Mosera* encamped, as he pass'd towards the *Red Sea* on his left hand; by the East part, as he went back again Northwards towards *Moab*, as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cader* before they came to *Horeb*, because *Horeb* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumea*, praying him that he might pass with the People of *Israell* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the City of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Aaron* and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now, the better to persuade the Prince of *Idumea* hereunto, *Moses* remembered him, that he was of the same Race and Family with *Israell*; calling him by the name of Brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the Sons of one Father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to afflict the *Canaanites*; against whom, *Esau* his Ancestor had made War, and driven out of the *Horites* (who were of their ancient Races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name, *Edom*, or *Idumea*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes; and promises assured *Edom*, or the

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the King thereof that he would no way offend his People, or walt his Country, but that he would restrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high-ways, paying Money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the Water which themselves or their Cattel should drink. For *Mofes* was commanded by God, not to provoke the Children of *Eſau*. But the King of *Idumea* knowing the strength of his own Country, the fame being near *Canaan*, ramp'd with high and ſharp Mountains and withal ſuſpecting, as a natural wife Man that ſooooo ſtrangers being once enter'd his Country, it would reſiſt in their wills to give him Law, reſolutely reſuſed them paſſage, and delivered this answer to the Meſſengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſuſt them by all poſſible means. And not knowing whether ſuch a denial might ſatiſſie or exasperate, he gathered the ſtrength of his Country together, and ſhewed himſelf prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written, *Then Edome came out againſt him* (to wit, *Mofes*) *with much People, and with a mighty Power*. Whereupon *Mofes* underſtanding, that the end of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir*, or *Idumea*, and that the Land promiſed, was that of *Canaan*: like unto himſelf, who was of natural underſtanding the greateſt of any Man, and the ſkilfulleſt Man of War that the World had, he reſuſed to adventure the Army of *Iſrael* againſt a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a paſſage to invade otherſ and which, by reaſon of the fear of their mountainous Country, could not but have endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendered them leſſe able, if not altogether powerleſs, to have conqerred the reſt.

SECT. VI.

Of their compaſſing *Idumea*, and travelling to *Arnon*, the border of *Moab*.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumea*, turned himſelf towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſarts of *Moab*. Which, when *Arad* the King of the *Canaanites* underſtood, and that *Mofes* had blanch'd the way of *Idumea*: and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to find his Enemies in his Neighbours Country, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had *Mofes* been enforced hith to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumea*, and thereby though victorious, greatly have leſſen'd his numbers. But although it kill out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet, being reſolv'd to make trial, what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home: leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edge of the Deſart, he let up ſome part of the Army: which, for the multitude occupied a great ſpace, and for the many herds of Cattel that they drove with them, could not encamp ſo near together, but that ſome quarter or other was overſhadow'd by ſunſhine. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he ſlew ſome few of the *Iſraelites*, and carried with him many Priſoners.

Now, it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſor, which joynd his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, which, without direction from God by

Mofes, would have enter'd *Canaan* from *Cadeſhbarne*. For it ſeemeth, that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the hint of *Deuteronomy* 44 the *Amorites* are nam'd alone without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaid to have beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the fame that had a victory over *Iſrael* near *Cadeſhbarne*, or, if it were his Predeceſſor that then prevail'd: this Man finding that *Mofes* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was ſtill to be invaded, and in danger of being conqerred, not knowing of *Mofes* purpoſe to paſs *Moab*, determin'd, while he was yet in the Deſart, to try the power of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*: that the *Iſraelites* utterly deſtroyed the *Canaanites*, and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that think, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be underſtood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joſias*. For, had *Mofes* at this time enter'd *Canaan* in the purſuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Deſarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetch'd a wearſome and needleſs compaſs, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it ſelf, but that his Territory lay without it, and near to the Mountain *Haz*. For, *Haz* and *Zin* Cades were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for ſo far the *Iſraelites*, after their victory purſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the South of *Judea*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Simon*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the fame was obtained in the future, and in *Joſias* his time, and not at the infant of *Arads* affairs. For, had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſack'd the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complain'd for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo Water and Bread. But it was in the time of *Joſias*, that the *Iſraelites* took their revenge, and after they had paſſed *Jordan*: *Joſias* then governing them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verſe nameth this *Arad* by the name of his City ſo called, and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the *Iſraelites* purſued the *Canaanite*. And he nam'd them amongſt thoſe Kings, which he vanquiſhed, and put to death.

Now, after this affaile and ſurprize by *Arad*, *Mofes* hiding that all entrance on that ſide was deſcended, he led the People Eaſtward to compaſs *Idumea*, and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the *Amorites*. But the *Iſraelites*, to whom the very name of a Deſart was terrible, began again to rebel againſt their Leader: till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whoſe Venom inflamed them, and burnt them as Fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beſeeching an artificial Serpent, by his Commandment ſet up.

From the Mount *Haz*, *Mofes* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea* and *Cadeſhbarne*, encamp'd at *Zalmouſ*: and thence he removed to *Paran*, where he erect'd the Brazen Serpent: making threſe journeys by the edge of *Idumea*, but without it.

SECT. VII.

Of the Book of the Battels of the Lord, menti-
on'd in this Story, and of other Books menti-
on'd in Scripture, which are loſt.

NOW, concerning the War between *Iſrael* and *Sehon*, *Mofes* ſeemeth to refer a great part of this Story to that Book, entituled, *Liber Balaam Domini*: The Book of Gods Battels: and therefore paſſeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the Geneſis Tranſlation, are theſe: *Wherefore ſhall be ſpoken in the Book of the Battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon*. The *Vulgar* Copy differeth not in ſenſe from this: But the Greek Syntagma vary. For the Greek writes it to this effect: *For thus it is ſaid in the Book, The War of the Lord hath burn'd* (or inflam'd) *Zoar, and the Brook of Arnon*. *Junius* for the *Red Sea*, which in the Geneſian and *Vulgar* Edition, nam'd the Region of *Suph*, a Country bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the Eaſt, as he conjectureth. The Text, he readeth thus. *Idired dei ſales in rorſione bellorum* *Jehoveh*, *canta* *Vahabim* in *Kogtone* *Suph* & *contra* *flumina*, *flumina* *Arnonis*: *Therefore it is ſpoken in re-
peating of the Battels of Jehovah, againſt Vahabim the Coun-
try of Suph, and againſt the Rivers, the River of Ar-
non, in which words he underſtands, that amongſt the
Wars which the Lord diſpos'd for the good of the
Iſraelites, there was in thoſe times a famous memory
in the mouth of moſt Men, concerning the War
of *Sehon* againſt *Vahab*, the King of the *Moabites*, and
of his winning the Country near *Arnon*, out of the
poſſeſſion of the *Moabites*. For this *Vahab* was the
immediate Predeceſſor of *Balaam*, who lived with *Mofes*:
ſo though it be written that this *Balaam* was the Son
of *Zippor*, and not of *Vahab*. For, it ſeems (as it is
plain in the ſucceſſion of the *Edomites*) that theſe
Kingdoms were elective, and not ſucceſſive. And
as *Junius* in this Tranſlation underſtandeth no ſpecial
Book of the Battels of the Lord: ſo others, as *Vatablus*
in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any
ſpecial Book be meant: and if any, whether it be
not a prediction of Wars in future ages, to be waged
in theſe places, and to be written in the Book of
Judger. *Syracides* cap. 46. tells us plainly, that theſe
Battels of the Lord were fought by *Joſias*: *Who was
there* (ſaith he) *before him like to him? for he fought
the Battels of the Lord*. But ſeeing the Hiſtories of the
Scripture elſewhere often paſs over matters of great
weight in few words, referring the Reader to other
Books written of the ſame matter at large: therefore
it ſeemeth probable, that ſuch a Book as this there
was: wherein the ſeveral victories by *Iſrael* obtain'd,
and alſo victories of other Kings, making way for
the good of the *Iſraelites*, were particularly and largely
written. And that the ſame ſhould now be wanting,
is not ſtrange, ſeeing to many other Volumes, fill'd
with divine diſcourſe, have perished in the long race
of time, or have been deſtroy'd by the ignorant
and malicious Heathen Magiſtrates. For the
Books of *Heneb*, howſoever they have been in
later ages corrupted, and therefore now ſuſ-
pected, are remembred in an Epistle of *Theo-
dore*, and cited by *Origen*, *αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ*, and by
Tertullian.*

That work alſo of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *For-
nation*, which others beſtow on *Rabbi Achiba*,
is no where found. The Books remembred by
Z 2 *Joſias*.

it. For *Phanon* was ſometime a principal City of the
Edomites. Now, where it is written in *Numb.* 21. 4.
That from *Mount Hor* they departed by the way of the *Red
Sea*, which griev'd the People, it was not thereby meant,
that the *Iſraelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*:
neither did they march (according to *Fanſius*) *per
viam que habet à latere mare rubrum*, by the way that
ſided the *Red Sea*: but indeed they croſs'd it, and went
athwart the common way from *Galaz*, *Traconitis*,
and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is,
to *Eſſangaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*; which way, as it
lay North and South, ſo *Iſrael* to ſhun the border of
Edom, and to take the utmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*,
croſs'd the common way towards the Eaſt, and
then they enter'd again towards the North, as be-
fore.

From *Phanon* he went to *Oboth*, where he enter'd
the Territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the Land of *Suph*,
a Country bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from
thence to *Arnon*, the eight and thirtieth Manſion,
that is, where the Mountains ſo called take beginning,
and are as yet but ſmall Mountures of Hills, on the Eaſt
border of *Moab*: from thence they recovered *Dibon
Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riſeth in the
Mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the
Dead Sea, not far from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof,
being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having
paſſ'd that River, they lodg'd at *Dibon Gad*, and from
thence they kept the way to *Diblahaim*, one of the
Cities of *Moab*: which *Jeremy* the Prophet, Chap.
48. Verſ. 22. calleth the *Hamſe* of *Diblahaim*,
the fame which afterward was deſtroyed among the
reſt by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the
River *Arnon*, and encamp'd in the Mountains of
Abarim; though in the 22 of *Numbers*, *Mofes* doth
not remember *Helmondiblahaim*, but ſpeaketh of his
remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the
other ſide of *Arnon*: calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*,
between them and the *Amorites*: ſpeaking as he
found the ſtate of the Country at that time. For
Arnon was not antiently the border of *Moab*, but was
lately conqerred from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon* King
of the *Amorites*, even from the Predeceſſor of *Balaam*
For then reigning. From *Diblahaim*, *Mofes* ſent
meſſengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to deſire
a paſſage through his Country: which, though he
knew would be deny'd him, yet he deſir'd to give a
reaſon to the neighbour Nations of the War he under-
took. And though *Edom* had reſuſed him as *Sehon*
did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him.
Mofes alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon*, obſerv'd
the ſame precept which he left to his Politiyrany
Successors, for a Law of the War; namely, in *Deut*.
20. 10. in theſe words: *When thou comſt near
unto a City to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it
peace; which if it do accept of, and open unto thee,
thou ſer all the People found therein be tributaries unto
thee, and thou ſhalt live with them in peace, &c.* thou ſhalt
ſmite all the Males thereof with the edge of the
Sword, which Ordinance all Commanders of
Armies have obſerv'd to this day, or ought to have
done.

Jofhua, Chap. 10. *Verf.* 13. and in the fecond of *Samuel*, Chap. 1. *Verf.* 18. called the Book of *Jofhua*, or *Jofhuam*, is alfo loft; wherein the ftay of the Sun and Moon in the middle of the Heavens is recorded, and how they flood till till *Ifraël* had avenged themfelves of their enemies; & out of which *David* took the Precept of teaching the Children of *Juda* to exercife their Bows againft their Enemies.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predication, in which the Juft are written, according unto the fixty and ninth *Psalm*, *Verf.* 28. where it is faid; *Let them be put out of the book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous.* *Jofua* thinks that *David* by this Book, understood thofe of *Samuel's* Rabbi *Salomon*, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the juft *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Mofes* are written. Others, that this was the Book of *Exodus*. Others, as *Theodoret*, that it was a Commentary upon *Jofhua*, by an unknown Author.

The Book of *Chonizai*, concerning *Mansfob*, remembered in the fecond of *Chron.* Chap. 33. v. 18, and 19th. Of this Book, alfo loft, *Jofua* conceives, that the Prophet *Ezra* wrote the Author.

The fame mifchance came alfo to the Story of *Solomon*, written by *Abia Silanico*, who met with *Jerobam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Ifraël* from the Son of *Solomon*. As to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to thofe of *Jeda* the Seer, remembered in the fecond of *Chron.* Chap. 9. *Verf.* 29. With thefe have the Books of *She-maiah* and of *Ido*, remembered in the fecond of *Chron.* Chap. 12. *Verf.* 15. perished; and that of *John* the Son of *Henai*, of the acts of *Jofephaph*, cited in the fecond of *Chron.* Chap. 20. *Verf.* 34. Alfo that Book of *Solomon*, which the Hebrews write *Hifirion*, of 5000 *Verfes*, of which, that part called *Canticum Canticum*, only remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this, divers others of *Solomon's* works have perished, as his Book of the natures of Trees Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the reft remembered by *Origen*, *Jofephus*, *Jovian*, *Codexen*, *Cicero* *Africanus*, *Petrus Mirandula*, and others.

Of thefe, and other Books many were confumed with the fame fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezar* burnt the Temple of *Jerufalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

SECT. VIII.

Of *Mofes* his fparing the ifue of *Lot*; and of the *Giants* in thofe parts; and of *Schon* and *Og*.

WHEN *Mofes* had paffed *Arnon*, he incamped on the other fide thereof at *Abirim*, oppofite to the City of *Nibo*; leaving the City of *Medin* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Ma-abiter* on that fide. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South-fide of *Arnon*, having loft all his ancient and belt Territory, which was now in the poffeffion of *Schon* the *Amorite*. For *Mofes* was commanded by God not to moleft *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battle, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the fame which was anciently poffeffed by the *Emims*, who were men of great ftature, and comparable to thofe *Giants* called *Anaks*, or the fonf of *Anak*.

God alfo commanded *Mofes* to fpare the *Amorites*, becaufe they likewife were defended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence thofe *Giants*, which the *Amorites* called *Zuzammims*. For it feemeth that all that part, efpecially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Defart of *Arabia*, as well on the Welt, as on the East-fide of the Mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by *Giants*. And in the plantation of the Land promifed, the *Ifraelites* did not at any time paff thofe Mountains to the East of *Basan*, but left their Country to them, as in the defcription following is made manifef. We find alfo, that as there were many *Giants* both before and after the flood: fo thefe Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it fell, had among them many Families of *Giant*-like men. For the *Anaks* dwelt in *Hebron*, which fometimes was called the City of *Arabi*, which *Arabi* in *Jofhua* is called the father of *Jef. 16. v.* the *Anaks*; and the greateft man of the *Anaks*. 13:14, 15.

There had alfo been *Giants* in the Land of the *Ma-abites*, called *Emims*: and their chief City was *Averor* Ar-nean the River of *Arnon*. To the *Giants* of the *Re-phaim*, the *Amorites* gave the name of *Zuzammims*, which were of the fame ancient *Canaanite*: and their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were alfo called *Zuzams*, which is as much to fay, as *Vicious*, *horrid*, *barbarous* *Gigantes*: *Strong* men, and fearful *Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Hani*, or *Hani*, in the fame Province, and not far to the North of *Arar*.

Now *Mofes* having paff *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abirim*; and having (as before) fent to *Schon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a paffage through his Country, was denied it. For *Schon* being made proud by his former conquest upon *Vab* the *Maabite*: which Nation the *Amorites* efteemed but as Strangers and Ufurpers, (themyfelves being of the fons of *Canaan*, and the *Maabites* of *Lot*) refufed to grant *Ifraël* any entrance that way; and withall, prepared to encounter *Mofes* with as much force as he could, becaufe *Mofes* incamped in the Country of his new Conquists, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and laft Manfion: which *Mofes* walled with the multitude of his people and cattle. Towards him therefore hailing himfelf, they encountered each other at *Jafan*: where *Schon* with his children and people were broken and difcomfited, and the victory fo purified by *Mofes*, as few or none of the *Amorites* efaped. He alfo flaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Efehon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as thofe of *Basan* alfo were, and defended of *Emorims*, or *Amorims*: For *Mofes* calleth the *Basanites* alfo *Amorites*. And although *Ifraël* might now have taken a ready way and paffage into *Judaea*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perilous to leave fo great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan*, or *Tracoonitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og* a perfon of exceeding ftrengh and ftature, and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient *Giants* of thofe parts, and who at that time had 60 Cities walled and defended bying from the Mountain of *Hermom* (which Mountain, faith *Mofes*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shoin*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Mofes* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Schon*: for he and his fons perished, and all his Cities were taken and poffeffed. After this, *Mofes* with-drawing himfelf back again to the Mountains of *Abirim*, left the profecution of that War unto

unto *Jair* the Son of *Mansfob*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Arabi*, even unto the Nations of the *Giffiri* and *Machitis*, fixty walled Cities, called the fame after his own name *Harab* *Jair*: of all which Conquists afterward the half Tribe of *Mansfob* poffeffed the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the East part, that belonged to *Schon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoining, was given to *Reuben*, and unto *Gad*.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles about the *Madianites*, and of *Mofes* his death.

AFTER thofe victories, and while *Ifraël* fojourned in the Valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Mo-abites* (over both which Nations it feemeth that *Belie* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) fought, according to the advice of *Salam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their Daughters, and by perfwading them to honour and ferve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themfelves: thereby the better both to defend their own intereft againft them, as alfo to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoining. The *Ifraelites* as they had ever been enflaved, fo were they now callily perfwaded to thefe evil courfes, and thereby drew on themfelves the Plague of Peftilence, wherewith there perished 24000 perfons: beides which punishment of God, the moft of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, whereby his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the Son of *Elezazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simonites*, together with *Cozbi*, a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the Plague ceafed, and Gods wrath was appeafed. For fuch was the love and kindnefs of his all-powerfulnefs, refpefting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in profecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews* become an Idolater) as he forgave the reft of *Ifraël*, and itayed his hand for his fake.

In this Valley it was that *Mofes* caufed the People to be numbered the third time, and there remained of able Men fit to bear Arms 607350, of which, as his laft enterprife, he appointed 12000 to be chofen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Maabites*, prafticed with *Balaam* to curfe *Ifraël*: and after that, fought to allure them (as before remembered) from the worfhip of the true God, to the fervice of *Bel-Peor*: and to the reft of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000 *Mofes* gave the charge to *Phineas* the Son of *Elezazar* the fifth Priest: who flew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the vaffals of *Schon*, as appeareth by *Jofhua*. Thefe five Princes of the *Midianites* flain by *Elezazar*, were at this time both the vaffals of *Schon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *Rogem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rore*, the Dukes of *Schon*, faith *Jofhua*. He flew alfo the Men, *Maad*, *Children*, and Women: faving fuch as had not yet invaded the company of Men, but thofe they faved, and difperfed them among the Children of *Ifraël* to ferve them.

And *Mofes* having now lived 120 years, making both his own weaknefs of Body known to the People, and his inability to travel: and alfo that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from

whom he received a new commandment to afcend the Mountains of *Abirim*, and thence to render up his life: He hatred to fettle the Government in *Jafan*, which he perfwaded with moft lively arguments to profecute the Conquest begun, affuring him of Gods favour and affiftance therein. And fo having spent thefe his latter days after the conquest of *Og*, and *Schon* King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and expofition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to *St. Auguftine*) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the People, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in Knowledge, Love, Fear, and Service of the all-powerful God: He bled the twelve Tribes, that of *Simoen* excepted, with levcral and moft comfortable blifings: praifing the greatnefs and goodnefs of him, unto whom in his Prayers he commended them: He alfo commanded the Priests to lay up the Book of the Law, by the fide of the Ark of God. The laft that he intayed, was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Harden ye Hearts, and I will fpeak, and let the Earth hear the words of my Mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and forewors of this life, unto that Reft which never afterward hath diftigue, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over againft *Bel-Peor*: but no Man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the Year of the World, 2554.

SECT. X.

Observations out of the Story of *Mofes*, how God difpofeth both the fmalleft occasions, and the greateft refiftances, to the effecting of his purpose.

NOW let us a little, for inftruction, look back to the occafions of fundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Mofes*, for (excepting God's miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this People) he wrought in all things elc by the medium of Mens affections, and natural Appetites. And fo we fhall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increafe of the *Hebrews*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural caufe of the forewors and Iofs, which befel himfelf, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he fought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and leffen, when he commanded all the Male Children of the *Hebrews* to be flain, God (whose providence cannot be refuted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolifh and falvage craft of mortal Men) moved compaffion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* own Daughter, to preferve that Child, which afterward became the moft Wife, and of all Men the moft gentle and mild, the moft excellently learned in all Divine and Humane Knowledge, to be the Conductor and Deliverer of his oppreffed Brethren, and the overthrower of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation: even then, when he fought by the ftrengh of his Men of War, of his Horfe, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the duft. The grief which *Mofes* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own perfence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatening him to difcover the flughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to fly into *Midian*: the contention between the Shepherds of that place, and *Jefers*'s

Jehro's Daughters, made him known to their Father's who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that Solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's sheep, far from the press of the World, contenting himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with the Lot of a poor Herdsman. God found him out in that Desert, wherein he still suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his People toward the Land promised: and therein appearing unto him, made him know his Will and Divine Pleasure for his

return into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by God's direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembered. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto Men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Joshua; with the sum of the History of Joshua.

SECT. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have War, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their Enemies.

IN like manner, if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the Wilderness, or afterward, we shall find them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God as they were, prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Hams*; and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Mobites*, *Ammonites*, and *Israelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were, prepared to be Enemies to the *Israelites*: as it were, prepared for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the Mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North by the same Mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea* on the South: and by the *Mediterranean Sea* on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the Sons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither, in effect, but with one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part, were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and possessors of those Territories, by process of time divided into several Families and Name: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Amalekites*, *Zuzimmites*, or *Zuzi*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as Men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter borders and Mountains of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hittites*, and others,

who took name after the Sons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Country in general was still called.

As for the *Hebrews* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and strangers in that Country, especially the *Israelites*: and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or induce them, no more than the *Philistines* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himself, being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them: especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*, as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred who had linked themselves, and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so far posited themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superior. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the *Mobites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esaus* the *Idumeans*: of *Median* the *Medians*: of *Ismael* the eldest Son of *Abraham*, came the *Israelites*, with whom are joined, as of the same Nation, the *Amalekites*: whom though the more common opinion think to have been a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esaus* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong: whereas

contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless War decreed against him: but hereof more else elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismael's* eldest Son *Nabath* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathees*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to bless *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and perform it. For of him thence twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tyrris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the Desert of *Arabia Petræa*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great: it is not unlikely, but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of fear: because all Princes and States did not willingly permit any stranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so united in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to join themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Idumeans* only denied the *Hebrews* a passage, which the *Mobites* durst not deny: because their Country lay more open and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that the border of the *Ammonites* was strong by reason of the

mountains which divided it from *Bisjan*. Again, that which moved the *Mobites* in their own reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the *Mobites* might hope, after such a time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Valleys and Plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soon as *Sehon* was slain, and that the King of *Mosh*, *Balaac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Mobites*, by special occasion, were more and more stirred up to enmity against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham's* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authors of their Pedigrees, God permitted some enmities to be, as it were, prefaces of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier increased by the memory of old grudges: and withal, by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Idumeites* being descended from the eldest Son of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest Son of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second son, of a second brother, those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being natural men, might soon to give place, much less to subject themselves to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the illuses of *Esaus*, Princes of *Idumea*, might keep in record, that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacob's* staking his advantage, and that he before *Moses* was declared of his Father's blessing also by him: and that *Jacob*, after reconciliation, came not unto him as he promised, into *Seir* or *Idumea*.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remain as a feed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the intigitation of *Sarah*, cast out into the De-

sert, with his mother *Hagar*: and had therein perilled, but that it pleased God by his Angel to relieve them. *Ismael* also had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and *Amalek* was also an *Horite* by his Mother: which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumeans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternal line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esaus* took two wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adah*, the daughter of *Elen* the *Hittite*: and the other *Abolihamah*, the grand-child of *Zibson* the *Hevite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esaus*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Lally, it appeareth that all those Families of the *Idumeites*, *Amalekites*, *Mobites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: only a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the *Red Sea*, whereof *Jehro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever-living God.

SECT. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the antient Wars of the Israelites.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham* (for *Melchisedek* may be thought to be of a better Pedegree) we find four named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembered by *Joshua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoining, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergsities*, *Hevites*, &c. and so here we understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Country of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of Promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principal Families should be rooted out, and that his own people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the Name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterranean Sea* on the West: in which narrow Country, and in the choicest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemor*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simon* and *Levi* slew, together with his Son *Siechem*, in revenge of their Sisters ravishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembered, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the *Red Sea*: the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the Wilderness in the edge of *Edumæa*.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrival had beaten the *Mobites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petræa*, or *Nabathees*, and thrust them over *Arnon* into the *Desert*, the same whom

Moses overthrew in the plains of *Mosh*: at which time he took *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

Prefently

Presently after which victory, Og was also slain by Israel, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains *Traceni*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jobites*, and of *Jerusalem*, with whom *Jehoshua* nameth four other Kings.

Hobam, King of *Hebron*.
Piram, King of *Jarmuth*.
Japim, King of *Lachis*: and

Debir, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites*, overthrown in battle, and hanged by *Jehoshua*. After this overthrow *Jehoshua* nameth *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, and

Johab, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and took his Cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some dominion over the rest: for it is said in the Text, For *Hazor* before time: was the head of all those Kingdoms.

After these *Adonizedek*, that notorious Tyrant is named: who confess that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy Kings, enforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after *Juda* and *Simhon* had used the flame execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to *Jerusalem* where he died.

The last King named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Jehoshua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppressed twenty years after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Rasa* (encouraged by *Debora*) overthrew: and his Captain *Sisara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a man driven into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Jabin* himself perishing afterward in that War.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathaea*, to the South-East of the *Dead Sea*. They descended from *Madian* *Abraham's* son, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* furnished *Gehogelus* or *Jethero*, faith *Josephus*, called *Jeibro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the son of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jesuri*, or *Joksum*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the *Red Sea*: was Priest or Prince of *Necce*, *Moser* married, and of whom, I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seven daughters. He guided *Moser* in the Wilderness, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him defended the *Kenites*, he called of his father *Raguel's* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembered.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong feasts, and lived in the mountains of the *Deserts*.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I had named, were these:

1. *Honor* the Hevite of *Sichem*.
2. *Arid* of the South parts.
3. *Schon* of *Esblon*.
4. *Og* of *Eglon*.
5. *Adonizedek* the *Jobites*, King of *Jerusalem*.
6. *Hobam* of *Hebron*.
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*.
8. *Japim* of *Lachis*.
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*.
10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*.
11. *Johab* of *Madon*.
12. *Adonizedek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second King of *Hazor*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

* *Evi* or *Evir*.

Raguel or *Rasim*, who built *Petra* the Metropolis of *Petra*, so called by the *Greeks*: and by *Esop*, cap. 16. v. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called a *Reg*, 14. 7. where it is also called *Jokhebed*.

Zar,
Hur, and
Reba,
* *Oreb*,
Zeb,
Zebah,
Zalmunna.

After the death of *Barak*, Judge of *Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* Kings vexed *Israel* seven years: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slain by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8th of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterwards in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmunna*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners: in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000 of the *Madianites*, and their confederates. Of the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their Territories.

SECT. III.

Of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I find few that are named: and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promise of God made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Ismaelites* were numbered among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* governed *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desart*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leave those barren *Deserts* of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that joined with them (for to them the *Amalekites* were to have been, and so were the *Madianites*;) themselves taking possession of a better soil in *Arabia the Happy*, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petraea*: For *Nabath* the eldest of those twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petraea*: which was very fruitful, though adjoining to the *Desart* in which *Moses* wandered, afterward called *Nabathaea*: the same which neighbourhood *Judea* on the East-side. They also possessed a Province in *Arabia the Happy*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Naphtali* (B) changed into (P.)

Kedar, the second of *Ismael's* sons, gave his own name to the East-part of *Babylon*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward possessed by *Minasse*, so much thereof as lay within the Mountains *Traceni*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* called *Kedarani*, and *Pliny*, *Cedreani*.

Abel sat down in the *Desart Arabia*, near the Mountains which divide it from the *Happy*: and gave name to the *Adubeni*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubeni*.

Micham

Micham was the Parent of the *Masmeusester*, near the Mountain *Zamath*, in the fame *Arabia the Happy*. The *Raabens* were of *Micham*: who joined to the *Orebens*, near the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmisi*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumeans*, between the *Adubeni* and *Raabens*: where the City *Dumab* sometimes stood.

Of *Mafsa* the *Maffians*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Althrits*, who bordered the *Napathians* in the fame *Happy Arabia*.
Thama begat the *Thamaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where also the City of *Thama* is seated.

Of *Jesur* the *Imeans*, or *Camehans*: of whom *Taba* was King in *David's* time.

Of *Naphri*, the *Nubian Arabians*, inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Israel*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismael's* sons, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmonians*: who were afterward called *Assirs*, because they worshipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*.

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the name of *Agas*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs: and the ancient *Arabians*, *Adad* to theirs: and the *Arabian Nabathians*, *Adras*, as names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moser* after he past the *Red Sea*: where of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they joyed with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Israelites* near *Caderbarn*. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joined them with the *Moabites*: after *Barak*, with the *Madianites*, and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soon as *Israel* had rest, they should root out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he waited them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Chaldea*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

In *David's* time they took *Siklag* in *Simoon*: but *David* followed them, and surprised them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

In *Ezekias* time, as many of them as joined to *Edumaea*, were wasted and displaced by the children of *Simoon*.

SECT. IV.

Of the inflation of *Civility* in Europe about these times, and of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*.

HERE lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moser*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and *Civility* (bred and fostered far off in the East, and in *Egypt*;) begin at this time to discover a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, neighbouring *Asia* and *Judea*. For if *Pelagius*, besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from rain and storm: and learned them withall to make a kind of Meal, and bread of Acorns, who before lived, for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how fallibly those Nations have vaunted of those their Antiquities, accompanied not only with civil Learning, but with

all other kinds of Knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as both *Eusebius* and *S. Augustine* Aug. l. 12. have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem c. 8. de Civ. propetia frons de luto formasse hominem, quia optimus vii. Deu. sapientie doctor fuisse prohibetur. Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so *Thophrastus* expounded the invention of Fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa sapientie pertinere: To have reference to wisdom*, inventions; and *Eusebius* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Jupiter's* fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Stars, and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the Art to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived, had nothing else worthy of men, but external form and figure. By that notion of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while devoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heavenly bodies: for so it is said: *Ido altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno calum quom longissime esset, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret: That he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a clear sky discern after off the settings and risings of the Stars: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.**

Of this mans knowledge *Erichylus* gives this testimony.

*Alit agachant omni
Ut fons ferbat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalius
Sunt utitur: & multitudinem Arcium
His repperi: componere inde literas
Mareque Musarum ante ego Memoriam
Peruilem cunctis, &c.*

But Fortune govern'd all their works, till when I first found out how Stars did set and rise: A profitable Art to mortal men: And others of like use I did devise: As letters to compose in learned wife I first did teach: and first did amplify The Mother of the *Muses*, *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more ancient, and but 24 years after *Ogyges*. *Tophyrus* faves, that he lived at once with *Isaac*, who lived with *Isaac*, Aug. l. 12. c. 3. de Civ. vii. Deu.

There lived also at once with *Moser*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were born before *Moser's* days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sons of *Japetus*, *Aethulus* finds two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evening, and so to the Evening Star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the same name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountains which cross *Africa*, to the South of those Mountains which with the Sea adjoining, took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* belongeth on *Atlas*, the son of *Nephele*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to express divine knowledge. *Nec vero Atlas fignitur Calum, nec Prometheus officium Caucaulo, nec scilicet Cephelus cum uxore tradere, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulae transdidit: Neque should Atlas be said to bear up Heaven, nor Promethe-*

A a thus

theus to be fiftened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with his wife to be bellid, unless their divine knowledge had raised upon their names the ferocious fabler.

Orpheus sometimes exprest *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometime he took him for *Saturn*; as, *Rheo compunctus alma Prometheus*. But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and *S. Augustine* have not doubted: For the great judgment which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, faith *S. Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Phaëder* and *Hyades*. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons course, of which *Arctus* the son of *Orion* challenge the invention. Of this *Arctus*, *Arctadius* in *Peloponnesus* took name; and therefore did the *Arctadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moon: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be understood, faith *Nat. Hist. Comp.*, before there had been any observation of the Moons course: or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there be that below the finding out thereof upon *Eudymion*: others (as *Kenagora*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isidore* Testator, a curious teacher of Antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Lycia*: who, besides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his Philosophy.

SECT. V.

Of Deucalion and Phacton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Atlas* was yet living, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessaly*, *Crotus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Prometheus*, faith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gave him *Pandora* for his wife; thence *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odes*, makes *Deucalion* the son of *Minos*: but he must needs have meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Ulysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulysses*, after his return from *Troy*, assigned himself to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was son to this later *Deucalion*, the son of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* served in that War) and this *Deucalion* the son of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Mos*, was long before. In the first *Deucalion*'s time happened that great inundation in *Thessaly*: by which in effect every soul in those parts perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Thessaly*, those people exceeded in all kind of wickedness and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attrache of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their four times perill by waters: as in the time of *Nodus*, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood universal. Only *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God purified, were both of them deemed to be possessors of Vertue, of Justice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid*:

*Non illi melior quisquam, nec amantior equi
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior illa decurram.*

None man was better, nor more just than he: Nor any woman godlier than thee.

It is also affirmed, that *Prometheus* fore-told his son *Deucalion* of this over-flowing, and advised him

to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himself a kind of Vessel, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue of Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because of these circumstances, they afterward add the fending out of the Dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease. I should verily think that Story had been but an imitation of *Noah's* flood devised by the *Greeks*, did not the time so much differ, and *S. Augustine* with others of the *Fathers* and reverend Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had these two of more note, *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*; and *Melanthe*, on whom *Nephele* is said to have begot *Dolphus*, which gave name to *Dorset*, far renowned among the *Heathen* for the Oracle of *Apollo* therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvelous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under *Phacton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Libya*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Coma*, and the Mountains of *Vesuvius*: of both which the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many frange fables.

SECT. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUT of all these, *Mercurius* was the most famous and renowned: the fame which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*. Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both *S. Augustine* and *Lactantius* find it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the god of Thieves, the god of Wretlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the god of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the fame with that *Mercury*, of whose many works some fragments are now extant. *Cicero*, *Clodius Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greek* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the son of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did *Targememotus*; the other that *Mercury*, which flew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*; and to have given them Laws. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought Learning and Letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: to which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying: That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which flew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Thoth*: whom *Philo Bolytus* writeth *Tautus*; and the *Egyptians*, *Thoth*'s the *Alexandrines*, *Thot*; and the *Greeks*, (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Tautus*, *Sancianobolus*, who lived about the War of *Troy*, gives the invention of Letters. But *S. Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, takes either of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth neither of them to have slain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Mos* was yet young. And yet *L. Viter* upon *S. Augustine* seems to understand them to be the fame with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembered. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian* *Mercury* brought Letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, if there be any truth in prophane Antiquity; that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*.

Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio et Hieronymo.

For they all confest, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Beotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Mos* and *Cadmus*, there were these descendants call; *Crotus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Mos* lived, and in whose time about his tenth year *Mos* died; after *Crotus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven years; after him *Danaus* fifty years; after him *Linurus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Beotia*. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Mos*'s time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *S. Augustine* remembereth, the one the Grand-father, the other the Nephew or Grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Expolonus* and *Arctianus* note, that *Mos*'s found out letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*: of whom the *Phœnicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Mos*, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Finicus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four decedents after *Mos*; with which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Mos*, the maternal Grand-child of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counsellor and Instructor of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Finicus* giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an Inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tomb of *Isis*. *Lod. Viter* upon the six and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of *Saint Augustine*, de *Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whose works are extant, was not the first which was mentioned by *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-child; * *Sancianobolus* an ancient *Phœnician*, who lived shortly after *Mos*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the Scribe of *Saturn*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Tautus*, and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoth*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit, three hundred years, gave occasion to some Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more ancient than *Mos*; because the Inventor of the *Egyptian* *Wisdom*, wherein it is said, that *Mos* was excellently learned.

Vir. l. 4. Æneid. Finic. in Pref. p. 6. and, Mercurii Trismeg. gifi.

* O. Sancianobolus: See Euseb. de prep. Ev. l. 1. c. 6. Viter in l. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civ. Dei.

Lod. Viter out of Cicero de Civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 16.

Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de Prep. Evan.

Mos.

been found in all things like themselves: I think it had not been perillous to have thought with *Eusebius*, that this *Hermes* was *Mos*'s himself; and that the *Egyptian* *Theologie* hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more ancient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph*, the son of *Jacob*: whom, after the expolition of *Pharaoh's* dreams, they called *Sapaneaphane*, which is as much to say, as *Abundantior repletor*; a Finder out of hidden things. But these are over-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *He L. 1. c. 6. 4. scriptis libris, et quidem multis, ad cognitionem divinorum rerum pervenirent, in quibus Mositanum appellat, quibus nos, Dæm & Patrem; He hath written many Books belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most High, and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we do. The same Father also feareth not to number him among the Sibilis and Prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those Idoctrinuous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*: as for my self I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereto, was by corruption infected. For thus much himself contesteth: Dæm omnium Dæmonius, & Pater, fons & vita, pateris & lux, & mens, & spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & ipso ipsi sunt. Verum enim eo quis est prodians, persistentium excitator, & generator, & opifex, &c. God (faith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the Fountain and Life, and Power, and Light, and Mind, and Spirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himself proceeding, most perfect, generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful Nature, made it also fruitful and producing. And he was therefore (faith *Snyder*) called *Ter Maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquens est, in Trinitate non esset Dæm affertur: Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. He rinitum (faith *Finicus*) prædixit præter Religio-nis, hic omnium novæ fidei, hic advenit Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem seculi, beatum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This *Mercury* forswore the name of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new Faith, and of the coming of Christ, the future Judgement, the Resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the Wicked or Damned.*

To this I will only add his two last speeches reported by *Cicero* the *Platonist*, and by *Valerius* out of *Stygian*. *Hælium, fili, pulvis à patris, vixi prægrævis & esul, nunc innotam repas, Conque post paulum à vobis corporis vinculis absolute difficilis, videte me quæ mortuum lægavit: nam ad illam optamam beatitudinem Civitatem regressor, ad quam nunc vixi Civis mortui conditione venturi sunt. Ibi quævis solus Deus est summus Princeps, qui Civis fides replet suavitatis mirifica: ad quam huc, quam multi vixum excitant, mors est potius decedens quam vita; Hælium, O son, being driven from my Country, I have lived a stranger and banished man: but now I am repaired homeward again in safety. And when I shall after a few days (as in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood, depart from you, you shall see me as a man dead; for I do but return to that best and blessed City, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repair. Therein is the only God, the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with sweetness more than marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life.*

The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words, with *Synclis*: *O Calum, magni Dei spiritus episcopus*: *Episcopus* *Patris* *quantum* *primum* *confis*, *quando* *universum* *confisit* *mundum*, *ad hoc* *per* *ingenium* *eius* *Verbum*, *&* *Spiritum*, *confis* *comprehendit*, *Miserationem* *meam*: *I* *ad hoc* *the* *O* *Heaven*, *thou* *wise* *work* *of* *the* *great* *God*, *and* *the* *voice* *of* *the* *Father*, *which* *he* *first* *uttered*, *when* *he* *framed* *the* *whole* *World*, *by* *his* *only* *begotten* *Word*, *and* *Spirit*, *comprehending* *all* *things*, *bece* *more* *upon* *me*.

But *Synclis* hath his invocation in these words: *Obsecro* *te* *Calum*, *magni* *Dei* *spiritus* *episcopus*, *obsecro* *te* *reco* *Patris*, *qui* *in* *loquutus* *est* *primum* *com* *omnem* *mundum* *in* *fructu*, *obsecro* *te* *per* *ingenium* *Sermonem* *omnia* *continentem*, *propitius* *ego*; *I* *beseech* *thee* *O* *Heaven*, *wise* *work* *of* *the* *great* *God*, *I* *beseech* *thee* *O* *voice* *of* *the* *Father*, *which* *he* *spoke* *first* *when* *he* *created* *all* *the* *World*, *I* *beseech* *thee* *by* *the* *only* *begotten* *Word*, *containing* *all* *things*, *be* *favourable*, *be* *favourable*.

SECT. VII.

Of Jannes and Jambres, and some other that lived about those times.

There were also in this age both *Astulapins*, which after his death became the God of the Physicians, being the brother of *Mercureus*, as *Protes* thinks in his Commentary upon *Angustine*, de *Crustate* *Dæ*, lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious Act excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet *Mose* himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with Devils, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth: however by the *Synclis* they are called *Sophists*, or *Peosists*, and *Inventors*: *Sophists*, *Peosists*, and *Inchanters*: by *Phorone*, *Sophists*, & *Malici*: *Wife* *men*, and *evil* *doers*: and by *Parablar*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it self seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural *Magick*: calling them *exagwos*, workers by Drugs. The *Grecians*, *Sorcerers* and *Inchanters*: *Junius*, *Sapienter*, *Præfigniter*, & *Magi*. *Magicians* and *Wife* *men* here by him are taken in one fence: and *Præfigniter* are such as deal in enchanments, and make them seem to see what they see not: as false colours, and false tastes. But as fine virtues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded: and the one taken for the other (Religion and Superstition having one face and countenance) so did the works and working of *Mose*, and of *Phorone*'s Sorcerers appear in outward show, and to the holders of common capacities, to be one and the same Art and gift of knowledge. For the Devil changeth himself into an angel of light: and imiteth in all he can the ways and workings of the most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which sheweth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or ministry of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are such, as where he hath bestowed the knowledge to understand their hidden and best virtues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above Nature or Art: in which two speculations of works of Nature, and of Miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names: *Opus de Borefin*, &

Opus de Mercana: the one they call, *Sapientiam naturæ*: *The Wisdom of nature*: the other, *Sapientiam divinitatis*: *The Wisdom of divinity*: the one *Jacob* practised in breeding the pious Lambs in *Misopotamia*: the other *Mose* exercised in his Miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of Nature: of the other he as far as pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them: assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. All *S. Augustine* noteth, of *Ysaiah*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent Vertues, and Inventions, were numbered among the Gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Libet Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Mosaic* plays at *Apollonia*: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barneels and fecundity upon that of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple, and set on fire: so did *Eritibianus* institute the like Games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyl*, in memory of her that first press it out of the Olive.

In this Age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radmantulus*, *Sarpidon* and *Minos*: which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these *Saint Augustine* addeth *Hercules*: the one to whom the twelve Labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrrhinia* a City of *Poloponnis*: (or, as others say, only misread and brought up there) who came into Italy, and destroyed many Monsters there: being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* turneth *Dolphin*, famous in *Plænia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philophrastus*, which came to *Gader*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manusfium* sit, *non Thebanum* *Philophrastus*. *Hercules*, sed *Egyptium* *ad Gader* *pervenisset*, & *ibi* *finem* *suæ* *vite* *fecisset*. (saith *Philophrastus*): *I* *it* *in* *manusfium*, that it was the *Egyptian* *Hercules*, and not the *Theban*, which travelled as far as the fringes of *Gader*, and there determined the bounds of the Earth. In this time also while *Mose* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthysoever they were that lived in the Days and Age of *Mose*, there was never any Man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things: whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared: with Angels: never any Man more familiar and conversant with *Never*: never any more learned both in Divine and Humane Knowledge: never a greater Prophet in *Israhel*. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire: the first that left to posterity by Letters, the truth and power of one infinite God: his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the Creatures therein: that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Synclis calleth *Mose* the beloved of God and Man, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies: made him glorious in the sight of Kings, showed him his glory, caused him to hear his voice, sanctified him with faithful prayers, and made him out of all men.

He is remembered among prophane Authors: as by *Clæarchus* the *Peripatetic*: by *Magellanes*, and *Numerius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lives which the *Patristicks* enjoyed before the flood, remembered by *Mose*, *Ephraim*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Elancus*,

nicius, *Asclutus*, *Ephorin*, and *Alexander* the *Historian*, confirm. The universal flood which God revealed unto *Mose*, *Berofus*, *Niclaus* *Damasceus*, and others, have testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Alydenus*, *Ephraim*, and *Sybilis* have approved. *Berofus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecateus* wrote a book of him. *Damasceus* before cited, speaketh of *Abraham* passage from *Damasceus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Mose*. *Eusebius* writeth the very fane of *Abraham*, which *Mose* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the City called *Cammeria*, or *Orion*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrology of the *Caldeans* was invented. *Is* *justitia* *pietateque* *sua* (*his* *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *se* *De* *gratus* *suit*, *in* *divino* *precepto* *in* *Phoenicem* *veniens*, *ibique* *habitat* *in*: For his justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his commandment he came into *Phenicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Book and fifth Chapter, speaketh reverently of *Mose*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirm the books of *Mose*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation* to the Gospel, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Mose*, who writeth of *Mose* in these words: *Mosis* *animus* *affirmatus*, *deob* *que* *Egyptios* *non* *relie* *sentire*, *qui* *hominem* *&* *peccatum* *in* *ignem* *Dei* *tribuerant*: *Itaque* *Africus* *&* *Grecos*, *qui* *dis* *hominum* *figuram* *affirmant*: *id* *vero* *solum* *ipse* *Dæmon*, *quod* *nos*, & *terram*, & *mare* *continet*, *quod* *Calum*, & *Mundum*, & *rerum* *omnium* *naturam* *appellamus*, *corpus* *perceptu* *imaginem* *non* *fasse* *necesse*, *aliquid* *extremum* *vixit*, *que* *per* *se* *in* *finem*, *similem* *autem* *descript* *figere*. *Proinde*, *com* *simulaculorum* *effigiem* *repudiata* *di* *ignem* *in* *Templum* *ac* *Delubrum* *contingendum*, *ac* *fine* *aliqua* *figura* *colendum*: *Mosis* *affirmatus* *et* *tæget*, *that* *the* *Egyptians* *thought* *an* *angel*, *which* *attributed* *unto* *God* *the* *image* *of* *beasts* *and* *cattle*: *Al* *that* *the* *Africans* *and* *Greeks* *greatly* *erred* *in* *giving* *unto* *their* *gods* *the* *shapes* *of* *men*: *veritas* *that* *only* *is* *God* *indeed*, *which* *containeth* *both* *the* *earth* *and* *sea*, *which* *we* *call* *Heaven*, *the* *World*, *and* *the* *nature* *of* *all* *things*, *whose* *image*, *double* *is*, *no* *wise* *man* *will* *dare* *to* *fashion* *unto* *the* *likeness* *of* *these* *things*, *which* *are* *conspicuous*. *That* *therefore* *all* *desiring* *of* *Idols* *can* *aspire*: *a* *worthy* *Temple* *and* *place* *of* *prayer* *was* *to* *be* *erected* *unto* *him*, *and* *to* *be* *to* *be* *without* *any* *figure* *at* *all* *therein*.

Now concerning the Egyptian wisdom, for which *Abel*, 13. the *Martyr* *Stephen* commended *Mose*, saying, That *Mose* was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his work and words: the same is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes* *Lactantius*, *Lambertus*, *Phil* *Judeus*, and *Eusebius* *Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, viz. Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral.

In the Mathematical part, which is distinguished into *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, *Aritmetick*, and *Musick*, the ancient *Egyptians* excelled all others. For *Geometry*, which is by interpretation, Measuring of Grounds, was useful unto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflowed and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomy*: the site of the Country being a level and spacious Plain, free and clear from the clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Aritmetick alikewise, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied: because without it, in *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musick*, they made no other account, nor desired further knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnify their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Natural part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetic Philosophy*: teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things: that of it all mixt bodies, and living creatures have their being: that Heaven is round like a Globe: that all Stars have a certain fervor heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced: that Rains proceed and be from mutations in the Air: that the Planets have their proper foulds, &c.

The Divine part of this Wisdom, which is called *Theology*, teacheth and believeth that the World had a beginning, and shall perish: that Men had their first original in *Egypt*: partly by means of the temperateness of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat, are offensive, and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth in those places: That the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body: That God is one, the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true Similitudes of the gods are not known: that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits bestowed on ranking, have been deified: that those Beasts and fowls Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adduced for Gods: because under the Emblems they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the *Egyptians* Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical, and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clemens distributeth the whole sum of this latter Egyptian Learning into three several sorts, viz. *Epi*, 1. 5. *Solar*, which is used in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabetical in obscure and figurative words: as for example, where it is written: *The* *Lib* by the Hieron participate the beauty of the Hawk: which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Divine beauty. The other symbolical, or by signatures, which is threefold, viz. Imitative, Tropical, and Ænigmatical: Imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified: as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon itself: Tropical or transference, which applies the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to figure the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections and actions of their Gods, and of Men. So with the Egyptian Divines the Image of an Hawk signifieth God: the figure of the Horne signifieth the Sun: the picture of the Bird *Thib* signifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence and Skillfulness: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood. Ænigmatical, is a composition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which fence the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was given on their Temples and Altars, to signify, that to

For it is not, as faithless men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his presence, that this Promise (if it be broken) is broken to Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promise is the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein profess that we fear him not, and that we fet him at naught, and deie him. If he that without relevation of Honour, giveth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Supriour, doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himself, or to his Supriour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promifeth in his Name, and makes him a witness of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a Son to break the Promise, Will, or Decd of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break those Contracts which have been made in former times and confirmed by publick Faith. For though it were 400 years after *Jofua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people defended of the *Gibonites*; yet God, who forgot not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israhelites* had sworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a continuing famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Saul's* sons were delivered to the *Gibonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, to give a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to refuse in silence a contrary intent: the life of Man, the estates of Men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, betwixt usander. It is by Oath (when Kings and Armies cannot pass) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by Oath that Wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an Oath thus powerful, but this; That he that sweareth by the Name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witness, and in whose presence he that taketh the Oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions, which play with the severity of Gods Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the best answer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whosoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not only lose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it self: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a reverend Bishop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the first King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph* *Elhadob*, and his Vicegerent. The *Sultan Sinar*, who being suddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk Syracen* to their aid: whose Nephew *Saladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Cross (the very *Crois*, say they, that *Christ* died on) give them victory over *Saladine*, when they brought it into the held as their last refuge, seeing they had foretorn themselves in his Name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy

Psalm 56. Ghoſt, That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and *Psalm* 111. that the mouth which uttereth them, destroyeth his soul:

how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a Lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungary* after his great victory over *Amurat* the *Turk*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the *Christians*, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the War. And though the said King was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battell with 30000 *Christians*, and his own life. But I will flay my hand: For this swift volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgments upon Faith-breakers; be it again *Infidels*, *Turks*, or *Christians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of Oaths now-a-days, is rather made a matter of custom, than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israhel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatry, and, as it is said in the Scriptures, To be thorns in their eyes to provoke them, and to teach them to make *Yahweh*. For these Cities hereafter named did not only remain in the *Canaanite* possession all the time of *Jofua*; but soon after his death the children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforced to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardest access. And those of *Judah* were not able to be masters of their own Vallies; because, as it is written in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principal Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoining unto *Judab*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistines*: as *Ascalon*, *Gath*, *Aſdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasseh* over *Jordan* expel the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachabites* which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Transjordan*.

Nor the *Nephthaim* possess themselves of *Beſheth-niſh*, nor of *Beſhanab*; but they inforced those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Aſher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Aon*, *Atlab*, *Abeſh*, *Heblab*, *Aphike*, and *Rehol*, nor inforced them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kiron*, and *Nabaloth*, but received tribute from them. All the *Canaanites* dwell in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*; and among the children of *Manasseh*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Beſhethan*, *Taanah*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megiddo*; yea *Jerusalem* it self did the *Jehusites* defend above four hundred years, even till *David's* time.

Now *Jofua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Israhel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Jofephus* gives him five and twenty years: *Seder Olam Rabbi*, the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie*, eight and twenty; and *Maffius* six and thirty: *Maimonides* by *Maffius*, fourteen: *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen: *Cassianus*, ten: *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty; and doth *S. Augustine* *Melanbion*, two and thirty: *Codman*, five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480 years from the delivery of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple; it is necessary that we allow to *Jofua* only eighteen of them; as holding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and as I think, a well-approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480 years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of error, such as have inserted

erted years between *Jofua* and *Obadiel*, of whom *Eusebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* addeheth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Jofua*: Bunting reckons it nine Years: *Bæſetzer* and *Renſor* but one's *Codman*, twenty; and *Niephorus* no less than three and thirty: whereas following the sure direction of these 180 Years, there can be no void years round between *Jofua* and *Obadiel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Jofua* by the account already specified. The praſes and acts of *Jofua* are briefly written in the six and fortieth Chapter of *Eusebius*, where among many other things it is said of him, Who was there before him living to him, for he fought the Battels of the Lord.

That he wrote the Book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter, verse 26, And *Jofua* wrote these words in the Book of the Law of God; which seemeth rather to have been meant by the Covenant which *Jofua* made with *Israhel* in *Shiloh*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord: which promise *Jofua* caused to be written in the Book of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abbotſſe*: The clearest doth likewise conceive, that the Book of *Jofua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intitled *Libor Jofuorum*, remembered by *Jofua* himself; and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon these words of

the 26th Verse, And *Jofua* wrote these words, &c. this placeth nothing in it to prove it: for when the People had answered *Jofua* The Lord our God will be for us, and his voice will be obeyed, it followeth that *Jofua* made Covenant with the People, and wrote the same in the Book of the Law of God.

There lived at once with *Jofua*, *Erichonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke Beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) lived the fifty Sons of *Egeus*, all but *Linceus*, who succeeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived also with *Jofua*, *Phaenix*, and *Cadmus*, and near the end of *Jofua's* life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phoenix* (afterward married to *Aſtræus* King of *Greece*). But *St. Augustine* reports this ravishment to be committed by *Antheus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was Father to *Dædalus*, and *Dædalus* to *Phaenix*, who was an old Man at the War of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong Man at the same *Trojan* War. And so doth *Nifon* reckon up in the Council of the *Groks*, *Thyſon* and *Perithous* for Men of Antiquity and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But heretofore

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of *Israhel* that were planted in the borders of *Phoenicia*, with sundry Stories depending upon those places.

SECT. I.

The Proem to the description of the whole Land of *Canaan*; with an Exposition of the name of *Syria*.

THE Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Jofua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings of which so many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the description of *Samaria*: but because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theatres, whereon the greatest part of the Story passeth with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a *Geographical* description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at sundry times forgot neglected the Lord of all power, and adored their dead and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina* laus (saith *Augustine*) Ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericordia in temporibus.

Idem adhibet severitatem, ne eternam justitiam in seculum ultionem; The Divine goodness is especially therefore angry in this World, that it may not be angry in the World to come, and doth mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-wealths: and to help my self herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this subject: among whom, because I find to great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistines*, and the Lands of *Or* and *Sebon* Kings of *Byſus*, and the *Arabian* Armies, were but small Provinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessary first to divide and bound the general, and so to descend to this particular, now called the *Holy Land*.

Syria, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was antiently taken, embraced all those Regions from the *Euxine Sea*, to the *Red Sea*; and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into

Pomus, called *Lecrochians*, or white *Syriani*. But taking it thence, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, unto *Idume*, towards the South, *Tigis* towards the Sea-rifing, and the *Mediteranean Sea* Westward: it then containeth betwixt *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, *Arabia* the *Desert*, and *Arabia Petraea*, that Region also which the *Greeks* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrews Syria*, the two Rivers, to wit, *Tigis* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aran Nabarajim* is expounded: also *Padin Aram*: that is, *Jugum Syria*, because the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edessa, sometime *Rages*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Carthage*, which the *Latins* call *Syria Crea*, because it lay in that fruitful Valley between the Mountains of *Lybannus*, and *Antilibanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Lascheta*, *Apamea*, with many others, were seated. Then *Damascus*, or *Syria Lybaniaca*, taking name of the City *Damascus*, and the Mountains of *Lybannus*. The Royal city of the *Assyrians*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adjoining to it was the Province of *Sophone*, or *Syria Soba*, *Chobis*, or *Zobis*: over which *Adadocor* commanded in *Salomon's* time. Then *Phenicia*, and the People *Syraphonians*: and lastly, *Syria Palestina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Pholony* maketh *Judea* *Prova*, after a sort: and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Sor* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syria Judea*.

SECT. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

But that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phenicia*, and stretcheth from behind *Lybannus* to the great *Deserts* between *Idume* and *Egypt*: bounded by the *Mid-land Sea* on the West, and the Mountains of *Hormon*, *Galad*, and *Annon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Sirabos* calleth *Tresoni*, or *Tracouira*, and *Ptolomeus*, *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*: *Phoenicia* appellat fuit *Canaan*. The language was also called *Canaan*, fith *Mont Anon*, and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*, who took name from *Heber*, the Son of *Sale*, according to *S. Augustinus*. But *Aras Montanus* not to well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all thofe of *Canaan's* Sons, who past over *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, fith he, is as much as *transfers*, or *transmissions* of going, or passing over. And because the Children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigismund*, and of *Enschius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Judea* from *Judas*, and then afterwards intituled the *Holy Land*, because thence our *Sacrament Christ* was Born, and Buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four: namely into *Edom*, otherwise *Sor*, or *Idumea* *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*. *Galilee* is doubtless, the superiour call'd *Genitium*, and the inferiour: and that *Galilee* and *Judea* are distinguished, it is plain in the

Evangelists, though both of them belong to *Phenicia*. Now besides these Provinces of *Phenicia*, and *Palestina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth) living that *Phenicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*: that part also of the East of *Jor-*

dan, and within the Mountains of *Hormon*, *Galad*, and *Annon*, otherwise *Tracuni*, fell to the possession of half *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, and therefore are accounted apart of *Canaan* also: as well because anciently possit by the *Amurrites* for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*: which Easternmost parts are again divided into *Basin*, or *Batania*, unto *Galad*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Maachis*, *Gessuri*, *Argobis*, *Hur*. They are known to the late *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in general: and by the names of *Tracounis*, *Phenicia*, *Batania*, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Ruben*, for these are his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gezar until Azasib (which is Gazur) and this was the length of the Country North and South: then it followeth in the Text Ad as thou goest unto Sadom and Gomorrah, and Azasib, and Schibim, even unto Lufis: by which words Moses stretcheth down the breadth, to wit, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. But in Deuteronomy it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written: All the places whereon the foot of your feet shall tread, shall be yours: no coast shall be from the *W. Idem*, 24. and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Country North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only Libanon is put for Zidon, and the Wilderness for Gezar and Azasib, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, it *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it self both over *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desert*, as far as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* never possit: nor at any time did so much as invade, or attempt. And therefore *Volcanus* does conceive that by the River *Perah* was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Job* 23. 4. *Behold, I have divided unto you by the Nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan, with all the Nations that I have divided, even unto the great Sea of the Westward.**

And though it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the *Holy Land*: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put in *genus amicitiae* and *comprocur*, for *David* did not at any time enter so far to the East as *Affrica*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possit of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavil, as touching the promise of God to the *Israelites* unperturbed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not only to include them within that Territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow: but therein and elsewhere to subvert them unto those idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves acknowledged and obeyed. And fure the promise by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting enjoying thereof, to wit, as long as the *Hebrews* were above the Earth, was tied to thofe conditions, both in the Verbs preceding, and subsequent: which the *Israelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect: who knew that all forces for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, then while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in the eighth Verse of the eleventh of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandments was a condition joyed to the prosperity of *Israel*.

Israel. For therein it is written: *Therefore shall ye keep all the Commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the Land, which I have sworn unto your Fathers, &c.*

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the *Hebrews* were above the Earth. For if ye keep diligently, faith he, all these Commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all thofe Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, and mightier than you. And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerful Majesty, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot mislike that expolition of *Malacthon*: For, faith he, *Offendit promissionem precipuum non offe de hoc politico Regno. Si bene sit, his chief promissio est not a civil Kingdom.* To which agrees that answer which *St. Hierome* made to a certain Heretic in his Epistle ad *Dardanium*, who accused *St. Hierome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* Story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and ad illam duntaxat vivendum terram qui in calli est: (that is) Only to that Land of the living which is in Heaven. *Quoniam tota Judeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 miliarium, latitudinem vero 40 & in ista circiter loca, urbes, & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judeis occupata, sed tantum divina petitione promissis, & fidei whole Country of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160 miles in length, and 40 miles in breadth, and in these Countries, Places, Cities, and many Towns, which the Jews never possit, have only been granted by divine promise.* In like manner the same Father speaketh upon *Esaie*, touching the blessings promised unto *Jerusalem*, where he hath these words: *Pro quo dicimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palestina regione potestatem, qua totius Provincia, determia est: & Jacobi monibus asperior, & penuriam patitur fuit: ita ut obsequis utatur plevis, & raritatem fontium exterminum occidit fider: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, solitabantur fructores tui: From whence, faith he, we learn, that *Jerusalem* is not to be sought in the region of *Palestina*, which is the worst of the whole Province, and edged with craggy Mountains, and suffred the penury of the Soil: so as it prefereth rain Water, and supplyeth the scarcity of Wells by building of Cisterns: but this *Jerusalem* is in Gods hands, to which it is said, *Tu builderis domus habundans: so far St. Hierome*, where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself: *Neque hoc dico in figuratione terre Judee, in hereticis Synagoga mentium: aut quo asseram historia veritatem, que fundamemum est intelligentie spiritualis: sed ut deatam superfluum Judeorum, qui Synagoga angelicus laudum Ecclesie preferunt: Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, offendunt terram promissionis latere & melle manentem: Neque (fith he) I say this to disgrace the land of *Judea*, as the heretic *Sophyran* doth believe: or to take away the truth of the History, which is the Foundation of spiritual understanding: but to beat down the pride of the Jews, which enlarge the fruits of the Synagoga further than the breadth of the Church: For if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them show the Land of promise, flowing with Milk and Honey.**

By this it may also be gathered, however it be unlikely (seeing the Well-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11. 24. had his truth in the literal sense, that *En-*

phrazer or *Perah*, which is made the East-bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Hieron's* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perah* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*, and that the promise itself was never so large: much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this *Holy Land*, because *Affor*, *Nephthim*, and *Zabulon* held the Northernmost part, and were seated in *Phenicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Affor* for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speak, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes as be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of Translators, are diversely exprest, so that to the unskillful they may seem divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is partly because the ancient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have: and partly, because the Ancient exprest or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the later do think fit.

SECT. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

§. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

The *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the Son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500 and odd persons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: at which number perishing in the *Deserts*, there remained of their issues, besides Women and Children, 33400 bodies fit for the Wars: which past the River of *Arnon* into the Plains of *Moab*, and after the conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phenicia*, from *Zidon* and the Fields of *Libanus*, unto *Palestina* along almost the Sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabout: and from the *Mid-land Sea* to the East border some twelve miles: though *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oyl, and Wheat, besides the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecy*, *After pignus panis*: Concerning *Affor*, his Bread shall be fat: And he shall give pleasures for a King.

§. II.

Of Zidon.

The first City seated on the North border of the Territory of *Affor*, was *Zidon*, which *Josias* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greeks* and *Strabo* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Josias* derives the name from the abundance of Fish found on thofe shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidonia*. But that it was far more ancient, *Melchior*, *Tafus*, and *Josaphus* witness, as doth the fame being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan's* Sons, and so strong it was in *Josias's* time, as nei-

ther did himself attempt it, neither could the Affixion, or any of their successours matter it: but it continued all the time of the Judges and Kings, even unto the coming of Christ: a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Elyas, Joram, Ezechieh, and Zachariah*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies *Sadon*, and by the Pestilence.

Zidon is located on the very wash of the *Phoenician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterran or Mid-Land Sea*, etc. It hath to the North the City of *Berytus*, and the River *Lentis*: and to the South *Sarpis*, or *Sarphit*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*: the distance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is fourteen thousand paces, faith *Seigniorius*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Wessingbury* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of distance as well between these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new Scale to the Map and Description of the Holy Land.

What Things it had till *Agenor* time there is no memory: the story which *Zen* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time confounded and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*: which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as ** Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacy, and became far more renowned, especially the principal workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of Learning, so did it in all other Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them the *wise Zidonians*. The City was both by Nature and Art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadel on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rock, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the *Dutch Order*: and another Castle it hath on the South-side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also fell many other Colonies beside that of *Tyre*, in to places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Siphyn*, Cities of *Æthiopia* in *Græce*, *Strabo* And *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glasses, which they used to make of those Sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran Sea*, near *Ptolomis*, or *Acon*: and from whence the *Phoenicians* fetch the matter of those clear Glasses which they make at *Murana*: of which *St. Hieron* and *Pliny*: *Zidon insignis artificum: Zidon vitrarum officinis nobilis*. *Zidon a famous Glass-maker, or a skilful worker in Glass-houses*.

* It seems that even in *Typhus*, since they practised glass-making, whence *Strabo* calleth *Siphyn*, both majus, quam al verbum is as much as combustionis apparatus, reals furnace vitrarum, *Jes. 11. 8*. as it seems, because these Furnaces were there was store of Water, either for the moving of the Belows that force of the Water, or for the necessary use. But there are others that take them for Salt-pits, and others again for hot Baths.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astarte*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Chanaan* (as *Fineas* gathered out of *1 Sam. 31. 10*, and *Judg. 10. 6*.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears *1 Reg. 5. theep*, for *Deut. 7. 13*, the word in the plural number signifieth sleep 1 and this may confirm *Agenor* opinion, that *Astarte* was *Juno*: for the term of her husband *Japhet* *Hammon* was a Ram.

11. 5. in the Story of *Solomon's Idolatry*, where *Astarte* is called the god of the *Zidonians*; and *1 Reg. 16. 33*. in the story of *Acab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that marrying *Jezabel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Astartes* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Basim*, and *Astarte*, *1 Sam. 12. 10*, and elsewhere: for even the name *Astarte*, as I am informed by a skilful *Hebrician*, is plural: the singular being *Astareh*: whence *Judg. 2. 13*, the *Septuagint* read *ἀστάρων τὸν ἀστέρον*. They worshipped the *Astarte*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Astartes*, may be diversly understood: either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the Images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the fables depending upon them: which (as fables use to be) were doublets in divers Cities divers. *Augustine* quest. 19. in *Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrans*) call *Juno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tully*, lib. 3. de *Nat. Deorum*, making *Dionysius* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the name of *Astarte*: whom he makes to be born of *Tyrrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the Wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrobius*. 2. *Satur.* cap. 21. says, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Affrians*: and *Hiemone* upon *Ezek. 8. 44*. notes that *Thamuz*, (whom there the Idolaters in common are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seem that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*: as also the *Grecians* did in their Songs of *Adonis*: *Musen for Adonis the fair, dead is Adonis the fair*. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thamuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose loss of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the Egyptian Idolatry, as with the *Grecians*, *Venus* loss of *Adonis*. And to this agreement that which *Plutarch* hath, de *Iside et Osiride* that *Osiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Ammon*: which word may seem to be the same with *Ezekiel's* *Thamuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus antiently fortified with the Milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine of the Gospel of Christ after his Ascension, than the *Jews*: who had been taught by *Moses* and the Prophets for many years, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*: *Wo be to thee Canaan, etc. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrrus and Zidon, they had repented long ago, etc. but I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrrus and Zidon at the day of judgment, than for you*.

It received a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocese of *Tyre*. But in the year of our Redemption 636 it fell into the hands of the *Saracens*, and continued in their possession till *Baldwin* the first, then King of *Jerusalem*: in the year 1111, by the help of the *Danes* and *Norwages*, who came with a Fleet to visit the Holy Land, and took *Portat Joppa*, it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Eustace Gremos*, a Noble man of that Country. And again in the year 1250 it was re-edified and strengthened by *Lodowick* the French King: while he spent four years in the War of the Holy Land. Lastly, in the year 1289 it was re-conquered by the *Saracens*: and is now in possession of the *Turks*, and hath the name of *Zai*.

¶ III.

¶ III.

Of Sarpis, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

Sarpis, or after that *Hebrew*, *Sarphat*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing near it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina mibi non sunt Gazetia, Chia, Falerna, Quæque sacparentis palmita missa bibas.

I have no Wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* Wine, Nor any for the drinking of *Sarpis's* Vine.

This City had also a Bishop, of the Diocese of *Tyre*: after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks*, as the rest: and is now called *Sapht*, faith *Poghelus*.

Nor far from *Sarpis* was situated that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose Fleet of Ships commanded, and gave Law over all the *Mediterranean Sea*, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatness and power, the *Tyrans* erected *Utes*, *Lepiti*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*, *Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyris inæne Coloni, Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a Colony of the *Phœnicians*. In Spain they founded *Gades*, now *Cades*. In Italy, *Nola*: in *Ajia* the less, *Dromus Achillis*, which City the *Statius* of *Apollonius* placeth near the River *Phidius* in *Bythia*.

It had antiently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Isaiah* 19. taking name from the situation: because built on a high Rock, sharp at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ojrum Sarraenum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day: the place being still known by the name of the antient *Tyre*: and because it was a Colony of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Ely* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*: which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Boetius* by affinity of name makes *Tyris* the Son of *Typhus* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was antiently, (for so much the Prophet *Ely* also witnesseth, *Ir nos this your glorious City, whose antiquity is of antient days*: yet that *Thors* the Son *Japhet* bet himself in the bottom of the *Canaanites*, who built *Zidon*, and people all that Region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curcius*: and *Josephus* and *Enochius* make this City older than *Solomon's* Temple 240 years: *Cedreanum* 365: who also addeth, that *Tyrrus* the Wife of *Agenor*, gave it this name: but of *Agenor* I will speak more at large in the story of their Kings.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700 paces from the Continent: and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middle of the Seas, as some read: or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea; whence he calleth it *finemata* at the entry of the Sea: As also the same Prophet calleth it, the *Mare of the people for many life*: and *Elyas*, a *Mart* of the Nations: and so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this City as the Prophet *Ely* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning and in manufacture: especially in the making and dyeing of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, faith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dog, who passing along the Seacoast, and eating of the Fifth *Conchilis* or *Porpora*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the Idols that *Zidon* did: saving that *Hercules* became their Patron in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrans* presented him with a Crown of Gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Deity of their City, and the Ancestor of the *Macedonian* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they lent him City, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountain of old *Tyre*: where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not: for *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious: he desired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many Ships as he could, and brought from *Lybanon* to Great a number of Cedars, and so many weighty Stones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoining, as, notwithstanding that this materials were often wait away with the strength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he never retired, till he had made a Foot-passage from the Continent to the Island: and having once approached their Walls, he overtopped them with Towers of Wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving Spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted: after which he cauld 2000 more to be hung up in a rank all along the Sea-shore: which execution upon cold blood he performed (as some Authors affirm) upon the issues of those families which had formerly slain all their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrans*, *Trogus* remembereth: and how *Sanaball* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alex* *Jud. 11. 2*. pa or Provincial Governor, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who having married his Daughter to *Manasse*, Brother to *Jaddai* the high Priest of *Jerusalem*, obtained of *Alexander*, that a Temple might be built on the Mountain *Garizim* over *Samaria*: that the forces of the Jews being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in Obedience. The honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his Son-in-Law *Manasse*, whom the Jews opposed, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaball*, whom *Gul*, *Tyrrus* called *Sanaball*, *Jer. 13. 4*.

Long before this defolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanassar* the *Affrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Affrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with three score Ships of War held the Port: to the end that neither any Victuals nor any supply of Men might enter it: but the *Tyrans* with twelve fail scattered that Feet, and took 1500 Prisoners of the *Affrians*: notwithstanding the *Affrians* continued his resolution, and lay before it by his Lieutenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege *Menander Ephorus*, cited by *Trogus*, made *Er com*. report of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annals* of the *Tyrans* (which the said *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding, that *Eluleu*, whom *Sarpis* 14. *Tyrrus* called *Heliphe*, was then King of *Tyre*, ha-*Tyrrus* 14. ying governed the same fix and twenty years. *Jer. 49. 15*.

Soon

Soon after this repulse of *Salmanassar*; and about 200 years before the victory of *Alexander, Nebuchodonosor*, at such time as he destroyed *Jerusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that despicable work of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nebuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawley and passage was again broken down, and demolished.

Against *Nebuchodonosor*, for many years, the *Tyrians* defended themselves: for so long did those *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, faith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Elijah* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after 13 years siege or more, the *Tyrians* depoyed of all their hopes, and remembering over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of Ships, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the sabbit of all that remained: and with their Wives, Children, and portable riches, sayled thence into *Cyprus, Carthage*, and other Maritime Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satiate for many labours and perils, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that War: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengtheneth this resolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nebuchodonosor* victorious over the *Egyptians*: and gave him that Kingdom and the spoil thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierom* saith, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his *Servants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Now of this enterprise of *Nebuchodonosor*'s against *Tyre*, prophane Historians have not been silent. For both *Diodorus* and *Pliny* (as *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second Book, the other in his *Phoenician* Histories, remember it.

After these two great Victories by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it self again: and continued in great glory about 500 Years, even to the coming of our *Saviour Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith near 600 years: the *Archbishop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarch* of *Jerusalem* only, who within his own Dioceses had fourteen great Cities, with their Bishops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphyria*, *Aeon*, or *Polomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Caesarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthofa*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, (or *Toris*) and *Maracuta*. But in the year 636 it was with the rest of that beautiful Region of *Phoenicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithless *Saracen*: under the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488 years.

In the year 1112 it was attempted by *Baldovine* King of *Jerusalem*; but in vain: yet in the year 1124, by *Guarnemond*, *Patriarch* of *Jerusalem*, *Viceroy* to *Baldovine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their Fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered and subjected to the Kings of *Jerusalem*, and so it remained 165 years.

Finally, in the year 1185, *Saladin* having first taken *Jerusalem*, removed his whole Army, and fate down before *Tyre*: drawing his Fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port,

this City as then only remaining in the *Christian* power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain ratters of Timber, fired, burnt, and brake the *Saracens* Fleet, and sayled out rebellly upon his Army, flew to great numbers of them; and following their victory with such fury, as that the *Saracens* forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory, the body of that famous *Fredrick Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christian* enemies over a River unfordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedral* Church of *Tyre*, near unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origins*, grarnified and graven with guilt pillars of Marble, 940 years before therein buried: but in the year 1289 the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

§. IV.

Of *Polomais*, or *Aeon*.

THE third City along the coast of the Sea, which the *Affricans* could not obtain, on the South bound of *Affer*, was *Aeco*, which was the antient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authors affirm, that it took name from *Aeon* the Brother of *Polomais*. *Pliny* calleth it *Aeo*: and otherwise the Colony of *Chusidius*. It had also the name of *Cath*, or *Cod*, aid by *Zoghris* it is called *Hattips*.

But lastly, it was intitled *Polomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian* *Polomies*: which City also, as it is 1 *Mac. 11*, another of the *Polomies* inidentally wrested from his Son-in-law *Alexander*, who called himself the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* having married *Chusidius* daughter of the said *Polomies*, not long hence. Therein also was *Jonathan Maccabean* treacherously surprised and slain, as it is 1 *Mac. 12. 48*, by the perfidiousness of *Tybores*, whom soon after *Antiochus* pushed, as it is 10.

The Story ensuing: and, by like reason, about the same time was the afore said *Alexander* in the War against *Demetrius*, one of the Sons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Eutolmy* joyined, overthrown and treacherously murdered by *Zabdel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented unto his Father-in-law *Polomies*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three days, for 18.

God struck him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his Regal seat: two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for safety and capacity, not inferior to any other in all that Tract. This City is distant from *Jerusalem* some four and thirty miles: four miles to the North from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamboris*: from *Tyre*, *Antimus* maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the middle of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple *Herald* of *Belshazzar*: and therefore called the *Castle* of *Phier*, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual Light, like unto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt*: to give comfort in the Night to those Ships who came near and sought that port. It had in it a Bishop's seat: fear of the Dioceses of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian*: but in the year 636 (a fatal year to the *Christian* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Huamarsus* the *Saracen*. In the year 1104 it

it was regained by *Baldovine* the first, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa*, to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven, *Saladin* King of *Aegypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the year of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the *Christians*. Lastly, in the year 1291 it was by the fury of the *Saracens* besieged with an Army of 150000, entered, took, and utterly demolished: though in some fort afterward rededified, and it is now *Turkish*.

§. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

FIVE miles from *Polomais* towards the East, is a Castle of St. George seated, in which he was born: the Valley adjoining bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I leave every Man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successors really have continued, should have born his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those days, as that the *English* were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or purlion feigned. The place is described by *Ardicrimus* in his description of *Affer*, to have been in the fields of *Lybanus*, between the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his own words are these: *Hoc loco qui ad incolis Cappadocia appellatur non longe à Beryta, memorant incolentes Christi Militem D. Georgium, Regis filium ab immenso filio Dracone aversisse: campum molitua bestia parenti restituisse. In ejus rei munusculum Ecclesia postmodum fidei adificata*; In this place, which by the *Inhabitants* is called *Cappadocia*, not far from *Berytus*, men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint George, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the Beast, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there: Thus far *Ardicrimus*. His Authors he citeth *Lodovicus Romain*, *Petrus Nivertianus* l. 1. c. 3, and *Brutius* lib. 5. The Valley under this Castle sometime called *Affer*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint George. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorical, figuring the victory of Christ, than accept of *George* the *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Ant. Marcellinus*.

§. VI.

Of *Acziba*, *Sandalium*, and others.

BETWEEN *Polomais* and *Tyre* along the Sea-coast, was the strong City of *Acziba*, or *Aczibus*, which *S. Hierome* called *Achezibi*, and *Josephus* *Esdempus*, *Pliny* *Ecdippus*, one of those which defended it against the *Affricans*. *Bellisrogi* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Castles of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not from whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadesbarne*, travelled as far to the North as *Roth*, or *Rebosh*, in the Tribe of *Affer*, which *Rebosh*, as also *Beothy*, which by *Ezekiel*, *cap. 47. ver. 16*, is placed in the North borders, belonging in *David's* time to

the King *Hadrachar*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel*, *chap. 8. ver. 8*, and *chap. 10. ver. 6*, and it deniceth it self against the *Affricans*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achezibi*, *Polomais*, *Alab*, *Holbah*, and *Aphek* did.

This *Aphek* was, whose wall falling down, flew seven and twenty thousand of *Benhadad's* Soldiers, after that a hundred thousand had been slaughtered by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Abish*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philistines* encamped a little before the battel at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the first of *Samuel* the 9. & 1. he takes *Aphek*, there mentioned (at which Battel the Ark was taken) to have been in *Juda*. Of which *Jof. 15*, and 53; and in the second of *Kings* 13. 17. he reads, *Fortiter*, *104*, in 29. *Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Perotinus Syrus* in 1.

The next place along the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Sandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*: for *Alexander* *Macedon* built it when he besieged *Tyre*, and set it on a point of Land which extendeth itself into the Sea, between *Acziba* and *Tyre*: which Castle *Baldovine* the first rebuilt and fortified: in the year of Christ 1157. when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre*.

Not much above a Mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of Water, which *Solomon* remembereth, called the *Well of Living Water*: whence not only all the Fields and plains about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large Pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hath not above a Bow-shot of Ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth six great Mills in that short passage, faith *Brochius*.

Within the Land, and to the East of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, standeth *Hofa*: and beyond it under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Aczeph*, or *Aczib*, after *S. Hierome*, *Acyph*, a City of great strength, whose King, amongst the rest, was slain by *Jefus* at the Waters of *Maron*.

§. VII.

Of *Thoron*, *Gisfala*, and some other places.

FURTHER in the Land, towards *Jordan*, was seated the Castle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sauto* *Abdonas* built on the Easternmost hills of *Tyre*, in the year 1107; thereby to refrain the excursions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* against the *Christians*: the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of *Tyron*, famous in the story of the Wars for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, in which *Humfrey* of *Thoron*, Countable to *Baldovine* the third King of *Jerusalem*, lieth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of *Affer*: whereof four are feared almost of equal distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum*, *Lamperis*, *Manfort*, *Idun* (or *Saron*) *Castrum*, *Regium*, and *Belfort*: the first near the Sea under the Hills of *Saron*, the next three, to wit, *Idun*, *Manfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Temonies*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other *Christians* at such time as the *Saracens* possessed the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Polomais* *Aebon*. The third fortress was for beauty and strength called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the River *Nar*, near the City *Rams*: of which in this

* Of two Cities of this name in *Juda*, see *Job*. 1. four and twenty Kings against *Jofhua*: who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful City was by *Jofhua* taken and burnt to dust. But in the process of time the same being re-built by the *Canaanites*, a second King *Jabin*, 137 years after the death of this first *Jabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and this Tribe being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude 20 years; till *Deborah* the Prophetess overthrew *Sisera*, *Jabin*'s Lieutenant, and his Army, near *Tabor*. This City *Solomon* reduced at *Job*. 19. 7. the Mountain *Tabor*. This City *Solomon* reduced at such time as he also re-edified *Cezar*, burnt by *Pharaoh* of Egypt, with * *Megidda*, *Bethoron*, and other Cities; but about 260 years after, it fell into the hands of *Tiglathpalsar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, faith *Adricomius*, called *Antiochia*: it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*. There is another City of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, seated on the confines of *Afulam*, called the new *Hazor*, faith *Jerom*.

Nam. 24. 8. *Allo* in *Simeon* *Charfor* *S. Sina*, of which *1 Chron*. 4. 31. which also is called *Charfor* *S. Sina*, and *Charfor* *S. Sina*, and lastly, *Charfor* *S. Sina*, another City of *Simeon*, *Jud*. 19. 3. * *1 King*. 9. *Utherim*, *loc*. *Hebr*. 1. 4. out of *Neb*. 11. 33. as it seems.

§. III.

Of *Casarea Philippi*.

There was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephthalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, *Jud*. 18. 27. or *Lejibeth*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Lejeben*; which City the children of *Dan* (being straitened in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and maltreated; and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dau*: and by that name it is written in *Gen*. 14. at which place *Abraham* surpris'd *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as *Sobab*, formerly remembered in the division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophona*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the joint name of *Lejebeth-Dan*. *Wessingburg* writes it *Lacir*, the *Genezis*, *Lajib*; *Josephus*, *Dan*; *Benjamin*, *Belina*; *Breidenbach*, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witness, *Neubrigenst*, *Tyrus*, *Volaterranus*, *Buchard* the Monk, and *Pestellus*: who also taketh this City to be the same, which in *Matth*. 15. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greek* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in *S. Mark*, speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written *Judg*. 18. And there was none to help, because *Lais* was far from *Zidon*: and they had no business with other men: for it was above thirty English miles from the *Mediterran Sea*, and from *Zidon*.

In after-times when these Regions became subject to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paness*, from a Fountain adjoining to it: and therefore *Protopius* calls it *Casarea Panie*. *Hogdippus* calls it *Parnium*, faith *Wessingburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy, for in *Hogdippus*, set out by *Radus*, it is written *Pannum* without an *R*: and at such time as *Philip* the son of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governor of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basan*: this City was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to

flatter *Tiberius Caesar*, he called it * *Casarea Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head City of *Traconitis*, and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neroniana*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: so in *S. Jerom*'s time the Citizens remembered their former *Paness*, and so re-called it, with the Territory adjoining by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant Faith: who afterward, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of Gods goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as *Enstebius* and *Niephorus* report, caused two Statues to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ*, as near as it could be moulded: the other made like her self, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great Bases or Pedestals of the same metal, which she placed by a Fountain near her own house: both which (faith *Enstebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time: which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of *Constantine the Great*. But in the year after *Christ* 303. that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast down and defaced: setting up the like of his own in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into bits: the head, body, and other parts flundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth Book and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was near the joining together of those two Rivers, which arising from the Springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two apparent Fountains of *Jordan*, in a foil exceeding fruitful and pleasant: for, as it is written, *Judg*. 18. it is a place which doth want nothing that is in the World. In the fields belonging to this City it was that *S. Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Son of God: whereupon it *Petrus* was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Jerusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth, with all that part of the World, subjected to the *Turks*.

up again at *Pannum* or *Dan*: whereby it is conjectured, that the first Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

§. IV.

Of *Capernaum*, and the Cities of *Decapolis*.

Among the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least: so often remembered by the *Evangelists*. This City had the honour of *Christ*'s presence three years: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our Salvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Ejaj* 9. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the Land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, even where it entrench into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich soil: of whose destruction *Christ* himself prophesied

* Of another *Casarea* (or *Caesarea*) called *Casarea Palaestina*, see hereafter in the former part of *Manasse*. Of *Decapolis*, see *Agrippa* in *Eccl*. 1. 6. c. 25.

* *Josaphat* in the book of the Jewish wars, c. 18. faith, that *Philip* the first Christ was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the Christian Faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Jerusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth, with all that part of the World, subjected to the *Turks*.

up again at *Pannum* or *Dan*: whereby it is conjectured, that the first Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

phesied in these words, *And thou Capernaum which art lifted up unto Heaven, shall be brought down to Hell, &c.* which sheweth the pride and greatness of that City: for it was one of the principal Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Galilee. And although there were some marks of this Cities magnificence in St. Jerome's time, as himself confesseth; it being then a reasonable Burgh or Town: yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as Brocard, Bredenbach, and Salinas affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor Filhermens houses.

The Region of ten principal Cities, called Decapolis, or Decapolis, is in this description often mentioned; and in S. Matthew, Mark and Luke also remembered; but I find no agreement between the Geographers, what proper limits it had: and so Pliny himself confesseth; for *Marinus Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Casius* in *Cassotis*; and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it imbraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Calyryia*, all *Falagina*, and *Judea*.

Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numb'reth four of them, to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelpia* (which was first called *Amara*, faith *Stephane*, or as *Ighels*, *Amara* rather, because it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabab*, before *Ptole*. *Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Seythopolis*, sometime *Nisa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein, antiently known by the name of *Bethsan*; for the sixth, he setteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Calyryia*, which was also called *Antioch* and *Solosia*;) but it is *Gadara* in *Bethsan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on an high hill, near the River of *Hieromax*. This River *Orelus* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which bounded *Gad* and *Manasseh* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromax* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippus* and *Gersa*, whereas *Jaboc* cutteth the same Sea between *Ephraim* and *Phanuel*. For the seventh, he nameth *Hippus*, or *Hippion*, a City so called of a Colony of Horfmen there garrison'd by *Herod*, on the East-side of the *Galilean Sea*, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasseh* over *Jordan*. For the eighth, *Pella*, which is also called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Persea*. For the ninth, *Gelsa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gersa*: and *Gersa* is found in *Calyryia* by *Josephus*, *Hegippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Proton* (whom *Irathor* follow) in *Phoenicia*. The tenth and last, *Pliny* nameth *Cana*, and so doth *Sextonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamila*, but *Hegippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Bethsan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camel. But the Collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brocard*, *Bredenbach*, and *Salinas*, which make them to be these; *Cesarea Philippi*, *Sepher*, *Chorazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Seythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion.

One place of the Region called S. Matthew makes it manifest, that this Region called Decapolis, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed again from the coast of Tyros and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coast of Decapolis: so that it was bounded by Damascus and Libanus on the North: by the Phoenician Sea, between Zidon*

and *Pholomais* on the West: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountains *Trachones*, otherwise *Hermos*, *Sanir*, and *Galad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, near the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

I. V.

Of Hamath.

BUT to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is seated near the foot thereof the City of * *Hamath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Country adjoining taketh name: the same which *Josephus* callith *Amathitis*, and *Amathosis*: a *Jacobus Amathitis*, *Zeiglor*, *Imura*, *Imura Regio tent borealis tribus Jerome*, *Nephtali per montem Libanum usque Trachones*. The Country of *Imura*, faith he, containeth the *Amath*: North parts of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, along the *Hamath*: *Mount Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*, *Imura*, he maketh the fear of this Region: and doth *Morator*. For indeed were *Imura* (which *Hegippus* calls *Persea*, and *G. Tyrus*, *Baccar*) the same with *Trachonitis*, yet *Trachonitis* it self is far more to the East than *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Trachonitis* lieth between *Cesarea Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this *Hamath* or *Chammath* is seated under *Cesarea*, towards the Sea Westward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Calyryia*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which is known upon *Amos* as calls *Antiochia*, with *Hamath* or *Hamath* the lesser also for in *Phoenicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which he callith *Epiphania*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*), which 2 *Chron*. 8. 3. is set far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Saba*) is remembered in *Numb*. 34. 8. and *Numb*. 13. 22. and in *Ezek*. 47. 16. old be- In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of long- Promissie, these being the words: *From Mount Hor you shall point (that is, direct or draw a line) until it come to Hamath: In the second place thus: So they shall go up, and search out the Land from the Wilderness that is, of Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath: Then in Ezekiel; The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over against Hamath: that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the West border from the Southernmost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over against Hamath Northward: from*

6 So *Jerom* in his Comment on *Amos* 6. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it seems by distinction from the other in *Nephtalim*, though *Mat. Berolus*, rejecting *Hamath* a follower of the opinion of *Zeiglor*, above mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified that either one or other of these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, holdeth that the same City also called *Chammath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath* were formed) was gathered together because the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron*. 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chammath-Tyber*, as this (as it may seem by *Isa*. 21. 32) was because *Numb*. 34. 8. and also *Ezek*. 47. 10. *Chammath* in the North side of the Holy Land is placed too near the West corner, so that *Chammath-Tyber* is the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Misroto* name near a place Eastward along all the breadth of the Holy Land until we come to *Hermos* (for so they expound *Mount Her*, *Hermon* 34. 7.) and beyond *Hermos* Eastward in this North-side, they make him to name directus *Tovus*, but *Chammath*, then *Tiberias*, then *Zephon*, and lastly, *Chasfar-banan*, a thing most unlikely: seeing we must needs expound *Her* to be one of the Hills near *Saba*, and so those Towns as they are named, to lie in order on the North-side of *Epiphania*, *Nephtalim*, and *Manasser*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*, first *Chelion*, then *Chammath*, and so to *Chasfar-banan*, *Sitram*, *Tiberias*, *Chasfar-banan*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phenicia.

SECT. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, and Founders, and the Name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

BECAUSE these five Tribes, of *Asher*, *Nephthim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasse*, possessed the better part of that ancient Kingdom of Phenicia, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I have therefore gathered a brief of those Kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so many Volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates, and Conquest of Heathen Princes have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

Plin. 4.
reb. Afr.

Plin. 4.
c. 29.

Strab. 16.
Bede de
As. l. 2.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Cosmographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of Syria, which is called *Cassotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orbistis*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus* that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orbistis*, and stretching from thence along the coast of the *Mediterranean Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorfeus*: which seems to be that which the Jews call the *Torrent*, or River of *Magedda*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppa* within it: *Cosimnus* and *Budeus*, *Joppa* and *Gaza*. *Phenicia* apud *Græcos* appellatur (saith *Budeus*) que nunc *Palestina* Syria dicitur: It was called *Phenicia* of old (saith he) which now is called *Palestina* of Syria.

Strabo comprehends in this Country of *Phenicia* all the Sea-side of *Judea*, and *Palestina*, even unto *Pelusium*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Calystrya*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldom deceived in his own art. It had in it, these famous Maritime Cities (besides all those of the Islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orbistis*, *Tripolis*, *Berytus*, *Beylus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomæus* (or *Aceus*) *Dora*, and *Casaria* *Palestina*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it antiently commanded the Trades of the Eastern World: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterranean Sea*.

The antient Regal Seat of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first Son of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that people were called *Zidonians*: the same state continuing even unto *Josias*'s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region: afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Book of *Vandalic wars*. But in process of time the City of *Tyre* adjoining, became the more magni-

ficient: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built, and peopled.

Esaj. 23.

But after the death of *Moser*, and while *Josias* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an Egyptian of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, careeneth with his Sons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cadmus* and *Carinus*) and built and possessed the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyre*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second Son) the use of Letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his Sister *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surprised *Tyre*, had taken her thence: of which the Poets devised the fable of *Jupiter's* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*: and finds *Cadmus* his Successor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses.

Hic Regina gravi gemmis auroque poscitur,
Implicitæ, nono patrem: quam *Belus* & *omnes*
A *Belus*, *soliti*.

The Queen anon commands the weighty
bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and maffe
Gold)

To flow with Wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-Father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Antecesor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter-Belus*, the Son of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Son *Thebanus*, according to *Enchiridion*: yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops*'s time, saith *St. Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenor*'s successor living at once with *Josias*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny; but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Son. But instead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the use of

of Letters (*Egypt* flourished in all kind of learning in *Moses*'s time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to have his own Territory: or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Hebrews*, who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loss and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Josias* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possess the *Canaanite* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the *Red Sea*, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male Children at the same time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerful Nations to defend it: the *Deserts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Mobites*, *Amorites*, and *Ammonites* their borders: yet *Egypt* having such Vessels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the Sea-coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare: and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistines*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoining unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was faine to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Josias*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Josias* called the strong City *Aceus*, afterward *Ptolomæus*, *Acebus*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those days.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty especially by Sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not make them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it self thirteen years against a King of Kings, *Nebuchodonosor*: for that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God (seemed unresistible) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Josaphat*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the Son of *Japhet*. And for the Region it self, though *Calistobene* derive it, ab arbore *castylorum*; and the *Grecs* from the word *Phœnix*, of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts: yet for my self, I take it that *Phœnix* the Son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his Son in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterward professed, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himself was instructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and superiour *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Divinity and Philosophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all: neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his Sons were *Africans*: whence *Linus*,

Lucan. 1.

3.

Phœnices primi (fameis creditur) aspi,
Mænians arduis vocem signare figuris.

Phœnicians first (if time may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*: when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a *Phœnician*.

Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum? nam Cadmus Athen. 1.
est ipse Disput.
Phœnix: cui debet Græcia dolla libros.

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was he: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned men.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very antient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josaphat* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Therians* again subscribe to none of these reports: but affirm constantly, that the great *Zoroaster* flourished among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Oebus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French do not blithly to maintain, that the antient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardos* and *Druides* are as antient as those *Gauls*, and that they lent their Sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning?

Lastly, whereas others below this invention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all: for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourish'd most, both in *Egypt* and *Affrica*, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the general Flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the others: as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Books after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, antiently used by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans*, a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutcheons, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations: *Jura naturalia communia*, *Imperialia*, &c. *Natural Laws* are common, and general.

SECT. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUT whatsoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the Books of *Zeno*, *Sachmetius*, *Masius*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josaphat*, and *Theophilus Antiochensis*.

Agenor lived at once with *Josias*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear: but as such time as the *Grecians* belieged *Tyre*, *Phœnix* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Jerome* time, and while *Josaphat* reigned in *Judea*, the *Tyrans* had a King apart: for *Jerome* speaketh

of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of several Kings.

In Xerxes time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded Greece, *Tartan-nius* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about Tyre and Zidon: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, Xerxes's fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300 Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the Persians: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Jerusalem* time, they were subjected by *Nebuchodonosor* of whose conquests in the Chapter before mentioned, *Jerome* hath prophesied.

Tenax, though not immediately, succeeded *Tartan-nius*, remembered by *D. Soterus* in his fourteenth *Book*.

Serata, his successor, and King of Zidon, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Perus*, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Greeks*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tenax* and *Serata*. For there were confuted 130 years and some what more, between Xerxes and *Alexander Macedon*. And this Man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith *Cæsar*) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his Subjects (who forsook their utter need by reliance) than that he had any disposition thereto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Lit. 4.

Abes. l. 12. c. 13.

Hieron. l. 1. c. 3. v. 10.

Of this *Serata*, *Abelanus*, out of *Thompson* reporteth, that he was a Man of ill living, and most voluptuous: also that he appointed certain Games and Divertor Women-Dancers, and Singers, who he to this end chiefly invited, and attended: that having beheld the most beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Serata* King of that coast, *St. Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the Persians were near him with an Army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians, he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution, his Wife being present, wrested the Sword out of his hand, and flew him: which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After *Alexander* was possessor of Zidon, and the other *Stream* driven thence he gave the Kingdom to *Hephæstion* to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompense him therewith: and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen, no less valiant than rich, desired *Hephæstion* that this honour might be conferred on someone of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and preferred unto him *Edomianus*, whom *Cæsar* calls *Abdaminus*, *Jurine*, *Abdaminus*, and *Platarch*, *Alynnus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Estate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, setting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance: though otherwise a wife Man, and excelling just.

There were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whose estate being afterwards changed into Populæ or Aristocracies, and by times and years subjected to the Emperors of the East, there remained no further memory of them, than that which is tornally delivered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings set Tyre: who they were before *Sammels* time, it doth not appear: *Josaphat* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his

Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of *Josaphat* and *Theophilus Autiochensis*, there may be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*, but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesus*, do in no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars. *Abibulus* is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Josaphat* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abonulus*: the same perchance that the Son of *Sorab* mentioned in his forty and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibulus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibulus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Euphronius*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psal.* 137.

Cap. 46.

Psal. 137.

Psal. 137.

Psal. 137.

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josaphat* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hirmonius*, sometimes *Hieromus*, but *Laticus* and *Zonarus*, *Chiram*. He entered into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Malons and Carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Jerusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebusites*. The *Leve* was he that so greatly afflicted *Solomon*: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great sums of Money, but also he joined with him in his conquests of the East Indies, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with Marbles and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 Talents of Gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Josaphat* in his Antiquities, and in *2 Sam.* 8. c. 18. in *Theophilus* his third book, c. 1. *Plinius* in his *Oratio* against the *Greeks*: and in *Zonarus*. Tome the first. This Prince seemeth to be a very mighty and magnificent, he depopled the twenty Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he depopled himself against that victorious King *David*: and gave his Daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called *Zebedee*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Astarte*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53 years.

Balestarius, whom *Thop.* *Antiochensis* calleth *Bazarmus*, succeeded *Hiram* King of Tyre and Zidon, and reigned 16 years, according to *Josaphat*.

2 Sam. 8.

2 Sam. 8.

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2 Sam. 8.

Abdasturus the eldest Son of *Balestarius*, governed nine years, and lived but twenty years, according to *Josaphat*: but after *Theophilus*, he reigned twelve years, and lived 54 who being slain by the four Sons of his own Nurse, the eldest of them held the Kingdom twelve years.

Arturus Brother to *Abdasturus*, recovered the Kingdom from this usurper, and reigned twelve years.

Artimus, or *Abartimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third Brother, followed *Arturus*, and ruled nine years and lived in all fifty four.

Phelet the fourth Son of *Balestarius*, and Brother to the three former Kings, slew *Artimus*, and reigned eight Months, and lived fifty years.

Abobalus (or *Josabobalus*, in *Theophilus*) Son to the third Brother *Artimus*, who was the chief Priest of the *Cothels Astarte*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his Father and slaughtered his Uncle *Phelet*: and reigned thirty two years: the time which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Eubasan*, whose Daughter *Jezebel* *Abas* married.

Bazzer, or *Bazzer*, the Son of *Abobalus*, or *Eubasan*, Brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his Father and reigned six years, and lived in all forty five.

Matimus succeeded *Bazzer*, and reigned but nine years (saith *Josaphat*) he had two Sons, *Pyzgemon*

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lion, and *Berez*, and two Daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Pyzgemon reigned after *Matimus* his Father forty Years, and lived fifty six. In the seventh Year of whose reign, *Elisa* failed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143 Years and eight Months after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our account was 289 Years after *Iroy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pyzgemon* covetous of *Sidon* his sister, who had married his Sister *Elisa*, slew him traitorously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe *Josaphat* and *Virgil*: at the Altar, wherupon *Pyzgemon* was to be disposed of: her Husband *Treasure*, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pyzgemon* prepared to pursue, he was by his Mothers tears, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Berez* accompanied his Sister, and assisted her in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Berez* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captains, and the great *Annibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Phœnix*, because of her man-like acts: other from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*.

Josaph. l. 1.

Virgil. l. 1.

Eldem succeeded *Pyzgemon*, and reigned thirty six Years: the time that overthrew the Fleet of *Salmassar*, in the Port of Tyre: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the Land side five Years, but in vain.

After *Eldem*, *Eubabulus* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaulted himself to be as wife as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Eusebius*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his twenty eighth Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nebuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted Tyre thirteen Years together, ere he prevailed.

But followed *Eubabulus*, and reigned ten Years tributary, perchance, to *Nebuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, succeeding each other: First by *Eenabulus*, then by *Chelbi*, *Abarn* the Priest, *Mitonus*, and *Georgius*, who held it among them some eleven Years, and odd Months: after whom *Balaturus* commanded therein as a King for one Year: after him *Mibalus* sent from *Babylon*, four Years: after him *Irom*, sent thence also, twenty Years. In the fiftieth of whose reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Persia*.

SECT. III.

Of *Babus* his conceit, that the *Edomians* inhabiting along by the Red Sea, were the Predecessors of the *Tyrians*, and that the *Tyrians* from them received and brought into *Phœnicia* the knowledge of the true God.

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of divers other Nations, there is one *Babus* that hath writtens a Treatise against the *Dei veris Gentium*. And although the large and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under Heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable and the same for ever: yet whereas the said *Babus*, enforcing hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion: to prove this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to have

been *Edomians*, descended from *Elsan*, *Jacob* Brother: this, it can hardly be believed, that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end (besides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hierons* good affection, when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments: whereto the fittonest of their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Elsan* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edomians*, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authorities. For *Sirabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others, witness, that the *Tyrians* came from the Red Sea in which there were three Islands, called *Tyre*, *Arad*, and *Zidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) under the *Edomians*: as *Elis* and *Esfungab* were under the *Amalekites* who descended of *Amalek* the Nephew of *Elsan*, whose chief City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the Son of *Abraham* by *Cathura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the Children of *Israel*. *Hieronymus* adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into Greece the worship of *Astarte*, the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherocles* being *Phœnicians*, the themselves did much to their Philosophy from the Idolatrous customs of the *Greeks*. That in *Tonua*, a Town of the *Edomians*, was a University, whereto, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Tennitic*, who disputed with *Job*, Religion was inaccurately taught.

Such is the discourse of *Babus*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* of authors, defects in both very little credit. For, neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edomians*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edomians* at all. In what Religion *Elsan* brought up his Children, it is no where found writtens: but that himself was a profane Man, and disapproved by God, the Scriptures in plain terms express. That his Posterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the twenty fifth Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the House of *Israel*, live only when *David* and some of his race, Kings of *Judah*, held them in subjection, who knowest? or who is ignorant of *David* his unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when last they were subdued? surely, it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance between Tyre and Mount *Sin*, that *Hiram* held such good concordance with *David*, even then when *Job* slew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the *Edomites* were so ill treated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom of *Eliphas* the *Tennitic* was then forgotten, and the *Edomians* punished, for being such as *David* in his own days found them. Although indeed the City of *Tonua* whence *Eliphas* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edomes*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Gallilee*, and adjoining to *Hur*, the country of *Job*: and to *Sueb* the City of *Bildad* the *Sabite* as both such *Chorographers* who befit ken those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy Text maketh manifest. For *Job* is said to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wisdom all the People of the East: not the Inhabitants of Mount *Sin*, which lay due

Dee. de
p. 1. c. 7.

due South from *P'elima*. True it is, that *Elphaz*, the Son of *Efa* had a Son called *Teman*; but that Fathers were wont in those days to take name of their Sons, Ino where hind. And *Ismael* also had a Son called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the seventh Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Ismaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst give battle to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 60000 able men, will hardly believe that such a people were descended from one of *Efa*'s grand-children. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all *Edom* have been: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adjoining could not have held them. But we no where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or assisted the *Amalekites*, when *Sad* went to root them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it self, if distinct from the *Ismaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being Son to *Abraham* by *Ceturah*, doubtless was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seignior* of the Red Sea coast, which *Bozias* imagines the *Phoenicians* to have held: it the *Edomites* in after-times held some places, as *Elan* and *Esfongabar* on the Red Sea shore; yet in *Mose*'s time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Mose* himself saith, that *Israel* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* lived. *Mose* must needs have known it: because he had journeyed long in that Country; and there had left his Wife and Children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable soever, are needless in so manifest a case. For in the 83 *Psalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrans* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozias* himself confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen. 10. 15*, and *19*, appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their Lands given to the Children of *Assur*, *Jof. 29*, because they were Idolaters, and of the cursed Seed of *Canaan*, not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same faith. For though *Hiram* said *Isidore* be God that hath sent King *David* a wife Son: we cannot infer that he was of *David*'s Religion. The *Turks* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sidonians* then worshipped *Astarte* and drew *Solomon* also to their Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great provision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which which *Tubus* was, and yet is over petted, being otherwise apt to yield Silks: as the *Audians* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities. For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Solomon*. All Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wisest, who having got the Gold first, gave to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrans* was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy which enforced *Tyrans* to hold league with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Moba*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Amorites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to the *Euphrates*: through which Countries the *Tyrans* were wont to carry and recarry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the Red Sea, and back again

to *Tyrus*: so that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off their Trade.

But the *Ismaelites* were no Sea-men, therefore glad to share with the *Tyrans* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns which his Father had taken from the *Philistines*, might have greatly distressed the *Tyrans*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant, as a Man of peace, to employ his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of piety in the *Tyrans*: so those other proofs which *Bozias* frames negatively upon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no Man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours: which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his house obtained; but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Tholer* and *Phereides* are but single examples: Every salvage Nation hath some wisdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these Men express any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Tholer* being *Tyrans*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrans* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Vicia*, *Lepis*, *Cadix*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrans* (of which, I think, the *Ilands* before mentioned in the Red Sea to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrans* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Solomon*'s time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozias*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancy he is so preposterous, that he filleth Men of contrary opinion. *Imperio Politico*, as if it were impious to think, that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless, this doctrine of *Bozias* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apollate*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Affians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those Nations of the Gentile, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the foul Idolatry, which grew in *Rome* as tall as *Rome* it self grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great Battles did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new God, or some new honour to one of their old Gods? Yea, what one Nation, save only that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Only the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* Majesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen Writers set against the Christians in the *Primitive Church*? That such Idolatry had caused the City of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations

nations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a sign or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozias*, writing against those whom he fallily terms impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indifference is usually found among Men of his humours: who having once either foolishly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly fathomed in their own brains any strange *Chimeras* of

Divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transported with the like impetuous ignorance. Great pity it is, that such mad Dogs are oftentimes encouraged by their, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a Man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious virtue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

SECT. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

HAVING now past over *Phoenicia* we come to the next Territory adjoining, which is that of *Ephraim*: sometimes taken per excellentiam, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second Son of *Joseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000, all which dying in the *Deserts*, (*Isaiah* excepted) there entered the Holy Land of their Children grown to be able Men, 32500 who fate down on the West side of *Jordan*: between *Manasse* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South: as *Jordan* on the Mediterranean Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria* the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Anur* or *Homri* King thereof and seated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Schelex*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Caesar*. This City is often remembered in the Scriptures: and magnificence it was in the first building; for as *Brocard* observeth, the ruins which yet remain, and which *Brocard* found greater than those of *Jerusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great force of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewn and carved stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the Sons of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first Herod the Son of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Schelex*. Herein were the Prophets *Hilfies* and *Abdias* buried: and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monks.

Near *Samaria*, towards the South, is the hill of *Beisel*, and a Town of that name: on the top of which Mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Ismaelites*.

In light of this Mountain of *Beisel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelusa*, and *Napajafa*: It was destroyed by *Simon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their Sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec*

evened with the Soil. *Jeroboam* raised it up again: and the *Damascenes* a third time cut it down.

Upon *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pharathon*, on the Mountain *Amalec*, the City of *Jedai*, *Abdon* Judge of *Israel*. And under it *Beithoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the Daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City *Judas Machabeus* overthrew *Saron* and *Lyfias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Between *Beithoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Jof. 10*, and *Saron*, whose King was slain by *Jofias*: it is also mentioned *Abd. 9. 35*, and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cesarea Palestina*, extendeth it self along the coast as far as *Joppe*, saith *Adrichom*: though indeed the name *Saron* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region: for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, between *Cesarea* and *Joppe*; but that also between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Gallilee*: for so *St. Jeron* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esaie*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdias*, read *Saron* for *Affaron*: understanding thereby a Plain near *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judea*, the fifth in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where *St. Peter* (*nomen*, *sed Christi virtute*) cured *Aeneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Antipatania* to *Joppe*, *Saron*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, whose Ravens and spoils of all Estates, disturbers of Common-wealths, usurpers of other Princes Kingdoms: who with no other respect led, than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole World: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most savage and barbarous Nations.

In *Diospolis* (saith *William* of *Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Justinian* the Emperor caused a fair Church to be built over his Tomb; where *Ephraim*'s words: *Re-lilla d'acris loci maritima Antipatride*, & *Joppe*, *pelate patetum planitum Elubarian perianthante*, *Lid. 1. 3. dam, que est Diospolis, ubi et egregii Maritimi Georgii*

Sichem, *Zoh. 4. 5.*
Mahur, *tham*, *Jof. 1. ant. 1.*

Abd. 6.
Luk. 23.
Niger, *com*
Abd. 14.
Abd. 14.

Of this see more *St. George* *Abd. 14.*
Book ch. 7.
Abd. 14.
Abd. 14.

relinquendo Sepulchrum obdolum, porrocorum, quæ
Eodem quædam ad hanc quædam Moxie, pium & ar-
dentem Principem Romanorum. Augustus Iulianum multo
fuerit & deinde pempta, adfectori preceptor, &c.
The living life (faith he) on the right hand, the Sea
Theris, Antipatris and Joyce, pitting over the great open
Flainet, Lucheria, came to Lidda, which is Diopolis:
above the Lucheria Tomb of the famous Martyr St. George
it is said is buried: whose Church, when the gully and
Orthodox Prince of the Common, High and mighty Iulianus,
had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and pre-
sent devotion, &c. This in Ierusalem by whose testi-
mony we may conjecture that this S. George was not
that Arrian Bishop of Alexandria; but rather some
better Christian: for this S. Alexandria was slain there
in an uproar of the people, and his ashes came into the
Sea, as dominicus Macchabæus reports. And yet also
it may be, that this Georgius was a better Christian
than he is commonly thought to: for his words of the
Temple of Genus, How long shall this Sepulchre stand?
tupples the uprose of the people against him: as
fearing lest he would give attempt to overthrow that
beautiful Temple. This also Macchabæus reports
who though he say that this Georgius was also dead
handed of the Christians, who life might have reduced
him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of
two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest it
their Reliques had been gathered up, Churches should
be built from them, as for others. But for my part, I
rather think that it was not Georgius, whose name
lives in the right honourable order of our Knights of
the Garter, but rather another, whom Irenæus
avowed wineth to have been buried at Lidda or Dis-
polis. The same also is confirmed by Vitruvius, S. Jeron
affirms that it was sometime called Tigris, and while
the Christians inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop
Suffragan.

Near to Lidda or Diopolis standeth Ramatha of the
Levites, or Amaleth: afterward Rama, and Rama-
da, the native City of Joseph, which buried the body
of Christ. There are many places which bear this
name of Rama; one they set in the Tribe of Juda
near Uzer in the way of Hebron; another in Sephora-
tim, not far from Sephor; a third in Zebulun, which
they say, adjoined to Sephoris; a fourth, which they
make the same with Silo; and a fifth, which they
Rama, in the Hills of Ephraim, called Rama-Sephim,
1 Sam. 25. where Sammel lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North along the coast are He-
lon, or Asalon of the Levites, of which 1 Chron. 6. A-
polonia, of which Josephus in his Antiquities, and in
the Wars of the Jews. Also Balsatha for which Ju-
dith, 2 Reg. 4. 42. reads plantier Shalite; they place
hereabout in this Tribe of Ephraim; but Irenæus
upon 1 Sam. 6. where we read of the Land of Balsatha,
findeth it in Benjamin.

On the other side of the Mountains of Ephraim
standeth Gofat, one of the Toparchies, or Cities of
government, the second in dignity, of which the
Country about it taketh name.

Then Thannath-Garab, or according to the Hebrews,
Thinnath-Sarab: one also of the ten Toparchies, or
Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which
the Country about it taketh name.

Then Thannath-Sarab, or according to the Hebrews,
Thinnath-Sarab: one also of the ten Toparchies, or
Profectores of Judea, which they call Thinnathia, a
greatly City, and strong, situated on one of the high
Hills of Ephraim on the North of the Hill called
Gias; which City and Territory Iffad gave unto
their Leader Phisari; who also amplified it with
buildings, near which he was buried. His Sepulchre
was therein, repaired in S. Jeron's time, and over it the San-
c-

graven, in memory of that great of wonders, which
God wrought in Joshua's time.

In the places adjoining standeth Alifsa, or Alifsa,
where Judas Machabæus with three thousand Jews
overthrew the Army of Nicæus, Lieutenant of
Syria; near to Gofat, or Gezor, which Joshua took,
and hung their King; a City of the Levites. It was
afterward taken by Pharaoh of Egypt; the people all
flam, and the City razed; Solomon rebuilt it.

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of Ju-
fa, of which Jos. 16. 3. otherwise Pethai, whence
David had part of his Pretorian Soldiers, under the
charge of Benai. Then that high and famous Mount
of Sion, and City of Silo, whereto the Ark of God was
hept for many years, till the Philistines got it.

To this they join the City of Mubon, or Miclon;
in which Jonathan Machabæus inhabited, a place of
common way from Samaria towards Jerusalem: and
is now called Byra.

Then the Village of Niab where Sammel proph-
etized; and near it Ephron, one of those Cities which
Abijah recovered from Jerobam; after the great over-
throw given him. Then Kimbafim, of the Levites,
of which Jos. 21. 22. which Irenæus thinks to be the
same with Jerobam, of which 1 Chron. 6. 28. Asior
Abilam Basifor, which they find hereabout, Ju-
dith reads it, in the Plain of Chazor; and finds it
in the Tribe of Juda; as Jos. 15. we read of two
Cities in that Tribe; one near Kedib, Jos. 23. and
the other the same as Chazor, Jos. 25.

In this Tribe also they find the City of Millo, whose
Citizens, they say, joined with the Schemites in mak-
ing the Bastard Abimelech King: adding that for the
building thereof with other Cities, Solomon raised a
Tribute upon the people. But it seems that * Millo, or
Millo is a common name of a strong Fort or Citadel:
and to Irenæus, for domus Millo, reads in Latin, munition,
and for Salomo edificavit Millo, herads edificavit mu-
nitionem, and for the Septuagint read it τὴν ἀσπίδα in
that place. And without doubt the Millo which So-
lomon built, cannot be that of Sichen, but another in
Jerusalem.

The other Cities of mark in Ephraim, are Tapher-
ach, whose King was slain by Joshua's and Judas
or Jacob, spoiled by Teglatphalassar; Pothah, their
governing Israel, with divers others, but of no great
fame. The Mountains of Ephraim sometime signify
the greatest part of the Land of the Sons of Joseph,
on the West of Jordan: several parts wherof are the Hill
of Samon, or Samaria, 1 Reg. 16. 24. * the Hill of
Gabat, Judg. 2. 9. the Hill of Talmor, or Salomon,
Judg. 9. 48. The Hills of the Region of Tiphor, or
Tiphim, Judg. 9. 5. where Rama-Tiphim stood,
which was the City of Samel.

The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon the sides of
the Mountains, was the occasion that Jacob in the
spirit of prophecy Gen. 49. 22. compared Joseph's two
branches, Ephraim and Manasse, to the branches of a
fruitful Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading
his Daughter branches along the Wall: which Al-
legory also Ezek. 22. in his Lamentation for Ephraim
(that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was E-
phraim) prophesies: as also in his Lamentation for
Juda, he followeth the other Allegory of Jacob, Gen.
49. 9. comparing Juda to a Lion. Upon the top of
one of the highest of these Hills of Ephraim, which
overlooketh all the Plains on both sides of Jordan,
they find the Castle called Dak; which they make to
be the same with Dagon, of which Jos. 1. 1. Jos.
Judg. 2. in which Castle, as Jos. 15. Pithon
most traitorously at a banquet, slew Simon Macha-
beus his father-in-law.

Among

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they
name Gas, remembered in 2 Sam. 23. 30. where
though Irenæus reads, Hiddai ex uia vallium Gabati;
yet the Vulgar and Patabar read Giddai, of the Ri-
ver of Gas. Also in this Tribe they place the Ri-
ver of Carith, by which the Prophet Elias abode dur-
ing the great drought: where he was * fed with the
Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he
travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards
Sion: where he was relieved by the poor widow of
Zarepta, whose dead he revived, and increased her
pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby the sustained
her life.

SECT. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jerobam
to Achab.

OF the first Kings of Israel I omit in this place to
speak, and referre it to the Catalogue of the
Kings of Juda: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes,
but briefly, beginning after the division from Juda
and Benjamin, now it followeth to speak. The first
of these Kings Jerobam, as far as much as be-
longed to the charge of the Tribes of Ephraim and
Manasse: and so many of them as wrought in these
works. During which time, as he went to Jerusa-
lem, he encountered the Prophet Abijah: who made
him know that he was by God destined to be King
of Israel, and to command ten of the twelve Tribes.
After this, fearing that those things might come to
Solomon's knowledge, he fled into Egypt to Shiphak,
whom Ephraim calleth Ophobor, whose Daughter
he married: the Predecessor of which Shiphak (if
not the same) did likewise entertain Adad the E-
dumean, when he was carried young into Egypt from
the fury of David, and his Captain Judah, which Ad-
ad the King of Egypt married to his Wives sister
Tapher; using both him and Jerobam as instruments
to shake the Kingdom of Judea, that himself might
the easier spoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of
Jerobam, called Jerobam's City of Jerusalem, and
carried thence the treasure of David and Solomon,
and all the spoils which David took from Adadzeor of
Soba, with the presents of Tobu, King of Hamath,
which were of an ineffable value.

This Jerobam after the death of Solomon became
Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were per-
mitted by God to govern the Israelites, and from a
mean man exalted to that State: yet perverting the
policies of the World before the Service and Honour
of God (as tending that if the Tribes under his rule
should repair to Jerusalem to do their usual Sacrifices,
they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erect-
ed two golden Calves, one in Dan, and another in
Bethel, for the people to worship (an imitation of
the Egyptian Apis, faith Saint Ambrose, or rather of
Aron's Calf in Horeb) further he made election of
his Priests out of the basest and unlearned people.
He deplored the warning of the Judean Prophet,
whom Josephus calleth Adas, and Glycas Jud: his
hand thereafter withered, and was again re-
covered; but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened, upon
occasion that the Prophet returning, was slain by a
Lyon; Abijah makes him know that God purposed
to root out his posterity.

He was afterward overthrown by Abis King of
Juda, and died after he had governed two and twen-
ty years: whom Nadab his son succeeded: who in
the second year of his reign, together with all the
race of Jerobam, was slain, and rooted out by Basia,
who reigned in his stead: so Nadab lived King but
two years.

Basia the son of Abijah, the third King after the
partition, made War with Asa King of Juda: he
fought himself in Thersa; and fortified Rama against
Juda, to refrain their excursions. Hereupon Asa
entreated Benbadad of Damascus against him, who
invaded Nephthaim, and destroyed many places there-
in: the mean while Asa carried away the materials,
with which Basia intended to fortify Rama: but
being an Idolater, he was threatened by John the Pro-
phet, that it should befall his race, as it did to Jeroboam:
which afterward came to pass: He ruled four
and twenty years, and died.

To Basia succeeded Elia his son, who at a feast at
his Palace of Thersa, was in his cups slain by Zambris,
after he had reigned two years: and in him the pro-
phesie of John was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded Elia, and assumed the name of
a King seven days; but Amris in revenge of the
Kings murder, fell upon Zambris, or Zimri, and in-
closed him in Thersa, and forced him to burn him-
self.

Amris or Homri succeeded Elia, and transferred the
Regal feat from Thersa to Samaria: which he
bought of Shemo, built, and fortified it. This Am-
ris was also an Idolater no less impious than the rest:
the father of Benbadad, according to Eusebius, Ni-
phor, and Zonaras: but how this should stand, I do
not well conceive: seeing Benbadad the son of Ta-
bremmon was invited by Asa King of Juda, to assist
Basia King of Israel, the father of Elia, who fore-
went Amris. This Amris reigned twelve years, six
in Thersa, and six in Samaria, and left two children,
Achab and Athalia.

SECT. III.

Of Achab and his Successors, with the captivity
of the ten Tribes.

Achab, or Achab succeeded Omri, who not only
upheld the Idolatry of Jerobam, borrowed of
the Egyptians: but he married Jezabel the Zidonian:
and as Jerobam followed the Religion of his Egypti-
an Wife: so Achab of his Zidonian: and erected an
Altar and a Grove to Baal in Samaria. He suffered
Jezabel to kill the Prophets of the most high God,
God fed famine on the land of Israel. Achab met
Elias: Elias prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and
killed the false Prophets: and afterward suffered for
the sake of Jezabel.

Benbadad not long after besieged Samaria: and
taken by Achab, was by him let at liberty: for which,
the Prophet (whom Glycas calleth Michas) re-
proveth him: afterward he caused Naboth by a false
accusation to be stoned. Then joining with Jafa-
phat in the War for the recovery of Ramoth, he was
slain, as Michas had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the Scripture, Ochobias,
Joram, and Joz: besides seventy other sons by sin-
dry Wives and Concubines.

Ochobias succeeded his father Achab, The Moabites Plaga,
fell from his obedience: he trusted himself by a fall: faith Irenæus
and sent for counsel to Belzeazar the god of Asherah,
Eliab 2 Kings 12.

Eliab the Prophet meeteth the Messenger on the way: and miffiking that *Obozias* fought help from that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel*? *Obozias* lendeth two Captains, and with each 50 Soldiers, to bring *Eliab* unto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captain befought mercy at *Eliab's* hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to pass in the second year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of *Obozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: He called *Jasaphas* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moshites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000 sheep. The three Kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the Deserts. The Prophet *Eliha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moshites* are overthrown: their King flith to *Kisbassab*, and being besieged, according to some Expollitors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, wherat the three Kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Mosh*, walling and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the Text to speak of the son of the King of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moshites*, and that the King of *Mosh* threw him over the walls, threatening, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in Sacrifice to his Gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* befought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other Kings refused to yield unto, and that the Assaults might diminish it, the King of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsook the party of the other Kings, for want of whole alliance the siege was broken up.

After this the King of *Arum* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Namaan* the Captain of his Army of the Leprosy. The answer of *Joram* was, *Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he dare send to heal a man of his Leprosy?* adding, that the *Aramites* fought but matter of quarrel against him. *Eliha* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Namaan* to him: promising that he should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*: and so *Namaan* was healed by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*.

Eliha refused the gifts of *Namaan*: but his servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the Sellers of spiritual gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*. Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damascus*, having heard that this Prophet did discover to the King of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramites* conspired in his secret counsel, sent a Troop of Horse to take *Eliha*: all whom *Eliha* struck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*: *Joram* then asked leave of the Prophet to lay them, *Eliha* forbade him to harm them: but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince in safety.

The King of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. *Joram* imputed the cause thereof to the Prophet *Eliha*, *Eliha* by prayer caused a voice of Chariots and Armour to sound in the Air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the fame is written in the second of Kings. After this, when *Azad* obtained the Kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Joram* entering upon his frontier, took *Ramoth-Gilead*: in which War he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whilst he lay there, *Jehu* (who com-

manding the Army of *Jordan* in *Gilead*, was anointed King, by one of the children of the Prophets, sent by *Eliha*) surprized and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, defroyed not only the race of his Fore-goes, but also their Religion: for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jehoram*, *1-45. 26.* in he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which War he was slain, with *Cedonius*: wherout the Scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28 years.

Josabaz, or *Jehosabaz* the son of *Jehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azad* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subdued, leaving him only 50 Horse, 20 Chariots, and 10000 Foot: and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust: beaten into powder. *Josabaz* reigned 17 years.

After *Josabaz*, *Jos* his son governed *Israel*, who when he repaired to *Eliha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his brow, and bid him open the window Weitiward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows: who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had so many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with *Jos*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from *Benhadad* the son of *Azad*, which his Father *Josabaz* had lost. He also overthrew *Azazias* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the War, whereupon he entered *Jerusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Jos* reigned sixteen years and died: in whose time also the Prophet *Eliha* exchanged this life for a better.

Jerobam the third from *Jehu*, followed *Jos* his Father, an Idolater, as his predecessors: but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath*, which is near *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty years.

Zacharias the fifth and last of the House of *Jehu*, slain by *Shallum* his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six Months. *Shallum* held the Kingdom but one Month, being slaughtered by *Menabem* of the *Gadites*.

Menabem, who took revenge of *Shallum*, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him: *1-45. 16. 17.* ridding the Bellies of those that were with Child. This *Menabem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of Silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every Man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menabem* governed twenty years.

Pekahias, or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaceia*, succeeded, and after he had ruled two years, he was slain by *Phaceia*, or *Pekab* the Commander of his Army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekab's* time, *Phul*, or *Tiglat-Phalsar* invaded the Kingdom of *Israel*, and won *Ton*, *Abel-Berachiah*, *Jamach*, *Kedesh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Gad*, *Issachar*, carrying them captives into *Affria*: he was drawn in by *Azaz* King of *Judea*, against *Pekab* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Azaz* being waded by *Pekab* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and there-

with, ingaged the *Affrian*, who had suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inviting of the great *Affrian*, was the utter ruin of both States, of *Israel*, and of *Judea*. *Pekab* reigned twenty Years.

Then *Hofea*, or *Ofa*, who slew *Pekab*, became the vassal of *Salmassars*, but hoping to shake off the *Affrian* yoke, he sought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sobus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Affrian*, he call him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and matted it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Nineve* in *Affria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eastern Regions, and there dispersed them: and re-planted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthes*, (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a City in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanai* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sopharajim* (a people of *Sophar* in *Mesopotamia*) also with those of *Aza*, which were of the ancient *Assirs*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistines* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Catharims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the Desert, called *Hamei*, willing to return to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chathab*, or *Hamea*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassals of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, which lo often afflicted them. And thus did this *Affrian* advise himself better than the *Romans* did. For after *Tam* and *Isophad* had wasted the Cities of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their

own thin Garrisons, which soon decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabs* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displacement, happened in the year of the World, 3292 the sixth year of *Ezekiab* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hofea* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1. <i>Jerobam</i>	(22 Years.
2. <i>Nadab</i>	2 Years.
3. <i>Bashtas</i>	24 Years.
4. <i>Eli</i>	20 Years.
5. <i>Zambis</i>	7 Days.
6. <i>Omri</i>	11 Years.
7. <i>Azab</i>	22 Years.
8. <i>Obozias</i>	2 Years.
9. <i>Joram</i>	12 Years.
10. <i>Jehu</i>	28 Years.
11. <i>Josabaz</i>	17 Years.
12. <i>Jos</i>	16 Years.
13. <i>Jerobam</i>	41 Years.
14. <i>Zacharias</i>	6 Months.
15. <i>Shallum</i>	1 Month.
16. <i>Menabem</i>	10 Years.
17. <i>Pekab</i>	2 Years.
18. <i>Phacia</i>	20 Years.
19. <i>Hofea</i>	9 Years, about whose time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, and the other half of Manasse.

SECT. I.

Of Dan, wherof *Jappe*, *Gath*, *Accaron*, *Azotus*, and other Towns.

NOW following the coast of the *Mediterranean Sea*, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to *Ephraim*, wherof I spake last: of which Family there were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 62700 fighting Men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their Sons 66400, bearing arms. The first famous City in this Tribe on the Sea-coast was *Jappe*, or *Joppa*, as in the 19 of *Josua*: one of the most ancient of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Jerusalem*. From hence *Joram* embarked himself when he fled from the service of God towards *Tharbis* in *Gilead*. In the time of the *Mechabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas* *Mechabees* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garrison'd in *Jappe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 260 principal Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape, to the Sword.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Cyprian* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ, 1250 *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Walls and Towers: It is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monster, by *Perseus*. This fable (for I take it) confirmed by *Jesephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus* *L. 4. 3. 12.* *Scamur* during his office of *Archbishop*, shewed the *Andromeda* this Monster to the People of *Rome*. *S. Jeron.* *lib. 1. 5. cap. 9.* upon *Jonas* speaks of it indifferently.

The next unto *Jappe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas* *Mechabees* burnt the rest of the *Syrian* Fleet: the fire and flame wherof was seen at *Jerusalem*, 240 furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishop's seat, faith *Will.* of *Tyre*: but there is no sign of it at this time, that such a place there was.

After *Jamnia* is the City of *Geth*, or *Gath*, sometime *Anthon*, faith *Volaterran*, and *Jo* *Montanus* seems to understrand it. For he sets it next to *Egypt*. *F. 115.*

of all the Philistin Cities, and in the place of *Antidon*. But *Volaterran* gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Psalm* sets *Antidon* far to the South of *Joppa*: and *Geth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philistines*: and about sixteen miles from *Joppa*: where *St. Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the habitation and Seminary of the *Anaksims*, strong and Giant-like Men, whom *Jofas* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him, nor any of the *Israhelites*. *David* time: who drove *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others not much inferior in strength and stature unto *Goliath*.

Robam the Son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the Son of *Azaziel* destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by *Azaziel* King of *Syria*. Fully the fourth King of *Jerusalem*, built a Cattle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Wif*, of *Tyre* in the Holy War calls *Isidun*, I much doubt: the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Antidon*.

Not far from *Geth* or *Gath* standeth *Bethfomez*, or the House of the Sun. In the Fields adjoining to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a voice of two Kings, turned loose by the *Philistines*: and the *Bethfomer* presuming to look therein, there were slain of the Elders 70 and of the people 50 thousand, by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great *A-bet*, faith *St. Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* finds three other Cities of this name: one in * *Nephthali*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Issachar*. *Hierome* finds a fifth in *Benjamin*.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong City of *Acaron* offereth it self, sometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philistines*. *St. Hierome* makes it the same with *Cefaria Palastina*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it self against the *Danites* and *Idumeans*. It worshipped *Bel-zebub*, the God of Hornets or Flies. To which Idol was that *Abimelech* King of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Elisab* meeting by the way, caused them to return with a powerful answer to their Master. This City is mentioned in many places of Scripture.

Corinthian Scholts place *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Acaron* or *Ekeon*. This *Azotus* or *Afod*, was also an habitation of the *Anaksims*, whom *Jofas* & *David* destroyed, though he once possessed their City. Heron flood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the Idol *Dagon*: the same Idol which fell twice to the ground of it self, after the Ark of God was by the *Philistines* carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it was that famous * *Judas Macchabeus* slain by *Bacchides* and *Antiochus*, the Lieutenants of *Dometrian*. Afterward it was taken by *Timotheus*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the Sword, all that fell into to the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idols therein consumed with Fire: next which also he overthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinus the Roman rebuilt it. It had a Bishops Seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *St. Hierome* time it was yet a fair Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountain of *Ashphoth*, wherein *Philip* the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are *Ticath*, *Samaria*, and *Ephraim*, and between them *Cafar Dan* near *Habonim*: though this place where *Samson* was born, may seem by the words, *Judas*,

18. 12. to be in the Tribe of *Judah*, as the other also were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*. After these within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*, or *Asotus* 1. *Mos*. 15. *Gedron*, which *Condeus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the Jews, and near which, himself was by the *Macchabees* overthrown.

Then *Medin* the Native City of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that height, as they served for a mark to Sea-Men, remained many hundreds of years after their burial setting up, as *Boschard* and *Broderick* write of it.

There are besides these the City of *Carithiarum*, that is, the City of the woods: & rated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained 20 years in the House of *Amindado*: till such time as *David* carried it thence to *Jerusalem*. Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the Son of *Berachias*, or *Johannas*, who was slain between the Temple and the Altar: also *Urias*, whom *Josiah* King of *Jerusalem* slaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe rather, as I take it, upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Cafin* taken with great slaughter by *Judas Macchabeus*: and *Lebith*, whose King was slain by *Judas*, in which also *Amziab* was slain: The same which *Senacherib* took, *Ezekias* reigning in *Juda*.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Jofas* c. 19. from the 29. 41. where also it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore they invaded *Lebanon*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip*, the Brother of *Heraclitus*, was called *Cefaria Philippi*, as before, and made the Metropolis of *Iturea*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrarch*: but of this City see more in *Nephthali*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Northern-most rifest out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and passing by *Medin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the names of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of Vines which have no Seeds or Rosts: the Wine they yield is Red, of excellent colour, taste, and favour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, lo called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Samson* loved.

SECT. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THE Tribe of *Simon* takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second Son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as * and they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 59300 able Men, thereof all which ending their lives in the *Deserts*, there entered the Land of Promise of the issues 22200 bearing arms, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea-coast belonging to *Edom*, of which the first City adjoining to *Dan*, was *Afcalon*.

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Afcalonites*: of which *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in *Tribe* fe the History of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Cantax* King of *Afcalon* were the Sons of *Hymeneus*: and that *Afcalon* being employed by *Azaziel* King of the *Lydians*, and with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Country, built this City, and called it after his own name: The same hath *Nicolas* in his History, faith *Volaterran*.

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remembereth a Lake near *Afcalon*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Deceba*, the Goddesses of the *Syrians* having the Face of a Woman, and the Body of a Fish: who as I have said before in the story of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palatium sancta Columba Syra.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria* *Palatine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the *Philistines*. It bred many learned Men (faith *Volaterran*, as *Antiochus*, *Sofus*, *Cyzanus*, *Dorastus* the Historian, and *Antiochus*, who wrote the story of *Egyptus*).

In *Afcalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Heraclitus* born, that kicking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-Children of two years old and under to be slain. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Salandine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made War in the Holy Land, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. *Ejus murus cum Saladinis diruisset*, *Richardus Anglorum Rex inauravit*, faith *Adrichomius*.

In *David* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistines*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Afcalon* every now, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathas*: not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in *Gath*, nor publish it in the Streets of *Afcalon*: It is now called *Sealeon*. *Gabinus* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Afcalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazer*, the *Syrians*, *Azan*, of *Azan* (as they say) the Son of *Heraclitus*. Other profane Writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*, *Pompey* Melas gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the Persian: because belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the Persian tongue is as much as to say, as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistines*, and the South border of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Calab*: but the strength of the *Anaksims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, it received a Garrison for *Darius*: in despite whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long Siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desert*.

Alexander *Janeus* King of the Jews surprised it and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Asaph*, which he did thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not let up in the same place again, to wit, on the Foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat nearer the Sea-side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gave many wounds to the Jews, till it was lost by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to ride there himself and in his absence left *John* his Son and Succellor, to be Governor. In *Brochard* his time it was full a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gaza*.

At the very out-let of the River of *Esfor*, standeth *Majma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the privilege of a City was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Confiance*, after the name of the Emperours Son. But *Julian* the *Apollata* soon after favouring the *Gazans*, made it subject unto

them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

On the other side of *Esfor* standeth *Antidon*, *Jof* 15. in defaced by *Alexander* *Janeus*, restored by *Heraclitus*, and called *Agrippia*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favorite of *Augustus*.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose *Jof* 15. is known in the Scriptures by the name of * the Tower of *Egypt*, till the *Sepharim* converted it to *Tharcon*: to difference it, *Ej* 27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Tower that watcheth it. *Calis* *Phly* calls it *Rhinocura*: and *Josphus* *Rhinocura*: *Ej* 4. *Eph* 4. *Epiphanius* reports it as Tradition, that at this place the stream of the World was divided by lot between the three Sons of *Noah*.

Within the Land, and upon the River of *Esfor* they place *Gozar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Radph* and *Shur*, *Gen* 20. 1. That it was near to the Wilderness of *Beerseba*, it appears *Gen* 20. 31. and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere *Beerseba*, so *Eph* 4. *Epiphanius* reports it as Tradition, that at this place the stream of the World was divided by lot between the three Sons of *Noah*.

More within the Land was *Sicleg*, or *Yfleg*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistines* had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Esfor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next *Dabir*, sometime *Carinab-Sepher*, a City of *Jof* 15. Letters, the University, as they say, or Academy of *Yfleg*. *Old Palestine* in *St. Hierome*'s time, it seems, it had the name of *Danna*: *Jof* 15. 49. it is called *Urbs Samue*: from the name, as it seems, of some of the *Anaksims*: as *Hierome* was called *Urbs Arabi*. For even hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Ohonias*, incouraged by *Calab* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Jofas* and the Host of *Israel* were at the surprize, it appears, *Jof* 10. *Jof* 11. 39. This City *Jof* 21. 15. is named among those which out of *Simon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites*. And hence it seems they attribute it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simon*, but of less fame, as *Hajin*, of which *Jof* 15. 7. which also *Jof* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simon*, (for which *Junius* thinks *Hajin* is named *Chiron*, 6. 59. though * in the place of *Jofas*, these two are differing) also *Tholad*, fo named *1 Chron* 4. 29. for which *Jof* 19. 4. we have *Ethelad*, *Chazar-Sufa*, fo named, *Jof* 19. 5. ita which *Jof* 15. we have *Chazar-Gad*, the names agreeing in signification: for *Gad* is *Turme*, and *Sufa*, *Egyptus*.

In the same places of *Jofas* and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named, which they think to be the same with that of which *Nam* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purified the *Israhelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumaea*. For *Israel* Red not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumaea*, in the *Desert*.

The same places also name *Beerseba* in this Tribe; so called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelech*, near unto which *Hagar* wandred with her Son *Ismael*. It was also called the City of *Isaac*, because he dwelt long there. While the *Chorathim* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this

been taken at first from Nabab's, the Son of Abraham by Ketura. For Nabab's is no where understood for all Arabia Petraea (at least where it is not mis-understood) but it is that Province which neighboureth Judaea. For Phoenicia inhabited by Israel, whose people Phoenicians called Phoenicians, instead of Israelites, and all those Territories of the Casiter, Medianites, Amalekites, Ishmaelites, Edomites, or Idumeans, the Lands of Moab, Ammon, Hur, Sin, and of Og King of Basan, were parts of Arabia Petraea: though it be also true, that some part of Arabia the Desart belonged to the Amalekites, and Ishmaelites: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of Chronicles, the fifth, calls Hagarites of Hagar.

This City Petra, Scamoz befieged with the Roman Army, and hiding the place in these impregnable, was content by the perfavation of Antipater, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet Amman King of Jela (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the Arabians in the Valley called Sallinaram) was also this City. Sc. Hierime finds Ruth the Moabitess to be natural of this City. In the mean time, when the Assyrians held the Kingdom of Jerusalem, it had a Latine Bishop, having before been under the Greek Church. It is located not far from Hur, where Aaron died, and on the other side towards the North is the River Zered, or Zered, by which Mojer encamped in the 5th Station. Adrichomius describeth the Waters of Morrim, or rather Nemrim, in his Map of Reuben, not far hence, and between Zered and Arnon: and so he doth the Valley of Sare: but the waters of Nimra, or Beth-Nimra (for it seems Adrichomius writ Nemrim) refresh the plains of Moab: and the confluence of those waters of Nimra are in the Tribe of Gad. Sare also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of Arnon, and under Midian. For after Adrichomius returned from the pursuit of the Affian and Persian Princes, the King of Sodom met him in the Valley of Sare, or Sareh, which is the Kings Dale, where Absalom set up his Monument, as it is called, not far from Jerusalem. And at the same time Melchisedek King of Salem also encountered him. But Abraham coming from the North, and Melchisedek inhabiting, either near Bethsan, or otherwise Sythopolis, in the half Tribe of Manasse, or in Jerusalem (both places lying to the West of Jordan) could not encounter each other in Arabia: and therefore Sare, which was also called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

II. IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

Now because the Sea of Sodom, or the Dead Sea, is called also the Lake Asphaltitis, and the Salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of Tiberias, which was fresh Water) also the Sea of the Wilderness, or rather the Sea of the Plains, is often remembered in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the Caspian Sea, which hath no outlet, or disburthening. The length of this Lake Josephus makes a hundred eighty furlongs (which makes 22 miles and a half of ours) and about 15 in breadth, which make 180 of our miles, and somewhat more. Pliny makes it a great deal less: but those that have of late years been in this Sea, did account it (faith *Wesselingh) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length, and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, Tacitus maketh this report: *Lacus est in*

immeris ambitus, speciei maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris acutior: neque vento impellitur, neque posset aut fuit aqua volucres patitur, incertum unde superjacet aut fuita feruntur, perit, imperitque nandi pericula: attoluntur, &c. That is, it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of itself infectious, and perilous to the borders: it is neither moved nor assailed by the Wind, nor indurably fit to live in it, as wont to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, are born up by the Water, as well as the skillful, are born up by the Water. At one time of the year callest it out Bimmon: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like business.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: *The fields not far from this Lake, which were sometime fruitful, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning: of which the ruins remain, the ground looking with a sad face, at having left her fruitfulness: for whatsoever dabbeth either grain, or is fit thereon, or flowers, when they come to ripeness, bearing nothing within them, but moulder into after: Thus far Tacitus. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates, and other Apples or Oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut, have nothing but dunt within. Of the Bimmon which this Lake callest up, it was by the Greeks called *Apollinith*. Josephus deliques to be fatistied of these reports went on purpose to fetch this Lake, and cauled certain Captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskillful in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.*

II. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Country within Arnon, Reuben posselt.

OF the Kings of Moab, whose Country (within Arnon) Reuben posselt (though not taken from Moab, but from Sehon the Amorite) few are known. Junius in the 21. of Num. v. 14. nameth *Vabeh*, which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of Balac, the Son of Zippor: which Balac sent for Balaam to curse Israel. For fearing to contend with Moab by arms, by the examples of Sehon, and Og, he hoped by the help of Balaams curstings or incantments, to take from them all their strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though Balaam at the first moved by the spirit of God blest Israel, contrary to the hope and desire of Moab: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfy him, and to do him service, he advised Moab to seduce Moabitish women among the Israelites: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the Heathen, but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsel, and was slain among the rest of the Princes of Midian.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: saving that we find in the first of Chronicles, the fourth, that *Jobab* and the Men of Chozabai, and *Joab*, and *Sareph*, all being of the Issue of Moab, sometime had the Dominion in Moab: but as it is written in the same Verse, *The Moabites are as things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these Mens governments are no where extant or remaining, or as others, *hac prius fuisse*, these Families of Juda were once thus famous: but now their

their posterity choose rather to abide in Babylon, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we find Egion King of Moab, who with the help of Ammon and Amalec maltreated Israel, and commanded them eighteen years: which Egion, Ehad lived in his own house, and afterwards a 1000 of his Nation. What name the King of Moab had, unto whom David fled, fearing Saul, it doth not appear: or whether it were the same again whom Saul made War, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to Saul he received David, and relieved him: knowing that Saul sought his life.

After this, David himself entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same Kings time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of David, *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the Edomites.

The next King after Davids time of the Moabites, whose name liveth, was *Mefha*, who falling from Juda, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of David) fastened himself to the Kings of Israel, and paid tribute to Ahab, 100000 Lambs, and 200000 Rams with the Wool: who revolting again from Israel after the death of Ahab, was invaded by Jebooram, with whom joined the Kings of Juda and Idumea: and being by these three Kings preit and broken, he fled to Kir-barshai, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name: when that Nation, assisted by the Ammonites and Idumeans, invaded Josephaphat: and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites set on the Idumeans, and slaughtered them: and then one against another, so as Josephaphat had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of Hieromy the Prophet, there was a King of Moab which is not named, which was after *Mefha* of Moab many descents: for *Mefha* lived with Jebooram, and this Moabite in Zedekia's time, 14 Kings of Juda coming between, who walked three hundred and odd years.

SECT. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THE Territory adjoining to Reuben, is that of Gad: whereof all that part which joynted to the Ammonitains, was sometime in the possession of the Children of Gad, the seventh Son of Jacob by Zepha, the hand-maid of Lea, there parted out of Zepha, and died in the Desart, 455 years and of their Sons there entered the Land promised, 45000 bearing Arms: for the half Tribe of Manasse, the River of Jacob divided them: from Reuben, the Cities of Harbon, Elisele, and Aphe.

The chief City of Gad was Arzor, which they make to be the same with Ar, or Rabbath Moab, the great or commanding Moab. But the learned Junius attending diligently to those words of *Moser*, Dou. 2. 36. *Ab Haribor, qui est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa quae est in flumine: Where the City in the river is distinguished from the City upon the bank of the River*, as also in like manner, (Jof. c. 12. v. 2.

and c. 13. 9.) thinketh that *Haribor*, which doubtless belonged to the Gadites (as *Numb.* 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was indeed erected near Hur of the Moabites, but divers from it. For that Hur was never posselt by Moser, it is plain *Duteronomy* 2. 9. where God forbidding Moser to do it, faith, he hath given Hur for an inheritance to the Sons of Lu. Now that this City, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of Arnon (and so distinguished from *Haribor*, which is said in the same place to be on the bank of the Arnon) is Hur of the Moabites, the same Junius proveth out of *Numb.* chapt. 21. v. 15. where Arnon is said to be divided into divers streams, where or among which Hur is located: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jof.* 13. ver. 25. where *Haribor* is said to be located before Rabbah: which Rabbah, as it seems, cannot be the Rabbah of the Ammonites (for they felt not *Haribor* near it, nor in flight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* here, we must understand Rabbah of Moab, which they make to be Ar, or Hur: and so we must needs distinguish it from Harbon. And as for *Hur, (which also gave the name to the coast adjoining) it seems it continued in the possession of the Moabites, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, but first weakened by Chedorlammur and his Associates: but *Haribor* by the interchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the Moabites by Sehon, and from him by the Israelites, and from them, as it seems in the story of *Yephia* by the Ammonites: and from the Ammonites again by the Israelites under the conduct of *Yephia*.

In Sc. Hieromy time the greatest part of this City perished by an earth-quake, as also Zor, in which Lot saved himself in the destruction of Sodom, seated not far hence: which they say was therefore called *Pitula* 15. confessorum, because as was wonten tumbling heifer, the war was overthrow with earth-quake, for which cause also Arnon seems to think that this Zor was called *Salifa*, or Bal-Salifa, as if Bal had been the remainder of the old name Balab, or Balab, (of which *Gen.* 14. 2.) and *Salifa*, which hath a signification of the ternary number, had alluded to the three Earth-quake.

Brocard takes *Haribor* to be Petra, but erroneously, as before it is noted: seeing that Petra was in the South border of Moab adjoining to Edom, whereas *Haribor* is in the North-East border. Between *Haribor* and *Jerusalem* they say *Dibon*, which is attributed to the Gadites, because they are said to have built it, *Numb.* 32. 34. though *Jof.* 13. v. 17. it is said that Moser gave it to the Reubenites. Of this City among the rest of Moab, both *Efay* and *Jeremy* prophesied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about it run with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village near Arnon in Sc. Hierom's time.

Keeping the banks of Arnon, one of the next Cities of fame to Arzor, was Bethnimrah, of which *Efay* prophesied, *That the waters thereof should be dried up*, all the vale of Moab withered. Not far from Bethnimrah in this Tribe, Adrichomius placeth *Yogbeah* and *Nobach*, or *Nibeh*: but both which were in the story of *Gidon*: and that *Yogbeah* was in Gad, built by the Gadites, it appears *Numbers* 22. 35. and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts: but whether in Gad or Manasse it is not certain: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, Moser witnesseth. *Nobach* also (faith he) went and took *Kenath* with her Town, and called it *Nobach* of his own name, where because the Verbes precedent speak of the Manassites, and because it is not likely that Moser would have levered this seat of the Gadites from the rest, of which he spake before, ver. 24. 25. 36. therefore it may seem that

* Num. 21. this *Nabab* was in that part of *Manassé*: which was in the East of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nab*, which *Saul* destroyed, of which we shall speak in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkar*, where *Zebah* and *Zalmunbar* rellted themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nabab* and *Jogbeba*, though some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kirchar*, of which *Ely* 15. and 2 *Rege* 3. 75. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and it is the same with *Kirchar*, it is certain, and that it was still a principal City held by the *Mozabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hatathoth*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were built by the *Gadites*: the former simply called *Hatathoth*, the later *Hatathoth-Sophan*: for which latter the vulgar makes two Cities; *Roib* and *Stophan*: the name *Hatathoth* is as much as *Corona*.

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Behnaim* of which we have spoken, *Jof* 13. 27. nameth *Behb-haram* and *Seonoth*: the latter, *Numb*. 32. 36. (where it is called *Behb-haram*) together with *Behnaim*, is said to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, because in *Jofia* it is called *Behb-haram*) some take to be *Beharaphis*, of which *Jof* 13. 27. after by *Herod* called *Jubas*. But whether this *Beharaphis* were corrupted from *Behb-haram*, or from *Behb-Aramutha* (of which *Aramutha* there is mention in * *Jof* 13. 27. or from *Behb-romphan* (of which *Romphan*, an Idol of those Countries, we read, *Alti* 7. 43. and to which *Junius* returns the name of the City *Rephan*, 1 *Mae* 37.) of this question it were hard to resolve.

But touching *Julias* (according to *Jofeph* some time *Beharaphis*, the same *Jofeph* placeth in the Region of *Perexa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Perexa*, as the Greek word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ultra-jordan*, the Country beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to fix down the bounds of this *Perexa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Jofeph*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipater*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia*.

Jofeph 2. 3. adoption his Wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption he was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he faith was built by *Philo* the Brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he faith, is the same as *Behb-Gad*.

Upon the Sea of *Galilee*, near to *Julias* in *Perexa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Tobias*, as it is called in *Jofeph*, for *Behb-zeab*, which is as much as *domus Isepi*. Of a noble Woman of this City, which for safeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Tersulim*, and was there be sieged. *Jofeph* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History: how for hunger the eat her own Child, with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Seonoth* (which we said *Jof* 13 is placed with *Behb-haram*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the story of *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, weary in the pursuit of *Zebah*, and *Zalmunbar*, he requested relief of the men of *Seonoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideon* return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-car or *Tribulum*, between which and their feet put Thorns to tear their flesh as they were tread and trod under the *Tribulum*; and after which sort also *David* used some of the *Ammunites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron

Teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Seonoth*, which signifieth such *Tabernacles* as were made in half, either for Men or Cattel, *Moser*, *Gen* 33. 17. witnesseth, that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Seon* in his return from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place being the *Red Sea*, where the Children of *Israel*, as they came from *Ramesses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was upon like reason called *Seonoth*: because there they for up their first *Tabernacles*: or *Tents*: which they used after for forty years in the Wilderness. In remembrance whereof the Feast of *Seonoth* or *Tabernacles*, was instituted.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named, *Jofia* 21. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Maachanaim*, *Cheshon*, and *Jabzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the *Levites*, of which *Jabzer*, as *Cheshon*, or *Hebron* was chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Numb* 32. 1. his Country is called the Land of *Jabzer*. It was taken by *Moses* having first lent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In later times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecy of *Ely* touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Ely*, also *Hierny* in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammunites*) by *Judas Machabeus*: as it is *Mae* 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Jofeph* reads *Jabzer*, though the Greek hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer*, or *Gazer* (as he gathereth out of *Jof* 16. 3. and *Jud* 1. 29.) was far from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, until *Solomon* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* was at war with the *Canaanites*, and gave it him as a Dowry with his Daughter.

Of *Cheshon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Jofias*, and 1 *Chron* 6. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Jof* 13. 17. it is reckoned for a principal City of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Carbon*, 1 *Mae* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Machabeus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Carbon* had been the *Cheshon* of *Gad*, and that of *Ruben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*, for so also it seems that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Maachanaim*, which word signifieth a double Army, we read *Gen* 32. 2. that it was there met *Jacob*: and the Angels of God in that place to join with him for his defence: another Host or company, to join with his for his defence: as it is also *Luke* 2. 13. appeared to the *Shepherds*, at the time of our Saviour's birth: and so unto the King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was on foot to join battle with the *Pagan* *Penda* of middle *England*. But reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the Field where the Battle was fought, in the North parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Maachanaim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abijah*: and the fame for the strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Heliathai*, during the War between *David* and the House of *Saul*. Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, which, King *David* lost his life. *Junius* thinks that *Ramatha* *Mispha*, of which *Jof* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Job* swore one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the

the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument: so also that it was called *Mispha*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to over-see, and be witnesses to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen* 31. 49. That in these parts there was not only a Town, but likewise a Region called *Mispha*, it appears *Jof* 11. 3. where we read of the *Chibites* under *Herman*, in the Country of *Mispha*, the Town of *Mispha*, as it seems both by this place, and in the eighth verse following, beaten in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Jephtha* the Judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whether his brethren had driven him) dwelt in the Town of *Mispha*, who doubtless was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seem that they do not well, which place this Town of *Mispha* rather in *Gad* than in *Manasse*. By *Judas Machabeus* this Town of *Mispha* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of it slain: for it was then posset of the *Ammunites*.

Between *Seonoth* (of which we have spoken) and the River *Jordan*, which was *Fenit*, or *Fenul*, which name signifies *Lowest* (as *Dei* 4 place where the face of God was seen: so called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which City, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their Tower, and slew the chief Aldermen thereof. To their places of the *Gadites*, they add *Regelim*, the City of that great and faithful subject *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Nabhanaim*, where he followed King *David*, during *Abdulis* rebellion. To these they add the Town of *Gadai*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gadai*, being in *Hebron* no more than *Gadites*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Town, but fill of a River. *Alimis*, *Adrichomius* reads of *ANIMOS*, 1 *Mae* 5. 26. 6. that the name should rather be *Alima*, but *Junius* out of *Jofeph* reads *Malle*, for this in *Alimis*: and understanding *Malle* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sechemites*) he takes this *Malle* to be *Mispha* *Mozabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam* 22. 3. As for that *Mispha* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mabachath* which *Moser* notes to be as far as the furthest of *Manasse*, out of the bounds of this Tribe.

So also *Dathma*, of which 1 *Mae* 5. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be * *Rithma*, of which *Numb* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammunites*) and in like manner *Mimith*, and *Abel vicinorum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jephtha*'s pursuit of the *Ammunites*: treated, as it seems by that place of the Book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammunites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelphus* which *Ptolomy* finds in *Calofyria*. *Jerom* and *Calpurnius*, *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammunites*: but, as it seems, never posset by the *Israelites*, after

the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammunites*: whereupon at length it became the Regal seat of the *Ammunites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzumim*: which it was as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness, infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammunites* had got from his Ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Affyrrians*, and their adherents (as the *Enims* in *Moab*, and the *Horim* in *Sir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammunites*, the *Enims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horim* by the *Edomites*. Yet did the races of *Emorens*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hebron* had dispossessed *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Babylon*, the *Ammunites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the Valley, between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba*, or *Philadelphus*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two *Moses* and *Israel*, found all those Cities and Countries which were given to *Ruben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450 years since that their *Zamzumim*, or *Raphaim*, were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having these two Kingdoms of one kindred, and both valiant and undaunting men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Ammunites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Law* out of the Mountains, and into the Defarts. And as the Kings of *Capitans* of *Perfia* and *Affyria* (remembered in the 14th of *Genesi*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*: so by that great conquest which *Moser* had over those two *Ammunites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Mozabites* and *Ammunites* take opportunity to look back again into those Plains: and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites*, forsook the worship of the living God, and became faithless and licentious: they taking the advantage, invaded them, and called them out of their possessions: and were sometime their Masters, sometime their Tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and virtue of their Commanders.

In this City of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth. The City was taken in *David*'s time, and the Inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Urias*, was shot to death, having been, by direction from *David*, appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished: and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success after, even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which was kings of *Ammon* wore: or which, as some expound it, was used to be put on the head of their Idol, weighing a talent, which is 60 pound weight, after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve others.

The mountains which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Ptolomy* calleth the Hills of *Hippus*, a City of *Calofyria*: and *Strabo*, * *Trachon*: the same which continue from near *Damascus* unto the *Deserts* of *Moab*: and receive divers names, as commonly appears, of *Moab*: which neighbour and bound divers that *Trachon*: far from the South part, as far Northwards as *Abaroth*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called these parts of *Moab*: from thence Northward, they are called these parts of the name of *Herman*, for so *Moser* calleth the men them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Deut* 34.

* The letter *N* in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is often mistaken for another, and sometimes put for another, as for *Damascus*, 1 *Chron* 7. we have *Damascus*. *Gen* 10. 4. Other names of this City, according to *Sepphorus*, were *Amman* and *Ashtar*: but in this latter perhaps be mislikes, which might seem to be the time *Ashtar*, one of the chief Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remains of the spoken of, *Ashtar* *Adrichomius* says, it was also called *Orti* *Ashtarum*, because of the river *Orti*'s winding about it: but in the place *Ashtarum*, if we must read with others, *Ashtar* *Ashtarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Orti* it self, but of some other Fort adjoining, *Gen* 14.

1 *Sam* 12.

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Hauser their King from the *Romans*, in the year of our redemption 636 and in the year 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperor of *Rome*, Lewis King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third, King of *Jerusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, Brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick* *Barbarossa* afterwards Emperor, *Theodorick* Earl of *Flunders*, and other Princes assembled at *Platonia Acon*, on the Sea-coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprise.

In the year 1262. *Holon* the *Tartar* incompass it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Walls, and threatened extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendered the place: but they refusing it, the King was torn asunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the Son of *Holon*, was by his Father made King thereof.

In the year 1400. *Tumbarlain* Emperor of the *Parthians*, invaded that Region, and besieged the City with an Army of 1200000 (if the number be not mistaken). He entered it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners: those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another Castle adjoining: he forbore the demolishing of the City, in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with forty Gates, or sumptuous Porches. It had within it 90000 Lavers of Gold and Silver: but while he invaded *Egypt*, they again surprised *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three Months siege, he forc'd it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired mercy. But *Tumbarlain* commanding them to enter the Church he burnt them and it, to the number of 30000 and to demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their Houses, knew them not by the Foundations. And as a Trophie of his victory, he raised three Towers with great art, builded with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and re-possessed by the *Sultan* of *Egypt* with a Garrison of *Mumtaz*: And in the year 1517. *Selim* Emperor of the *Turks* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth, inhabited with *Mahometans* and *Christians* of all neighbouring Nations.

SECT. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

NOW be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hos*, the Son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the Son of *Elizur*, *Abraham's* steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *David's* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Joshua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Story. But were it so, that it had some *Reges*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of these parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrow *Adad* Prince of *Sophora*, or *Syria Zoba*: the Game Nation which *Pliny* calleth *Nabata*, inhabiting between *Babylonia* and *Expilath*. Now the better to understand the story of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soon after the Kings of *Damascus* made their Vassals, the Reader may inform himself, That on the North-East parts of the Holy Land, there were three chief Principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders great vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Israel*, namely, *Damascus*, or

Aram, *Sophora*, or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba's* of which there were the Princes in *David's* and *Salomon's* times: *Razon*, or *Rezon* of *Damascus*, *Adad* Prince of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth, that *Damascus* was one of the Cities subject to *Adad* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made war against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leaders of those fugitives, which were led and sent to *Hadad*, *Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battle slain with 22000 *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adad*, *Rezon* the Commander of his Army, taking advantage, made himself King of *Damascus*: *Adad*, and *Adad* of *Damascus*, being both slain. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath*, or *Uraza*, having that his neighbour and enemy *Adad* was utterly overthrow, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts: but in doing, faith *St. Hieronim*: it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrans* and *Idonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judeans* and the *Israelites*. But to return to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascus*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Uraza*: to which I may add *Golbuz*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as joining in the Territory to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palatina* it self is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later Writers who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idomea*: of whom it is written in the first of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* there to destroy all the male Children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings feed, fled into *Egypt*: and there was married to *Leisur* the Queens Sister, as before: who hearing of *David's* death, and of the death of his Captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned again: and, as *Isaiah* thinketh, this *Adad* did expel *Rezon* out of *Damascus*, and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, *Adad*, the Son of *Rebohu*, whom *Isaiah* said invaded, was the Founder of that Principality: and the first of *Adads* who forsaking his Fathers name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the title of *Adad*, the great God of the *Abyrians*, faith *Macrobis*, which signified Oneness of Unity. *Isaiah* did a City called *Adada*, in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad*, *Rezon*, *Ben-hadad*, *El-ad* were of the same name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli* adjoined. And that *Adad* was of great power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *David* undertook the war: Secondly, because he levied 22000 *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascus* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: Thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adad* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the Desert, as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Pliny*: and the greatest part of *Arabia Petraea*, according to *Niger*. Whoever was the first, whether *Adad*, or *Adad* of *Idomea*, *Rezon*, was the second: who was an enemy to *Isaiah* all the days of *Salomon*. Besides the evil that *Adad* did, it seemeth, to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idomea*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23 Years after he was carried thither.

The

The third King of *Damascus*, and of *Zobab* both, was *Hezion*: to *Hezion* succeeded *Talabrommon*, or *Talabrommon*: to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the first of *Kings*: For *Afa* King of *Juda* the Son of *Abiam*, the Son of *Roboam*, the Son of *Salomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Baspha*, the Successor of *Nadab*, the Son of *Joashabam*, sent to *Benhadad* the Son of *Talabrommon*, the Son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baspha* fought to kill him against *Afa*: thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Afa*, having received his presents, willingly invaded the Country of *Nephthim*, and took divers Cities, and Spoils thereof: *Afa* in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baspha* had brought to fortify *Rams* withal, and converted them to his own use.

This *Benhadad* Father, *Talabrommon*, was in league with *Afa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Afa* requir'd the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his Son: though it seemeth that the Gold and Silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Talabrommon* invaded *Israel*, before the entrance of his Son *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Afa*, spake as followeth: The City which my Father took from thy Father, I will restore, and thou shalt, make Streets or Keepers of the borders for thee in *Damascus*, as my Father did in *Samaria*. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it self were of much importance) because *Talabrommon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad*, which invaded *Baspha*, at the request of *Afa*: But this *Benhadad* that twice entered upon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the Son of *Abiam*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Afa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the Son of *Talabrommon*. For between the invasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baspha's* time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49 years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30 years of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baspha*, and after that 49 years ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty, lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make War. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pomp: but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32 Kings: and therefore I resolve, that *Benhadad* the Son of *Talabrommon* invaded *Baspha* and *Omri's* and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows: the first at *Samaria*, by a fall of 700 number in effect, the second at *Aphe*, where with the like number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 20000 of the *Aramites*: besides 27000 which were carried by the fall of the wall of *Aphe*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* again setteth at liberty: to whom he rendereth those Towns that his Father had taken from the Predecessor of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Town, and of great importance. Now three years after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Joashab*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight, in which *Achab* is wounded, and dieth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the Commander of his forces, called *Nazman*, to *Joash* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosy, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picked a quarrel against *Joash*: and when *Joash*, by *Elizeus* his intelligence had escaped his plot, he sent Men and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is before said. After *Benhadad* besieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence

from Heaven he departed home, and sickness, and sendeth *Azazel* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know 3234. his estate, if he might live. *Azazel* returning, informeth him. *Zonaras* and *Codorus* call this *Benhadad* *Adar*, and the Son of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Jeremy* mention the Towers of *Benhadad* which were worshipped for Gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorance, faith he, that scarce yet 1100 years are complete since their wars with the *Israelites*.

Hezion or *Azazel*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was anointed by *Elihu*, or *Elihu*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad* should recover his present sickness: He waged War with *Joash*, who received divers wounds at the encounter of *Ramoth Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Jezebel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah* or *Odoziah*, are slain by *Joab*, as before is said. After the death of *Joash*, *Azazel* continued War against *Joab*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all the portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, over *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and took *Gath*: but by gifts from *Joab* he was availed from attempting *Jerusalem*: for he persecuted him all the *Israhelites* which *Jeiel*ophat, *Jochanan*, and *Ahaziah* his Fathers, King of *Juda*, had dedicated, and which he himself had dedicated: and all the Gold which was found in treasures of the Lord and in the Kings house. This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Afa* did present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when he invited him to War upon *Baspha* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition between *Joab* and *Azazel*, yet a part of his Army spoiled the other Provinces of *Judea*, and slaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, *Azazel* vexed *Joab* the Son of *Joab*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty Horse-Men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men, of all his people.

SECT. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

AFTER *Hezion*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the Son of *Hezion* reigned 30. years in *Damascus* who fought against *Israhel* with ill success: for King of *Israel*, the Son of the unhappy *Joashab*, as he was foretold by *Elihu* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three several battles: and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his Father *Hezion* had taken violently from *Joashab*.

After this *Benhadad* the Son of *Hezion* there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, only *Nicholau* *Damascenus* cited by *Josephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Jeroboam* the second, the Son of *Joash* recovered *Damascus* it self to *Juda*, faith the *Geneva*, but better in *Junius*, *Velle* recuperabat *Damascum*, & *Chamath* *Judea* pro *Israel*: that is, And how he recovered for *Israel*, *Damascus* and *Chamath* of *Judea*: for these Cities sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*. And it is likely, that this conquest upon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no story. For when as *Joash* the King of the ten Tribes had three overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the Son of *Hezion*,

Hazeel had won from *Israel*, and so let his Kingdom to his Son *Jerobam* the second; it seemeth that this *Jerobam* without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his Fathers good Fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or Rezin, after *Iosaphat*, *Rafes* after *Zorobab*, *Rasfon*, the tenth *Adad*, making league with *Pekab*, or *Phacis* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Juda*, both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Jerusalem*; but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achaz* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who took him and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the Kingdom of *Damascus*: the *Affyrans* becoming matters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads*, as they reigned in order are thus reckoned:

- 1 *Adadzer* the Son of *Rehab*.
- 2 *Rezin* the Son of *Elhadad*, or *Razin*.
- 3 *Hezion*.
- 4 *Talmonem*.
- 5 *Bahadad*, who invaded *Basfha*.
- 6 *Bahadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achaz*.

7 *Hazeel*, whom *Elifha* foretold with tears of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Joash* King of *Israel* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazeel* which preceded *Bahadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazeel* which took *Goth*, and compounded the War with *Joa*, made the Expedition thirty years, and perchance more, after the first *Hazeel* which flisted his master *Bahadad*, and had slain *Joash* the Son of *Achab* King of *Israel*. For *Joash* began to reign in the seventh year of *Joah* King of *Israel*; and after he had reigned twenty three years, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazeel*, took *Goth*, and turned his Face towards *Jerusalem*. It is also some proof that *Hazeel*, that took *Goth*, was not the same with *Hazeel* that murdered *Bahadad*, because he could not at that time be of good years, being as it seemeth, the second person in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Bahadad's* Men of War. To this *Hazeel* (be he the first or second) succeeded, 8 *Bahadad*, the third, whom *Joash* King of *Israel* thrice overthrew.

9 *Rezin*, or *Rezin*, the last, who joined with *Pekab* King of *Israel*, against *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda*, waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Bahadad* the third and *Rezin* the last, *Nadab* *Damascenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gessur*, we find that *Joab* was King of *Emath*, or *Canath*, in *David's* time, to whom he sent his Son *Joah* with presents, after *David's* victory against *Adadzer*. Also *Sonachorib* spakech of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

§. IV.

Of Other lesser Kingdoms of the *Syrians*, which being brought under the *Affyrans*, never recovered themselves again.

OF *Gessur* we find two Kings named; to wit, *Talmat*, and his Father *Amunimur*: to *Talmat*, whose Daughter *David* married, it was, that *Abelom* fled, who was his maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephena*, of *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Calofyria*, there are two named, *Rebub*, or *Reebob*, the Father of *Adadzer*, and *Adadzer* himself; and it is plain that after his death the feat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damascus*, a City better fitting their greatness. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of *Syria*, which became so potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damascus*, *Emath*, and the *Desart* of *Arabia*, with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the second of the *Adads* as it began with *David*, to it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Israel*. For *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Affyrans* *Teglatphalassar* against *Pekab* King of *Israel*, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglat* first invaded *Damascus*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damascus* it self, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the *Affyrans* attempt *Israel*. For first *Phul* *Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Israel*) who floot the enterprise of *Phul* with a thousand talents of Silver: for this *Phul* *Belochus*, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warran, as yet, in his feat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had writed from *Sardanapalus*: having besides this King of *Syria* in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of *Israel* for that present time. But his Son *Teglat* following the purpose of his Father *Belochus*, and finding fo excellent an occasion, as the War began between *Israel* and *Juda*, *Pekab* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, and waited in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his impit and entertainment. So, first attempting *Damascus*, which lay in his path towards *Israel*, he carried it (as is before remembered) and then with great ease possit himself of the Cities of *Neptalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his Son *Salmanassar*, whom *Polemey* called *Nabonassar*, after the revolt of *Hofia*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdom asunder. So as the lineare race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* supplanted, the race and Monarchy of the *Syrian* *Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglat* slaughtered; the Kingdom of *Israel* in *Hofia*, whom *Salmanassar* overturned, happened near about a time: this of *Ninus* in the days of *Belochus*, and the other two in the days of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanassar* his Son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Ofia* ruling *Juda*: and the other two Kingdoms were dissolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it self, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the Son of *Salmanassar*, in vain, and preferred for the time by God miraculously, was at length utterly overcome. *Jerusalem* and the Temple burnt 132 years after the captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth year of *Hofia*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Affyr* and

and *Babylon* held also the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth year of *Salmanassar*: to the last of *Balthassar*, whom *Herodotus* calleth *Labyntus*: in all about 200 years. After these the *Persians* from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria*, about 220 years.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successors the *Seleucide* reigned therein, till it became subject

unto the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turks*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to do, both in War and Peace, being the only people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Jerusalem.

SECT. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Jericho, Gilgal, Mithpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibba.

OF the Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest Son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachael*, there were numbered at Mount *Sina* 35000 able bodied: all which perishing in the *Desart*, there entered the Holy Land of their heirs 45000 fit to bear Arms: and these had their Territory on this side *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe nearest *Jordan*, are *Lad*, *Haddid*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lad* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a Benjaminite: they were all three re-inhabited with Benjaminites, after the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned *Nehem.* 11. 35. and *Ezra.* 2. 35. where *Adrielimus* reading *Lad*, *Haddid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Haddid* in *Netemita*, a City called *Lad-haddid*: This *Haddid* or *Chaddid* was rebuilt by *Simun Machabeus*.

Samaria, or *Tjemarrin*, named of *Tjemar* one of the Sons of *Canan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the last of *Juda*, seated in a most fruitful Valley adorned with many Palm-trees: and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Joshua*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of *Achaz*: in whose days *Chib* of *Bethel* had the new foundation of it, in the lofs of *Abiram* his eldest Son, and built the gates of it in the lofs of his youngest Son *Segub*: according to the curse of *Joshua*: in which and other respects, *Hof.* 12. 1. 4. calleth *Joshua* a Prophet. In aftertimes it was destroyed by *Shishan*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

To the South-east of *Jericho* stood * *Halmom* of the *Levites*, of which *Jof.* 21. 18. To the South, *Beth-arab*, of which *Jof.* 21. 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Joshua* first ate of the fruits of the land, surrounded all those born in the *Desart*: and celebrated the Passover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymology of this name (for it seems by the place, *Deut.* 11. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canan*) is noted *Jof.* 5. 9. Ob *destructionem propter Aegyptum*, because their fore-skins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled down the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis preparationum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the

places, *Jof.* 15. 7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Jof.* 22. 13. and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, over against the two Hills *Do.* 11. *Garazim* and *Habal*: upon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the Mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mithpa* of Benjamin (of which also read oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the Land of *Canan*: for which reason * *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgment to the *Israelites*: of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was near *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe and *Mithpa*, near the West Sea, towards the Land of the *Philistines*.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* used yearly to come, is * *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of Benjamin. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Ark* rested, after they past over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-jeharim*, and at length to *Jerusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was, that *Joshua* pitched up the 12 Stones, which were taken out of the Channell of *Jordan*, when it was dry, that the *Israelites* might pass over it: by which Story, as it is set down *Jof.* 4. it appears, that the same day that they passed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was, that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And so for *Mithpa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly for judgment, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the revenge of the *Levites* War against *Gibba*, and the Benjaminites, *Jof.* 20. 1. and another against the *Philistines*, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither also *Judas Machabeus* gathered the Jews (when *Jerusalem* was possessed by the *Heathens*) as it is 1 *Macc.* 3. 47. their great meetings, wherefore, besides the Priests did use to bring the *Ark* to it, as is shewed in the *Book of the City* *Jerusalem*, 1 *Sam.* 12. 11. 12. 14. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

* It was no other than this *Mispa* of *Gilead*, of which *Jof. 18. 25*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Jerusalem* was recovered from the *Jehobites*, and also in the time of the *Maschabees* (as we have said) when *Jerusalem* was washed by the wicked under *Antiochus*, to all in the time of *Jeremy*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah*, whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Jeremy*, as Governor over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was slain by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royal blood of *Juda*, as it is *Jer. 41*.

Near unto this *Mispa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beulah*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the *Philistines*.

Touching *Beulah*, which (as it seems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was antiently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Jehoiachin* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nob. 11. 31.* and *Jof. 18. 22.*) and how another City called *Luz* + near adjoining to it, was built by the man of the City which it owed the entrance to the Spits, as it is *Jud. 1.* and of the occasion of the name from *Levi's* wifen: and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Beulah* (which signifieth the house of God) made it * *Beulah*, that is, the house of Vanity, *1st. 4. 15.* and *10. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place, they are well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well pass them over.

The Territory of *Beulah*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, of which *2 Chron. 13.* was taken from them, and adjoynt to the Kingdom of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the Story of *Jofias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Beulah*, *2 Reg. 23.* whence those calls *1 Mace. 11. 34.* are called *Aphephemas*, which *Greek* word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories*, or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Ditum* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan* Country. A part of it, as appears *2 Chron. 13. 19.* was *Hebron*, which *Jof. 18. 23.* is called *Hebron*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Beulah*, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities, often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Ramah*, *Gidza*, and *Geba*. Of the name *Ramah*, * it is not clear already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they had our *Ramah* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seems, because *Matt. 2.* it appears that it bordered *Benjamin*) and also out of *Benjamin* and *Benjamin* had *Silo* to have been called *Ramah*, and had yet another *Ramah* in *Zabulon's* tribe three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Ramah* in the Tribe of *Assir*, as it seems, we have testimony, *Jof. 19. 29.* and of another in *Nephthali*, *Jof. 19. 36.* of a third *Ramah*, where *Samuel* dwelt in *Mount Ephraim*, *1 Sam. 25. 1.* which, more often is

called * *Ramatha*, and *1 Sam. 1. 1.* *Ramathaim* *Tephrim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Araramath*, *Ramatha* *Tephrim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning: for a part of the word, whence they think *Tephrim* of *Araramath*, *Matt. 27. 57.* was denominated.

It is named for one of the three *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* yielded to the *Jews* out of the country of *Samaritan*: this lying towards the East to *Jericho*, and *Lydah* toward the West, and *Aphephemas* (of which even now we speak) lying in the middle between the two other. A sixth it seems there was in the Tribe of *Sindon* toward the South, which *Jof. 19. 18.* is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwise *Basethah* *Idem*.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read, *2 Reg. 8. 29.* which is *Ramah* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, situated, as we said, near *Beulah* the uttermost South-border of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: for which cause *Basethah* in the time of *Aza* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to *Aza*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Tephrim* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was nearer to *Jerusalem*, and where the Captivity belonged to *Judea*, as it appears, *Eph. 2. 26.* wherein that it is joynted with *Geba*, it is plain that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose Towns *Geba* (after *Basethah* had ceased to build it) *Aza* (as it is *1 Reg. 25. 22.*) built *Geba* adjoining to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Geba* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence *2 Reg. 23. 8.* we read that *Jehoiachin* through all his Kingdom, even from *Geba*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba*, which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City *Gibza*, which was the City of *Saul* (the wickedness of which City in the time of the *Judges* had almost utterly rooted out the name of *Benjamin*) confounds with *Geba*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Esa. 10. 27.*) of which word * *Gibza*, in another from *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this City also to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears, *Jud. 19. 13.* where the *Levite* with his Wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibza*. By that place of *1 Sam. 22. 6.* it seems that there was in this *Gibza* some Tower or Citadel called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads in *excessu*, *mur* *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the College of *Prophets* abode, was *Naboth* *Idem*. The great City of *Hai* overthrowen by *Jofias*, which *Jof. 7. 2.* is placed near *Beulah*, upon the East of *Beulah*, was in this Tribe, as is proved, *Nob. 7. 10. 30.* though it be not named by *Jof. 18. 23.* for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Jof. 8. 28.* In *folitudinem*, in *tumulum* *perpetuum*. Another City of chief note is reckoned *Jof. 18. 25.* in this Tribe was *Gibzon*, the chief City of the *Hevites*: whose cunning to bind the *Israelites* by oath to save their lives is set down, *Jof. 9.* whence they were reckoned among the * *Nephthim*, or *Prophets*, and were bound to certain public services in the house of God: which oath of living chief *Gibzonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, *2 Sam. 21. 1.* This *Gibzon*, or *Gibzon* with *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have spoken) and with *Hanoboth*, the natal place of *Jeremy* the Prophet, were said *Jof. 21. 28.* to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjaminites*. Near to this *Hanoboth* was *Nob*, as appears, *1 Reg. 2. 26.* where *Abiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob*, before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanoboth*. Its reckoning in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nob. 9. 31.* and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the Ark was at

Kirath-jabrin: yet by the lamentable tragedy of blood-thirst, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set down *1 Sam. 21.* and *22.*) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe, *Nobem. 9. 31.* was a place of fame, of which *Ezay. 10. 28.* where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migron* in this Tribe. In *Micmas*, *Saul* had his Camp, *1 Sam. 13. 2.* (where he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan* *Machabees* his abode, *1 Mace. 9. 73.* Of *Gibza* in *Gallim*, *Jephthah* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natal place of *St. Paul*, whence (they say) it was taken by the *Romans*, he failed with his parents to *Tharsus*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the City of *Jerusalem*, and the Princes and Governors of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Jof. 18. 28.* it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*.

SECT. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.

AT what time *Jerusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princes of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedech* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham's* time. But, * according to others, that City out of which *Melchisedech* encountered *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Perjan* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Laban*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the *Greeks* *Solima*.

Jerusalem (whenever, or by whomsoever built) was a principal City in *Israhel's* time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the Metropolis (in those days and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Israhel* slew) was then King of *Jerusalem*. That it was flowing to the *Jehobites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Mefis's* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400 years after him: even till *David* won it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jehobites* (the children of *Jehoshaphat* the son of *Canaan*) built: after whom it was called *Jebur*. And so much did that Nation rely on the strength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

David, after he had by Gods assistance possesed it, and turned out the *Jehobites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces and other buildings: changing the name from *Jehobalem*, the City of the *Jehobites*, to *Jerusalem*, which the *Greeks* call *Hierosolima*. After *David's* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the work of the Temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Walls, could not any where in the world be exemplated: and women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60 foot depth, cut out of the very rock: and 250 foot of breadth: whereof the like hath seldom been heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, *Shishak* King of *Egypt*,

and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Ahaz* and *Manasse*, and *Jeroboam* *Solomon's* servants: and both married to *Egyptians*: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Shishak* first invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entered *Jerusalem*, and sackt it, and became Master not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all those spoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadzeer*, *Tobus*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again sackt, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Jozab* King of *Israhel*: while *Amasia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

Not long after, *Achaz* the fiftenth King of *Juda* impoverished the Temple, and preferred *Typhaz* *Israhel's* to the treasures thereof. And *Manasse* the son of *Achaz*, the son of *Achaz*, by the wants made by *Ezechias*, to the Embassadors of *Movadeb*, left the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Josiah* then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods-given corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, hating the City even to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchodonosor*, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers, which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoils with the Princes and people, and crushed them with the heavy yoke of bondage and servitude full seventy years, inasmuch as *Jerusalem* was not only become as a torn plowed field, but as a heap of stones, and rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars, but (as *Jeremias* speaks) even the birds of the Air (concoined to fly over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled foil).

Then 70 years being expired, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Jews* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough: and the City meanly inhabited, and without Walls or other defences, for some 60 and odd years, till *Nebuchadrezzar* the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and City spoiled by *Babgels*, or *Vashti*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by *Ptolemaeus* the first: then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crispin* in his *Parthian* expedition took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industry or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the Land, though the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple: and after the captivity, the same was done by *Artaxerxes Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Jerusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the City or Temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous works did to adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the days of *Solomon*.

SECT. III.

Of the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate it was at the coming of our Saviour Christ Jesus: and after his death and ascension, it continued about forty years. But then did Titus the Roman, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of Christ's death, and to punish the Jews' final ingratitude, incamp'd it with a Roman Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the Jews from all parts were come up to the celebration of the Passover: so as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts: and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil dissension, oppress them within the Walls: a forcible enemy assailed them without. The Idumeans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Jews Kingdom, thrust themselves into the City, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonosor took it. And to be short, these perished of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand souls: and the City was to be beaten down and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such place of habitation. Only the three Herodian Towers, (works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the Roman Garrisons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more things, that thereover became victorious.

After this, such Jews as were scattered here and there in Judaea, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the City: and by degrees to re-build, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and Tributaries to the Roman State: but after 65 years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, Elms Adrianus the Emperor slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three Herodian Towers, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himself had foretold: *That there should not stand one stone upon another of that ungrateful City.* Afterward, when his tury was appeared, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the Wall, wherein stood Mount Calvary, and the Sepulchre of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolina*. In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a Sower to be cut in Marble, and set it in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the Jews Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the City, neither should they dare to much as to behold it from any other high place overtopping it.

But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and especially by Christians: and so it continued 500 years.

It was afterward in the 336 year after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400 and odd years.

In the year 1099, it was regained by Godfrey of Bullion, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the Saracens: which Godfrey, when he was elected King thereof, offered to be crowned with a Crown of Gold, because Christ, for whom he fought, was therein

crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Successors of Godfrey, four score and eight years: till in the year 1197, it was regained by Saladin of Egypt: and lastly, in the year 1517, in the time of Selim, the Turke call'd out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzambazur*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone that had so often times been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in several times and ages, suffered the same shipwreck. And it hath been Gods just will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not only to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places who possess it: of the walls and buildings, yea, of the soil and the beasts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all their fertility and fruitfulness: witness the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the days of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*: it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not only to consume with fire from Heaven the Cities of the *Sodomites*: but the very soil it self hath felt, and doth feel the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himself: neither was it enough that *Achan* himself was stoned, but that his moveables were so consumed and brought to ashes.

SECT. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the Jews, prophane Writers have conceived diversely and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leaders: who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diondre* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Mos* governed *Egypt*, the people were to be increased: as *Tertullian* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moser* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moser* was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But *Justin*, of all other most malicious, doth derive the Jews from the Syrian Kings: of whom, *Damascius*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moser*, and *Israhel*. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that *Israhel* had ten sons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*: so called of *Judas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of *Israhel* he call'd *Joseph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in Magical Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and was prodigious; and this *Joseph* (saith he) was father *Abraham*: who with the rest, by reason of their foul diseases, and least they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found relief the seventh day, for this cause ever after observed the seventh day, and kept it Holy: making it a law among themselves: which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth also, that they might not marry out of their own Tribes, lest discovering their uncleanness, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the Egyptians. These and the like fables hath

Cornelius

Chap. 13.

of the history of the World.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratory of their Temple, they had the golden head of an As, which they adorned. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himself, having in the fifth book of his own History truly confest of the Jews, that they worshipp'd one only God: and thought it most prophane to represent the Deity by any material figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or Representation, no more to much as in any City by their inhabitants. Somewhat like this, hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*, who also makes *Judas* with *Idumea*, the first parents of the Jews.

Claudian Iolas draws them from *Judean*, whose parents were *Spartan* and *Thibis*; whence it came, that the *Spartan* or *Lacedæmonian* challenged kindred of the Hebrews: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Josaphus*. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wrested and perverted, according to the custom of the Heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradise, of the Flood: and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age, to *Noah* and his sons in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moser*, and the rest of the Fathers, and Leaders of the Hebrews: all which feignings as touching the Jews and their originals, *Josaphus* against *Apion*, and *Tertullian* have sufficiently answered. For that the Hebrews were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth:

and so *Chaldean* originally taking name either of *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, or *Cile* (saith *Montanus*) of wandering, as is before remembered. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greek *Grammarian*, derive the Hebrews, or Jews, from *Arishon*: having mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the son of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Arishon*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chief part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*: at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, renowned the name of *Judas*, the son of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans*, or Jews: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the son of *Joseph*, the chief of the Patriarchs of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdom of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonosor*.

The government which this Nation under-went, was first paternal: which continued till they served the Egyptians. They were secondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moser* and *Josias*, by a policy Divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to Judges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom, and his Successors, before we intrate, we are first to speak of their government under Judges, after the death of *Josias*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Josias, to the War, of Troy: which was about the time of Jephthah.

SECT. I.

Of the Inter-regnum after Josias's death: and of Othaniel.

WHEN *Josias* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70 Elders, and the high Priest, held authority over the people, and ordered that Common-weal: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward established) to undertake the War against the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the assistance of *Simon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they performed by few ten thousand, but made *Adonibach* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*. This Tyrant's cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kind upon his own head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his own person (before no otherwise known unto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge Gods judgments against himself.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simon* did also master and possess during this Inter-regnum (or as some think, before the death of *Josias*) the Cities of *Bezan*, *Askelon*, *Ekron*, and *Jerusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Philistines* as re-embellied. They took also the Cities of *Hormon*, *Dibon*, or *Kiriath-japhet*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Hera*. And although it be not far down in express words that any one person commanded in chief

over the people, as *Moser* and *Josias* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phineas*, directed and ordered their wars. For any thing that they proceeded without a Chief, the good success which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Josias* governed, as appears, *Jos. 10. 39*: that propounded the attempt of *Dibon*, to the rest of the Captains: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his daughter *Asubah*: which he performed to *Othaniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whole habitation in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his prefferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, because they had Chariots of Iron.) The rest of the Tribes fought also to enlarge and establish their own Territories. In which war they laboured with variable success: for as the house of *Josiah* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, to did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries, and forc'd them to save themselves in the

H h Mountains,

SECT. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations : and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

There lived in this age of *Oboniel*, *Pandor*, or *Pandarus*, according to *Homere*, the fifth King of *Athen* : who began to rule in the twentieth year of *Oboniel*, and governed forty years. He was father to *Eriothus* : his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thesbe* : of whose daughter *Semele* was born *Dionysus*, or *Liber Pater* : under whom *Linus* the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of *Melm*, *Paphos*, and *Tharsus* were built.

Ida and *Dardanus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron : but *Genius* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass.

Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zeus* gave *Thesbe* : whose divines Chronologers find in *Ehuds* time. But *St. Augustine* makes a repetition of those fables, which were devised among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augustine* de *Civiti Dei*, and of this mans progeny, where he that desires his pedigree may find it. *Ladanius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica* : and the son of *Elophus* King of *Elafusa* : which *Elafus* by careful industry had fed the people of that Territory in the time of great famine.

This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent : who because he made exceeding great speed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from some neighbour Nation : it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the air.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Oboniel*, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow : for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars ; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life : and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgment. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves to converse with these ancient Kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the antient Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder days, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet to edify any mans understanding, save his own ; but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes ; but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth : and after in the times of the Judges

SECT. III.

Of Ehuds time, and of Proserpina, Orithya, Terus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, and others that lived about these times.

After the death of *Oboniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former Idolatry, God encouraged *Mash* to invade and suppress them : to perform which, he joined the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalek* unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easy conquest over *Israel*, whom God himself exposed to those perils, within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years under *Egdon* King of the *Mobites* and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance : but raised up *Ehud* the son of *Gera* to deliver them : by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Egdon*, whom if he could but extirpate, he assured himself of the following victory : especially giving his Nation no time to re-establish their government, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Wars. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Ambassador to *Egdon*, laden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access, upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierc'd his body with a *Poniard*, made of purpose with a double edge : and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem, that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did re-pass *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Mash*, overthrew their Army, consisting of 10000 able and strong men : whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Sangar* his Successor had miraculously slain 600 *Philistines* with an Ox-goad : the Land and People of *Israel* lived in peace unto the end of four-score years from the death of *Oboniel*, which term expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Nami*, with *Eliabech* her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into *Mash*, and to the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourscore years which

are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Acus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Plato*, stole *Proserpina*, as he walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponion* in *Sicilia* : or (according to *Pausanias*) by the River *Panofin* *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chloris*, if he mean not two distinct Rivers. This flesh being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Heracleus* and *Theseus* joined themselves, they agreed together to recover her : but *Plato*, or *Acus* (whom others call *Aidmon*) had (as they say) a very huge Dog, which fastened on *Pyrithous*, and tore him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Heracleus* speedily rescued him, and by strength took and muzzled the Dog *Cerberus* : whereof grew the fable of *Heracleus* his delivering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zeus*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrithous*, faith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidmon*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Cora* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina* : *Proserpina* being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs, being known to *Aidmon*, *Theseus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken ; and because *Pyrithous* was the principal in this conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of affection or infatuation, the one was given for food to *Aidmon* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Heracleus*, by the instigation of *Eurythius*, delivered him by strong hand. The *Molossians*, which *Stephanus* writes with a single *S* were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus* : of which Mountains *Ossa* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossians* in *Thessaly* : but these are neighbours to the *Calipolai*, faith *Plutarch* in his Greek questions.

The rape of *Orithya*, the daughter of *Erythraeus*, King of *Athen*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North-wind, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athen*. In this time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athen* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut her tongue, that she might not complain : perfwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle upon cloath, and sent unto *Progne*. In revenge whereof, *Progne* caused her only son *Ips* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, to death, as it appeared to be some other ordinary food : of which when he had eaten his fill, the caused his head, hands and feet, to be presented unto him : and then fled away with such speed towards *Athen*, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets feigned, that he was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis*, in *Flores* : and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* *Lih. 4.* hath built near the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory *Panofin* of *Athen*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, *Act.* where these things are supposed to have been done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulian Alce*) it appears that it is true, which *Theophrastus* notes by *Thucyd.* 4. of digestion in his *Poloponnesian* War, that *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thrace*, or in *Odryse*, (as the Poets call him *Odyseus*) but that *Phocias* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulis*, was in *Pandion* time inhabited by *Thracians*, of which this *Tereus* was King : whence *Pandion*, to have amity

with his neighbours, made him his Son-in-law: as it is good to be true. *Erich Eubolides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athena* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the Kingdom of *Odyse*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poet chose a Swallow for *Progne*, to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* says, *Danidile*, *nee nidificans*, *nee habitans in tota circum regione Hirundinis* as if a Swallow, remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and her Sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætas* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Juno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be sacrificed to the Plough: for in those Countries where the Ground was light, they did use often to plough with Kine.

In the fifteen and fortieth year of *Eubod*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name: about which time *Phenome* the chief Priest of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, devised the Heroical Verge.

Of the time date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were antiently *Moones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable that *Moones* have applied to the passion of love: and some to the covetous that dare not give his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the Son of *Jupiter*, by the Nymph *Pleta*: *Dionysius* and *Pydmon* in *Zeuxis*, give him another Mother. He was said to be the Son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it: because he had that Planet in his ascendant, brokering Wisdom and Riches. It is said, that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own Son to be slain and drest to the Banquet: of whom *Ceres* eat part of one of the shoulders: whereby was signified, that those Men which feed after Divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their own Children, of all else the most dearest. And where fruit was devised, that he had always Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacy of the World, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Virg.*

Quærit aquas in aquis, & potus fugacis cap-
tae
Tantalus, boe illi garula lingua dedit.

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks for water, and drest his.
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught Wisdom and Virtue to mortal Men: which Story, *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly express'd in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* again covetousness.

Tantalus à labris suis fugientia capiat
Flamina; quid rixas? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streams, that from him flee.
Why laugh'st thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is signified of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods, to vain and unworthy Men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis*, out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatur,
Coctamque convivia
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortality, He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* give
To guests of his own age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure vulgar. For as the cleanest Meats in a foul stomach, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted by an unclean and doted mind.

To you it is given (saith *Christ* in *Mark*) to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are *Mark 13*
without, all things be done in Parables. So it is said of him, that he expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzen* infer upon a place of *St. Paul*: *Quod si Paulo hinc est effari ea, quorum ipse cognovit non calumtorum & neque ad illud pro-*
gressu suppeditavit, forsitan de Deo, nihil aliud amplius Gregorius
confutavit: si Pauli magis have intus the things, et recte vult
komologari verborum the third Heaven, and his going thither, one diffi-
dit bring unto him, peradvantage we might know Jovanabat Dec.
more of God. 2 Cor. 13.

Pythagoras, saith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wife Man, *Afno* *lyram* *exponere*, *ant* *mythia*, *que ita reperiunt, ut sus tubum, & fidem Graculus, & angustia*
Scarabæus: quare filium indicis discipulis, ne vulgo
divinorum arcana pateficerent, que meditando facilius
quàm loquendo apprehenduntur: To sit an Aft to a Harp,
or to learn mysteries: which he would handle as a Swine
doth a Trumpet, or a Jya Viol, or Scarabæus, and vul-
can fides (significavit Orisment. Wherefore he commanded
silence to his Disciples, that they should not disclose divine
mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learned by
meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the Eg-
gyptians communicate their mysteries among their
Priests in certain Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that
their secrets might be hidden from the vulgar: and that they might
below the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Eubod*, with him it is also said, that *Tyris* lived, whom *Apollo* slew, because he fought to force his Mother *Lara*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tyris* was the Son of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*: which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno*'s revenge, he hid *Elara* in the Earth, where he was delivered of *Tyris*: whose Mother dying, and himself therein nourished, he was therefore called the Son of the Earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the grave of this Giant, affirms, that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*:

Hom. Od. Porcellusque novum Tytius pringeratorra,
Affluat atro viscere passit aet.

Nine furlongs firteth, lies *Tyris*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry Birds with his renewing Liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound: That *Apollo* killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocia*, it was signified by the Poets, to the terror of others, That he was still eaten in Hell by Birds, and yet still lived, and had his Flesh renewed.

Admetus, King of *Thessaly*, lived also in this age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first served as a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent wit, was by him advanced: but having slain *Hyaenanthus*, he crost the *Hellespont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where, together with *Nepheus*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his Bread by working in Brick, for building of the Walls of *Troy*, not by making the Bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp: according to him, in *Ovid*, which saith:

Illionsaetres, fronsaque turribus altis
Menia, Apollinee frusta canore lyre.

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wise *Apollo*'s Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Magicians* witness, saith *Pausanias*.

In these days also of *Eubod*, or (as some find it) in the days of *Deborah*, lived *Perseus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Danæ*, by whose Soldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seek their adventure on *Africa* side) *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successeur of *Phobos*, being weakly accompanied, as the hunted near the Lake *Triton*, was surprised and slain: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her Head to be immortalized, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereto grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa*'s head, were turned into Stones.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and seventh King of *Athena*, and *Arcturus* the 13. or, after *Eusebius*, the fourteenth King of the *Argives*, began also their reigns, as it is said, in the time of this Judge: of which, the first lived forty years, and the second thirty one years. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the Son of *Glaucon*, the Son of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Ates*, or *Sinhonia*, the Wife of *Prætas* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, the accused him to her husband, that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætas* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affairs of weight, between him and his Son-in-law *Jabater*: giving secret orders to *Jabater* to dispatch him: but *Jabater* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, employed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster, vomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the reports) pitying his innocence, sent him the winged Horse, *Pegasus*, sprung up of the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slain by the Soldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him: a Horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which *Erat* *Bellerophon* overcame *Chimæra*: and performed the other services given him in charge: which done,

as he returned towards *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to have slain him: but being victorious also over all those, he arrived at *Jabater* in safety: whom *Jabater* for his eminent virtues honoured, with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew so infolent, as he attempted to fly up to Heaven upon his *Pegasus*: whose pride, *Jupiter* disdained, caused one of his flinging Flics to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast of *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind: of which burthen, *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to Heaven: and being fed in *Jupiter*'s own stable, *Aurora* begged him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the Sun. This tale is diversely expounded: as first by some, That it pleased God to relieve Men in their innocent and undeserved adversity, as to calldown those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreme hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing overproud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of sorrow, and over-drawing misery. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whose Ship had in her prow a Lion, a Goat in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the Stern, of which three Beasts, this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purified with a kind of Gally, of such swiftnes, that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the invention of Sails (the Wings of a Ship) are also attributed. Many other explications are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a Ship, for *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest Ships of *Athena*.

Lufo, from whom the *Abonians* (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Inner*, is said to have been about *Eubod*'s time: *Homer* callsthem *Janner*, which hath a near resemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himself took name from *Javan*: it being a custom observable in the Histories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-Father, in some the principal of his issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *St. Augustine* makes him far more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Jesús*.

About the end of the eighty years, ascribed to *Eubod*, and *Sanger*, *Pelops* flourished: who gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

SECT. IV.

Of Deborah and her Contemporaries.

AFTER *Israel* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80 years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodnes, and many of those being worn out, which were witnesses of the former misery, and of Gods deliverance by *Eubod*: and after him by *Sanger*: the rest began to return to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the parents of idle security: so is security a fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion: of which, all estates in the World have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sins were again ripe for punishment, *Jabir* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Eubod*, invaded the territory

ritory of *Israel*; and having in his service 900 iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty years, till it pleased God to raise up *Deborah* the Prophetess, who encouraged *Barak* to levy a force out of *Nephthali*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the Men of *Nephthali* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to have proceeded partly from the authority that *Barak* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible than in others, because *Hizzor* and *Hirshah* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nephthali*. So in the days of *Jephthah* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the War was pressed most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Mozabites*: and by the counsel and courage of a Woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kanite* wife: so was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Asyrius* *Nabuchodonosor*, who was King of Kings, and restless, he overcame by his own imaginations, the causes of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchless pride into the base humbleness of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by invincible strength, as when he slaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angel, or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses*'s time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by hail stones in the time of *Josiah*: sometimes by the ministry of Men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the East. *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household Servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Mozabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own confederates, the Army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them, to kill one another in the fight of *Jehoshaphat*: and of the like to these, a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetess, speak unto *Barak* in these words, But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall fill *Sisera* into the hands of a Woman. In which victory all the strength of the *Canaanites* *Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last Man: in the end of which War it seemeth, that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appears by the last Verse of the fourth of *Judges*.

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his power, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate wherinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatry, by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in these words: Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand of *Israel*? She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were feared and amazed, some of them confined over *Jordan*, and durst not join themselves to the rest, as those of *Ruben* in *Gilead*: that the *Asyrites* kept the Sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the Land; and the Children of *Dan*, who neighbored the Sea, crept into their Ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect, lost. She then curseth the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battle (belike fearing the success) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesteth *Jael* the Wife of *Heber* the *Kanite*, who who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Family of *Heber* were enforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondence with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them means, they withdrew their love and faith to their ancient Friends. Lastly, she curseth the Mother of *Sisera* who promi-

sed her Son the victory in her own hopes: and fancied to her self, and described the spoils both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, the directeth her praise and thanks to God only victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabin*'s oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barak* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed forty years. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544 years, was translated to *Mycene*. The translation of this Kingdom, *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lycus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Alus*, the Son of *Lycus* divided the Kingdom: of which *Arcifus* being eldest, held *Argos* it felt: *Praetor* his Brother possessed *Epipora*, or *Corinth*, and *Tyrinthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territory towards the Sea: there being many Monuments in *Tyrinthos*, which witness *Praetor*'s possession, faith *Pausanias*.

Now *Arcifus* was foretold by an Oracle, that he should be slain by the Son of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no Man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is feigned that *Jupiter* turned himself into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with Child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings Son, or other worthy Man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was born: who when he grew to Mans estate, either by chance (saith *Cicero*) or in shewing his Grand-Father the invention of the *discois*, or Leaden Ball, slew him unwillingly. After this, *Perseus*, to avoid the infamy of *Parricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdoms with his Uncle *Praetor*: and built *Mycene*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that she was inclosed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close custody, *Heraeus* hath this witty observation:

Inclusam Danaen turris ab omni,
Rebusq; excubis, et vigilis canum
Triplicis excubie munierant satis
Noturnis ab Adulteris:

Si non Acrifium Virginis abdide
Cygnidem pavidum, Jupiter & Venus
Risissent, fore eum tutum iter & patens,
Converso in pretium Doo.

Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Ei porramque amant, fax, potentius
Isti fulmine.

The brazen tower with doors close barr'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from secret love:
Till smiling *Venus*, and wife *Jove*
Begun'd her Fathers dread,
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The God into her lap did pour:
Himself, and took his pleasure.
Though guards and stony walls to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treasure.

The

The first Kings of the Argives were these.

Inachus the first King, who began to reign in the first year of *Jacob*, and the 61 of *Isaac*: from which time, to the end of *Sihelene*, *Cassio* miseconechth 400 years. This Kingdom before the translation, *Eurythius* accounteth to have stood 544 years, others but at 417. It was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the *Egyptians* called *Isis*.

Phloroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piraeus,
Phorbus,
Tripotus,
Crotopus,

Siheleneus,
Danaus,
Lycus,
Alus,
Arcifus,
Pelop.

After the translation to *Mycene*, *Mar. Scutus* finds these Kings:

Perseus,
Siheleneus,

Eurythius,

The Sons of *Pelopius* by *Hippodamia*:
and *Arcus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agamemnon,
Eurythius,
Orestes,

Tisamenus,
Pentibulus and
Cometes.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two first, and the last, beginning with *Eurythius*: and ending with *Pentibulus*. In *Tisamenus*'s time the *Heraclides* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barak* and *Deborah*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Iliu*, who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronological* Table, as Contemporaries with *Deborah*.

SECT. V.

Of *Gideon*, and of *Dadalus*, *Spinks*, *Minos*, and others that lived in this Age.

Deborah and *Barak* being dead, the *Midianites*, assisted by the *Amalekites*, invaded *Israel*. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity: The Judge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore, now the neighbouring Nations did to master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hard access: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitful valleys: and in harvest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying all that grew up: covering the Fields as thick as grasshoppers: which servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his Angel stirred up *Gideon* the Son of *Joasaph*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*: whose fear and unwillingness, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprise, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300

out of 32000 Men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts. Each of these 300 by *Gideon*'s appointment carried a Trumpet, and light, in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gave the great Army of his enemies an alarm: who hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the Army of *Israel* to be infinite, and smitten with a sudden fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken, and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slain. In his return the *Ephraimites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, because he made war without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed, fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appealing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his Men being refreshed) he might overtake the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Sereb*, which were taken already, and *Zabab* and *Zalmunna*; which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, fought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places there threatened the revenge, which in his return from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would treat the flesh of those of *Succoth* with thorns and briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and City of *Penuel*. Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse relief to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victory: if I may presume to make conjecture, it seems likely, first, that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions, to be made by the *Mozabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that *Zaba* and *Zalmunna* were escaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these Men: as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of Men especially of those which follow the War, that both envy and malignant others, if they perform any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their own Country, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Country should fall, than hazard and want, than that such merit as they mistake, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or wherefore it were that he refreshed himself and his weary and hungry Soldiers: yet he followed the opportunity, and purified his former victory to the uttermost: and smiting *Zabab* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkar* (suspecting no further attempt upon them) he again surprised them, and slaughtered there 15000 remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000 and withall he took *Zabab* and *Zalmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideon*'s Brethren before at *Tabar*, he caused them both to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request, slew them with his own hands; his Son whom he first

they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandini*, a people inhabited about the mouth of the River *Parthenius*, where *Lyones* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a Southseer of their company was slain by a wild Boar, also here *Typhus* died: and *Aeneas* undertook to fear the Ship. So they passed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucasus*, and came to the River *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchis*. When they were entered the Haven, *Jafon* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colchis*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming, desiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Aetes*, as the Fable goes, promised to do, if he alone would yoke together two brazen hoof Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sow Dragons Teeth, which *Mineros* had given to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and fierce and breathed out Fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Aetes*.

Whilst *Jafon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medea* the Daughter of *Aetes* fell into a most vehement love of him, so far forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came privily to him, promising her help: he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Jafon* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine with which he bade him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence: further she told him, that armed Men would rise out of the ground, from the Teeth which he should sowe, and let upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, he bade him throw stones amongst them as soon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in such wise that he might easily fly them. *Jafon* followed her counsel: whereto when the event had answered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so far from approving his wish desire, that he devised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their Ship; which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Jafon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where, they say it was kept by a Dragon that never slept. This Dragon was by the Magick of *Medea* cast into a sleep: so taking away the Golden Fleece, she went with *Jafon* into the Ship *Argo*: having with her, her Brother *Absyrtus*.

Aetes understanding the practices of *Medea*, provided to pursue the Ship, whom when *Medea* perceived to be at hand, she flew her Brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Aetes* finding some, was fain to seek out the rest, and suffer his Daughter to pass: the parts of his Son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Toni*: the Greek word signifieth Division. Afterwards he sent many of his subjects to seek the Ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not back *Medea*, they should suffer in herstead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*: which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Absyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither: when they came to the Islands *Abyridae*, there the Ship *Argo* (that their might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of *Jupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Ceres*, from the murder of *Absyrtus*. Now they thereupon falling between the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and pulling through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and amongst the coasts of *Hetruria*, came to the Isle of *Eoa*, wherein *Ceres* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence

they sailed by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well, that he stayed them. Only *Euter* (swam out unto them, whom *Pour* ravished, and carried to *Lybiæ* in *Stilly* to dwell.

Having past the *Syrens*, they came between *Sylla* and *Carybdis*, and the stragling Rocks, which seemed to call out great fowls of fancies and flocks. But *Theseus* and the *Noviter*, conveyed them safe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coasted *Sylla*, where the Bees of the Sun were, and touched at *Coryra*, the Island of the *Phaeac*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the Men of *Colchis*, hearing no news of it and fearing his anger, if they failed not his will, brook themselves to new habitations: Some of them dwelt in the Mountains of *Coryra*, others in the Islands of *Abyridae*, and some coming to the *Phaeac*, they found the Ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made answer, that if the were not *Jafon* Wife, they should have her; but if she were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arte*, the Wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: whereto they of *Colchis*, not daring to return home, stayed with the *Phaeac*, so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Island, *Minos* reigned who had a Man of brass given to him (as fong of the Fables say) by *Vulcan*. This Man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was cloaked up with a brazen nail; his name was *Talus*, his custom was to run thrice a day about the Island for the defence of it. When he saw the Ship *Argo* pass by, he threw Stones at it, but *Medea* with her Magick destroyed him. Some say that she flew him by poisons, which he made mad; others, that promising to make him immortal, the drew out the nail that stopp his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died: others there are that say he was slain by *Pean*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* sailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for fresh Water. And lastly, from *Ægina* they sailed by *Eubæa* and *Locris*, home to *Jolchos*, where they arrived, having spent four whole months in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Jafon*, understand the mystery of the Philosophers Stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other superfluous *Chimists* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that the golden Fleece was meant a golden Book of Parchment, which is of sheeps-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metals might be transmuted. Others would signify by *Jafon*, Wildom, and Moderation, which overcome all perils: but that which is most probable, is the opinion of *Derclius*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Jafon* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchis*, to which they might arrive by Boat. For not far from *Caucasus*, there are certain steep falling Torrents, which wash down many Grains of Gold, as in many other parts of the World; and the people there inhabiting use to fit many fleeces of Wool in those descents of Waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water passed thorow, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many Rocks, Straits, Sands, and Currents in the passage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Pictorially converted into those fiery Bulls, the armed Men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleep, and the like. The Man of brass, the *Syrens*, *Sylla* and *Carybdis*, were other hazards

wards and adventures which they fell into the *Mediterranean Sea*, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, under Poetical morals: all which *Homer* afterward used (the man of brass excepted) in the description of *Ulysses* his travels on the same In-land seas.

SECT. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, and Jair, and of the Lapythæ, and of Thebes, Hippolytus, &c.

After the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base Son, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sedomites*, remembering what offers had been made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetual Princes; and, as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Sovereignty, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sedom* (of which his mother was native) to make choice of himself: who being easily moved with the glory, to have a King of their own, readily consented: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed seventy pieces of silver of their Idol *Baal-borith*, with which treasure he hired a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his seventy brethren, the sons of *Gideon*, begotten on his Wives, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but *Jasham* the youngest, who hid himself from his present fury: all which he executed on one day; a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such as it is, neither careth God (though all powerful, and whose revenges are without date, and for exalting) neither hath it respect to nature, which labourous the preservation of every being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beauty, which never dieth, and love that hath no end. All other passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetheth every vice, and is it self the child and darling of *Satan*, looketh only towards the ends by it self set down, forgetting nothing (how cruel and inhumane force) which may serve it: remembering nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right or Religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. If a cruelly the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the error or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praise the adventure, than fear the like success. It was the first kin that the World had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into Hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Devil, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as bestriding every age, and mans condition.

Jasham, the youngest of *Gideons* Sons, having escaped the present peril, fought by his best persuasions to alienate the *Sedomites* from the assisting of this merciless Tyrant, letting them know, that those which were virtuous, and whom Reason and Religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as unlawful, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them, by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it self with its

Fatness, the Fig-tree with its sweetness, and the Vine with the good juice it had: the Example only, who was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the Sovereignty. He also fore-told them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Example, and consume the Cedars of *Labanon*.

Now (as it is an easy matter to call those men back whom rage without right led on) *Gad* the son of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sedom* from the Service of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entered the Town, and maltreated it; and in conclusion freed the Place, wherein their Idol *Baal-borith* was worshipped, and put the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Cattle or Tower of *Tabor*, himself was wounded in the head with a stone thrown over the wall by a woman; and finding himself mortally bruised, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain by so feeble a hand.

Whilst *Abimelech* usurped the Government, the *Lapythæ* and *Canana* made war against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to lit them: in sum, as when they first came down from the Mountains of *Indus*, into the plains, those which had never seen horses before, *Pelæus*, thought their creatures comparable to men and horses; so did the *Macedonians*, when *Ferdinand Cortes* invaded that Empire.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Issachar* governed *Israel* 23 years, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22 years, who seems to be descended of *Jair* the son of *Manasse*, who in *Moses*'s time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, *Manasse Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty years of those Cities which his Ancestor had recovered from the *Amoritians*. Of these Judges, because there is nothing else written, it is argued, that during all their times *Israel* lived without disturbance, and in peace.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Prism* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Thim*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed to ransom, he re-built and greatly strengthened and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the less. He married *Hebe* the Daughter of *Ciffus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fifty sons, wherof seventeen by *Hebe*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Hesione*, took *Helen* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed.

Thesius the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: some Writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Aethra*: but *Phitarch* in the Story of his life, finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea, between it and *Asia* the less, took name. For when *Minos* had maltreated the *Athenians*, so far as he forced them to pay him even of their sons every year for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monster *Minotaur*: because, belike the sons of *Larum*, which he began on *Psiphia* the Queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Thesius* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Country of that slavery occasioned for the death of *Androgon*, *Minos* his son.

And having plotted himself of *Arcturus* affection, who was *Minos*'s daughter, he received from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the

Labyrinth, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in Egypt; by means whereof having slain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should eat a white fall in sign thereof, and not that mournful black fall under which they left the port of *Athens*: This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* deſcrying the ſhip of *Thelus* with a black fall, did caſt himſelf over the Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægean*.

One of the moſt famous acts of *Thelus*, was the killing of *Seyon*, who kept a paſſage between *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian* Iſlands, and threw all whom he ſeized into the Sea, from the high Rocks. *Thelus* terward he did like to *Cecrop*, by wreſtling, who uſed by that art to kill others. He ſlew rid the Country of *Proerpes*, who uſed to bend down the ſtrong limbs of two trees, and ſuſtained by cords ſuch, as he took part to one, and part to the other bough, and by the ſpringing up tare them aſunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other miſchievous thieves and murderers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vaſtations, entered the Territory of *Athens*. *Thelus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phedra*, falling in love, and reſuſing to abuſe his father's bed, *Phedra* perſwaded *Thelus*, that his ſon offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Thelus* beſought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his ſons by ſome violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, ſent out his Sea-Calves, as *Thelus* paſſed by the Sea-ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as caſting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miſerable and undeſired deſtiny, when *Phedra* had heard of, ſhe ſtrangled her ſelf. After which, it is feigned, that *Diana* inſtigated *Æſculapius* to ſet *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to life: which done, becauſe he was chaste, he led him with her into Italy, to accompany her in her hunting, and field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father fought his life, thinking to eſcape by Sea, was affronted therat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his paſſage and eſcape; which wounds, *Æſculapius*, to ſave ſome ſkillful Phyſician, or Chirurgeon, healed again: after which he paſſed into Italy, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he much delighted. But of thoſe antient prophane Stories *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their deſcriptions of the World, where they find many vaſt places whereof they know nothing, fill the ſame, with ſtrange Beasts, Birds, and Fiſhes, and with Mathematical lines: ſo do the Grecian Hiftorians and Poets imbroilard and intermixe the Tales of antient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcours. True it is, that *Thelus* did many great things in imitation of *Heracles*, whom he made his pattern, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians*, from being diſperſed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for deviling them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungovernable multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay, *per Oſtreacnum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on ſhells, which was a device of his own.

He ſlew *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was fifty years old, from *Apollonia*, which City, *Callor* and *Polux* occurred, when they followed after *Thelus* to recover their ſiſter. *Eratſtratus* and *Panſaninus* write, that *Thelus* begot her with child at *Argos*, where the

erected a Temple to *Lutina*: but her age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and ſo doth *Ovid*, *Non tam longa ex ſpecto fructum tulit ille perennis*, &c. The rape *Æſchylus* finds in the ſiſter of *Jas*, who governed *Iſrael* twenty two years, to whom ſucceeded *Jopita* or *Jephtha*, ſix years, to whom *Iſazun*, who ruled ſeven years, and then *Habdon* eight years: in whole time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Thelus* had a child by her in the ſiſter of *Jas*, (at which time we muſt count her no leſs than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin ſo young as they do now) he was then at leaſt two and fifty years old at the deſtruction of *Troy*: and when he was ſlitten by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Eſchylus* and *Bonning*, with *Halicarnasſus*, do in effect confeſs, that the City was entered and burnt in the ſiſter year of *Dionopolis* the ſiſter of *Athens*, the Succellor of *Myſſianus*, the ſiſter of *Thelus*, ſeventeen days before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* croſt the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next ſpring that they navigated into *Silicia*, where wintering the ſecond year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But *S. Auguſtine* hath otherwiſe, That when *Polypides* governed *Sieyon*; *Meſſagers*, *Athens*, *Tautanes*, *Aſſyria*; *Habdon*, *Iſrael*, in twenty ſhips, the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the ſtory of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sieyonia*, *Phlegus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thelus*. His ſuccellors, *Adraſtus*, who reigned four years, and *Polypides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jas*: ſo alſo *Meſſibus* King of *Athens* and *Arctus*, who held a great part of *Peloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the government of theſe two peaceable Judges, *Mirus*, and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Egypt*, *Anenophis*, the ſon of *Rameſus*, and afterwards *Anemanes*.

SECT. VIII.

Of the War of Thebes, which was in this age.

In this age was the War of *Thebes*, the moſt antient that ever Greek Poet or Hiftorian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripatetick*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection:

— Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Remanque & Mandi, ſemperque eterna ſiſter,
Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troje,
Non alia aliſque res exierint Poete?

If all this World had no original,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes*, or *Troy* laſt fall,
Why did no Poet ſing ſome elder War?

It is true, that in theſe times *Greece* was very ſavage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by other hand. Wherefore merchandize and ſtrange intercourſe they uſed little: neither did they plant many trees, or ſow

more corn than was neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none: ſo it is thought that the name of money was not heard of in *Greece*, when *Homor* did write, who meaſures the value of Gold and Braſs by the worth in cattle: ſaying, that the golden Armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred *Beeces*; and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by Land and Sea were common and without ſhame, and to ſeal Horſes or Kine was the uſual exerciſe of their great Men. Their Towns were not many, whereof thoſe that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycene*, the principal City in *Peloponneſus*, was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in ſome ſmall Towns of that half Iſle of *Peloponneſus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſs within their narrow bounds: as likewiſe did the *Athenians*, becauſe their Country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will eaſily appear ſo ſuch as conſider, what *Theophrastus* the greateſt of their Hiftorians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Hiftory. Wherefore, as in theſe later times, idle *Chroniclers* uſe when they want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Froſts, or dry Summers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to read: ſo did they, who ſpoke of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great Floods which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*: or elſe rehearſe Fables of men changed into Birds, of ſtrange Monſters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that favoured of humanity before the time of the war of *Thebes*: the brief ſumme of this is.

Oedipus the ſon of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an Infant, becauſe an Oracle foretold what evil ſhould come to paſs by him; did afterwards in a narrow paſſage, contending for the way, ſlay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queen *Jocasta*, called by *Homor*, *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſs of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his Parents, he underſtood the grievous murder and cure he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wiſe, (and *Oedipus* ther) did hang her ſelf. Some ſay, that *Oedipus*, having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his ſons, becauſe they ſuffered their father to be caſt out of the Town; and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two ſons made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reign one year, and the other another year, and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had after a years government reſigned the Kingdom to his brother: or (as according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the ſiſt year, he reſuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Whereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whoſe Palace coming by night, he was driven to ſeek lodging in an out-houſe, on the backſide.

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſon of *Oeneas*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom driving about their lodging, he fell to blows. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time, perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices*, a Lion, he remembered

an old Oracle by which he was adviſed to give his two Daughters in marriage to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly he did beſtow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deiſippe* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe levying an Army, and aſſembling as many valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous among others to carry *Amphiarans* the ſon of *Ocleus* a great Soothſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiarans*, who is ſaid to have fore-ſeen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains ſhould eſcape, ſave only *Adraſtus*, did both bitterly reſuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyte* the Wiſe of *Amphiarans*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that he ſhould cauſe her Husband to aſſiſt him. The Soothſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbade his Wiſe to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a Jewel, that he could not reſuſe it. Therefore, whereas a great controverſie between *Amphiarans* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromise put unto the deſcion of *Eriphyte*, either of them being bound by ſolemn oath to ſtand to her appointment: the ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould that did love a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was far more eaſie to foreſee then avoid deſtiny, fought for ſuch comfort as revenge might afford him, giving in charge unto his ſons, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their Mother, and make ſtrong war upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which, the ſeven chief Leaders were, Himſelf, *Amphiarans*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſtead of whom ſome name *Meſſippus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Etolian*, and *Parthenopius* the *Arcadian*, ſon of *Meſager* and *Asiantas*. When the Army came to the *Nemean* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſee Water: ſhe having a Child in her arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring: but ere he returned, a Serpent had ſlain the Child. This Woman was *Hippolyte* the Daughter of *Thos* the *Lemnian*, whom the would have ſaved when the Woman of the Iſle flew all the Males by conſpiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her Piety, the *Lemnian* Wives did ſell her to the Pyrates, and the Pyrates to *Lyengrus* Lord of the Country about *Nemea*, whoſe young ſon *Opheleus*, or *Archemorus* he did nurse and ſell, as is ſhewed before. When upon the Childs death the hid her ſelf for fear of her Maſter, *Amphiarans* told her Sons where they ſhould find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlain the Child, and in memory of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemn funeral games, called *Nemean*, wherein *Adraſtus* won the prize with his ſwift horſe *Areon*, *Tydeus* with the worlbrats, *Amphiarans* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopius* at ſhooting, and one *Laudens* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemean* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheleus* a *Lacedemonian*, ſome ſay by *Heracles*, when he had ſlain the *Nemean* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet down.

From *Nemea* the *Argives* marched onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who

who was thoroughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what nictle was in the *Thobans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambush to intercept him at his return to the army, of which fifty he slew all but one, whom he sent back to the City as a Reporter and Witness of his Valour. When the *Argives* understood how resolved *Eteoler* was, they presented themselves before the City, and encamp'd round about it. *Thebes* is said to have had at that time seven gates, which he like flood not far attunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far stronger, could force muster up more thousands than *Thebes* had gates) did compass the Town, *Adrius* quartered before the Gate *Honobider*, *Capaneus* before the *Oxygean*, *Tydus* before *Cronis*, *Amphiarus* at *Proitis*, *Hippomachus* at *Anachis*, *Parthenopans* at *Eledia*, and *Polynices* at *Holythia*. In the mean season, *Eteoler* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advice of *Tydus* the Southfayer, who promised Victory to the *Thobans* if *Meneius* the son of *Cronus*, a principal man of the City, would vow himself to be slain in honour of *Mars* the god of War. So full of malice and pride is the Devil, and so envious at his Creators glory, that he not only call length honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice, with all Divine worship, but commandeth us to offer our selves and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded mens understanding, and bewitched their Wills with ignorance and blind devotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maids, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or fear they were most filled with superstition. But as that *Argive* more wife, for he was less impudent in cunning, though not less malicious in declining the continuance of such barbarous inhumanity. For King *Dipharis* in *Cyprus* without advice of any Oracle, made the Idol of that Country rest contented with an Ox in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Priests in the Groves where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in stead of the living: yet among the salvages in the West *Indies* these cruel offerings have been practised of late Ages: which, as it is a sufficient argument that *Satan's* malice is only covered and hidden by this subtilty among civil people: so it may serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarous then reigning in *Greece*. For *Meneius*, as soon as he understood that his death might purchase Victory to his people, bestowed himself (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himself before the gates of the City. Then was a battle fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed so far at the first, that *Capaneus* advancing ladders to the Walls, got up upon the Rampart: whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or (as Writers wave it) was stricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many, on each part were slain in this battle, which caused both sides to decline that *Eteoler* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in single fight: where to the two brethren according, Row each other.

Another battle was fought after their death, wherein the sons of *Athen* behaved themselves very valiantly: *Iphiclus* oncof the sons, flew *Hippomachus*, which was one of the seven Princes: *Parthenopans* being another of the seven (who was said to have been so fair, that none would hurt him when his face

was bare) was slain by *Amphibius*, or, as some say, by *Periclymenus* the son of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydus*, by *Montippus*: yet ere *Tydus* died, the head of *Montippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiarus*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* such remedy for his wounds, as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argives* being wholly discomfited, *Adrius* and *Amphiarus* fled of whom *Amphiarus* is said to have been swallowed quick into the earth, near to the River *Ismene*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carcases, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrius* escaped on his good horse *Arian*, and came to *Athens*: where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy, he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Cronus* having obtained the government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteoler*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, because she had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Cronus* Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrius*, did send forth an Army under the conduct of *Thesius*, which took *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argives* to sepulture: at which time, *Eteoler* the Wife of *Capaneus* threw her self into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little concerned the sons of those Captains which were slain at *Thebes*, that any less revenge should be taken of their Fathers death, than the ruine of the City: Wherefore ten years after, having levied Forces, *Egeclus* the son of *Adrius*, *Dionides* of *Tydus*, *Pronander* of *Parthenopans*, *Stenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripulus* of *Macisus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Almeon*, the son of *Amphiarus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphydatus*. *Apollo* promised Victory, if *Almeon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another Oracle, he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountered by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteoler* then King of the *Thobans* (for *Cronus* was only Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battel, and slew *Egeclus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Almeon*. After this disaster, the Citizens began to desire composition: but in the mean time they conveyed themselves with their Wives and Children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Elicia*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entering in it, sacked it, threw down the Walls, and laid it waste: howbeit it is reported by some, that the Town was saved by *Thersander* the son of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he saved the City from utter destruction, it is very likely: for he reigned there, and led the *Thobans* to the War of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of Jephtha, and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of, Judg. 11. 28. are to be reconciled with the places, Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. together with some other things touching Chronology about these times.

AFTER the death of *Jair* (near about whose time these things happened in *Greece*, and during whose Government, and that of *Tolia*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law and Service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Astartis*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoining, and embraced the Idols of the *Arameans*, of the *Zidonians*, *Mosabites*, and *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistines*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Arameans*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistines*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppressed, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were incited to seek *Jephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born: but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after Victory. And when he had disposed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproved *Ammon's* right, and fortified the Title of *Israel* by many arguments, the fear prevailing nothing, he began the war, and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not only beat them out of the Plains, but forced them over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minuth*, and *Ahal* of the vineyards, Cities except hereofore in the description of the Holy Land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vain vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature he encountered, coming out of his house to meet him: which happened to be his own daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted her self, and only desired two months time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*: because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that she was not offered, is more probable, which *Barbeus* and others prove sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephtha's* victory, or otherwise making way to their future calamity, and to the most grievous slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephtha*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had contended with *Gilead*. *Jephtha* hereupon enforced to defend himself against their fury, in the encounter, slew of them 42000 which so weakened the body of the Land, as the *Philistines* had an easy conquest of them all not long after. *Jephtha*, after he had judged *Israel* six years, died: to whom succeeded *Ishazan*, who ruled seven years: after him *Elon* was their Judge ten years: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Ephraim* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of *Jephtha's* account of the times, Judg. 11. 28. (where he says that *Israel* had

then possit the East side of *Jordan* 300 years) to speak somewhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologists: there being found three places of Scripture touching this point, seeming repugnant or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *St. Paul*, Acts 13: the third is that which is in the list of Kings. *Jephtha* here calleth the possession of *Gilead* for 300 years: *St. Paul* giveth to the Judge, as it seems, from the end of *Jephtha* to the last of *Eli*, 450 years. In the list of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomon's* Temple, there were continued 480 years. To the first, *Berosius* hindeth *Jephtha's* 300 years to be but 266 years, to wit, 18 of *Josias*, 40 of *Osbonid*, 80 of *Adad* and *Samgar*, 40 of *Deborah*, 40 of *Gideon*, 23 of *Abimelech*, 23 of *Tolia*, and 22 of *Jair*: But *Jephtha* (if *Berosius*) putteth off the least a certain number for an uncertain: *Sic in leat annum agi per recordandum, ex quo minus litter es de re memoris Iphthalis*: *St. de streghis* (saith he) in meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh, the three hundred years, since *Israel* possessed, or held, *Cadmon* on the contrary, finds more years than *Jephtha* named by 65; to wit, 365, whereof 71 were spent in *Israel's* captivity, at several times, of which (as *Cadmon* thinketh) *Jephtha* forbore to repeat the whole sum, or any great part, lest the *Ammonites* should have justly objected, that 71 of those years the *Israelites* were in captivity, and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred years, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justify this account of 365 years, besides the 71 years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Berosius* his 266, he addeth also 28 years more, and so maketh up the sum of 365. These 28 years he findeth out thus: twenty years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Josias* and *Obinid*: and where *Berosius* alloweth eighteen years to *Josias* his government, *Cadmon* accounts that his rule lasted 26, according to *Josaphat*: whereas *Saint Augustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27. *Melanthion* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28 years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years affliction (to wit 34 years of the 71) if we add them to the 266 years of *Berosius*, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300 years. Neither is it strange that *Jephtha* should leave out more than half of the years of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might exert against the 71 years, and say, that during these years, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Country in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300 years remembered by *Jephtha*, to be 306, which odd years, saith he, *Jephtha* omitteth. But because the years of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306, but do only compound 266, therefore doth *Luther* add to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Deserts of *Arabia Petraea*, which forty years of *Moses* added to the number which *Berosius* hindeth of 266, make indeed 366.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgment herein: for in the dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Beatus* *Israel* took my Land, when they came up from *Egypt*, from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, &c. more therefore restore these Lands again!

quickly, or in peace. So by this place it is plain, that the times not to be accounted from *Moser's* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was possit. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Balaad Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephtha's* answer also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Helbon, and in her Tarnis, and in Aroer, and in her Tarnis, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300 years: why did ye not then recover them in that space? so as this place speaks it directly, that Israel had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300 years: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intent, that *Israel* had to possit it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me: for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possitions.*

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and says, that this time of 300 years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephtha's* narration: when he makes a brief recitation of *Moser's* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, and therefore Moser's his 40 years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305 years: and not only the time in which Israel possit Gilead, according to the Text, and Jephtha's own words: of which I leave the judgment to others: to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480 years, from the deliverance out of Egypt to the Temple, even from the first departure out of Egypt, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of Saint Paul's and Jephtha's account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been figured. For first, touching Jephtha's three hundred years of possition of the East-side of Jordan, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possited it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossited *Moab* and *Ammon* there of: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possition which they had, passed to *Israel's*: and so *Jephtha* might say, that they had possited those Countries 300 years, reckoning 266 years of their own possition, and the rest of the possition of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whole right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.*

The second place disputed is this of Saint Paul, *1. Cor. 13*, that from the end of *Jofua's*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there pass 450 years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Paulinus Krouschwinke*, and *Beza*) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moser*, to the last year of *Hebi*, but 357 years: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6, is said to be 480 years.

Now so far as Saint Paul (as it seems) finds 450 years from the death of *Jofua* to the last of *Hebi*, and leaves but thirty years for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40, for *David* who ruled 40, and for *Solomon* who wore the Crown three whole years: and that the foundation of the Temple was laid: therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of Saint Paul, to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450 years, unto the time of Samuel the Prophet*: the words [then afterward] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death of *Jofua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where Saint *Luke*, rehearsing the words of Saint Paul, wrote 350 years (with

Luther) the Scripture in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two Greek words, wherof the one signifieth 300, and the other 400, wrote *Tetraesios*, for *Triaesios*: 400 years for 300 years and 450 for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moser's* death, he takes his account from the death of *Jofua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430 years: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Samson's* years) 319, and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Samson's* twenty years is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40 years, in which he thinks that *Samson* was oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Samson's* time, they were Lords over *Israel*. So then of the *Judges*, besides the 111 years of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319 years, which two sums put together, make 430 years. And whereas Saint Paul nameth 450 years, he finds 20 years to make up Saint Paul's number, to have been spent after the death of *Jofua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Gushan*, or the election of *Oboniel*: which 20 years added to 430 make 450, according to Saint Paul. To approve this time of the *Elders*, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24 of *Jofua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel* served the Lord all the days of *Jofua*, and all the days of the *Elders* that over-lived *Jofua*: so as to these times of the *Elders*, *Codoman* giveth 20 years, which make as before 450, according to Saint Paul. Neither would it breed any great difficulty to this opinion, if here also the 20 years of the *Seniors* between *Jofua* and their years, and make *Oboniel's* 40 to begin presently upon the death of *Jofua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20 years less than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the forty years of the *Philistines* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20 years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40 years of oppression all of them apart from *Samson's* 20: but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Samson's* 20 to be the one half of the forty of the *Philistines* oppressions: so that if the 20 years of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seems to enforce) that the *Philistines* in any Inter-regnum, before *Samson* judged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40 years, besides the 20 while *Samson* was their Judge: and so the reckoning will come to 450 years from the end of *Jofua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an Inter-regnum of the *Seniors* between *Jofua* and *Oboniel*: For, if the times of their afflictions be summed, they make 111 years, to which if we add the years of the *Judges*, 339, we have the just sum of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seem to be much more profitable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350 for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350 years, is to begin immediately, or soon after the death of *Moser*: certainly the place of Saint Paul doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was vitium scriptoris in the text. For these are Saint Paul's words: *And about the time of forty years, God suffered their manners in the wilderness: and he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided*

divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450 years, unto the time of Samuel the Prophet. So as first in the eighteenth Verse he speaketh of *Moser*, and of his years spent in the Wilderness, then in the nineteenth Verse he cometh unto the acts of *Jofua*: which were, that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verse it followeth, *Then afterward he gave them Judges about 450 years, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moser*, is wide of Saint Paul's meaning, so far as my weak understanding can piece it. The only inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the Acts, is, that it seems irreconcilable with the account, 1 Reg. 6. 11. For if indeed there were past 450 years between the end of *Jofua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 450 years between the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* answereth, that these 480 years, 1 Reg. 6. 1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25 years after the beginning of *Oboniel's* government: from whence if we call the years of the *Judges*, with the years of servitude (which sums, according to his account, of which we have already spoken, mak 397 years) and so to these years add the 40 of *Saul*, and *Samuel*, and the 40 of *David*, and the 3 of *Solomon*, we shall have the just sum of 480 years. Neither is it hard, faith he, that the annus egressionis, sed finis, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be understood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so we find that things which were done forty years after they had set foot out of *Egypt*, as *Psal. 114*, *When Israel came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back. And Psal. 4. 45*, *These are the testimonies which Moses sang when they came out of Egypt*. And thus far it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the ab exinit, to be as much as *quasi ex initio*, or ab exinit finis: for if *Junius*, *Danti* 4. 45. do well recit quum ex initio, for in exinit, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound ab exinit to be, postquam ex initio?

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to have had end until the 25 year after the victory of *Oboniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end, till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time: at which time the *Danites* 18. at length feared themselves, as it is declared, *Judg. 18*. For doubting to this time the Expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephtha*, and of Saint Paul, with that in the first of *Kings* 6. Now whereas it is said, that the Expedition of the *Danites* was then there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Oboniel* lived all those 40 years of rest, of which *Judg. 3. 11*. to that by the 25 year after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Giddon* did, he might have refused all Sovereignty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25 year after *Oboniel's* victory) there was

no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plain Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it left round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: especially considering, that the speeches of St. Paul have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set down. But seeing that he wanted all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded: it being such as the content of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Oboniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that *Oboniel* did so renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law by *Moser*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*: like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land, for so all journeys with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think that he can find no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or faith by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most unproperly it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely, to say, that King *Edward* at his arrival out of *Palestina* did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then believe that enterprize performed 60 many years after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the journeys end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the only guide for certain ages in sacred Chronology, should not take name and beginning from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, wherof the very day and month are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the year and month wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by six hundred men, that robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods Name? For this accident wherupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposed, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best fitted with his interpretation to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it self.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the Apostle Saint Paul did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but only to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raise up our Lord *Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose Succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much, which I ended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true *Messias*) the

Apollie was so fur from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well known and believed of the few to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40 years consumed in the Wilderness, wherof no man doubted, saying, that God suffered their wanderings in the Wilderness about 40 years. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the Land unto the days of Samuel the Prophet, in whose time they required to have a King, there passed about 450 years. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339 years of the *Judges*; for this had been an impertinent digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work so good as laborious, to search out of this place that the Apollie did not here intend to teach, when the sum of 480 years is so expressly and purposely set down.

Now that the words of St. Paul (if there be no fault in the copy through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of Chronology, but must be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the Vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40 years to the reign of Saul: whereas it is manifest that those years were divided between Saul and Samuel, yea, that far the greater part of them were spent under the government of the Prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forke the general opinion, when it favoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good mind, to help where the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of St. Paul were sufficiently justified by Bernardus, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those days, that the 111 years of servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339 years ascribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apollie would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speak as the Vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis; At si vere four hundred and fifty years.* But Codoman being not thus contented, would needs have it to be indeed, and therefore dis-joynes the members to make the account even. In so doing he defendeth himself against a notable Text, wherupon all Authors have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth call up the years from the departure out of Egypt, unto the building of Solomon's Temple, not omitting the very month it self.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith to his own interpretation of St. Paul, he thinketh it more needful to find some new explication for that which is of it self most plain, and to examine his own conjecture

upon a place that is full of controverſie. Thus by expounding after a strange Method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loſeth himſelf in thoſe ways wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one ſhould urge him to give reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwer, that *Obſcurity* could not govern above 25 years, becauſe then was the taking of *Laiſh*; at *which time there was no King in Iſrael*; That the *Danites* muſt needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple, to any action that might be termed the coming of *Iſrael out of Egypt*, without excluding the years of ſervitude; And that the years of ſervitude muſt needs be included, for that otherwiſe he himſelf ſhould have ſpent his time vainly, in ſeeking to pleaſure St. Paul with an expolition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the decision of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtory. To the time of *Jephtha* are referred the death of *Heracles*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the provisions which her husband *Meneſlaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, & his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Iſhan* from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had fix years to prepare themſelves: the rule holding not true in this War, *Longa præparatio belli celerem offeri videtur*: That a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victory: for the *Greeks* conſumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it ſeems, was entered, ſackt, and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* was taken, which was in the ſixth year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule, died, after he had been the Father of 40 ſons, and 30 grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40 years of *Iſrael's* oppreſſion by the *Philiftines* (of which *Judge*, 13. 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the laſt of *Habdon*: I ſee no reaſon for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cauſe of quarrel againſt *Jephtha*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philiftines* had held them in ſervitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought againſt the *Philiftines* with ſo powerful an Army for their own deliverance, than againſt their own brethren the *Iſraelites*? but *Æneas* being overthrowen, it ſeemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore theſe 40 years muſt either be ſupplied elſewhere, as in the time of *Samſon*, and afterward: or elſe they muſt be referred to the *Inter-regnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Iſrael* by *Samſon*, ſuch as it was.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

SECT. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the antient Poets, how they have observed hiſtorical truth.

THe War at *Troy*, with other ſtories hereupon depending (becauſe the ruine of this City, by moſt Chronologers is found in the time of *Habdon* Judg of *Iſrael* whom in the laſt place I have mentioned) I rather choſe here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal deſcent of their Princes, than to break the ſtory into peices by rehearſing a-part in divers years, the diverſity of occurrents.

The Hiſtory of the antient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Tæcer* and *Dardanus* were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineſcius* thinks) took from *Beroſus*, it is the more probable: if *Æneius* borrowed it of him, then it reſts upon the authority of *Virgil*, who ſaith thus:

Gives it their Captains name, and calls it *Italy*:
This feat belongs to us; hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of your ſtock, *Jafius*,

*Atque equidem memini (ſama eſt obſcurior annis)
Auruncos ita ſeſſe ſenſe, hic ortus ab agris
Dardanus Idæus, Phrygiæ præteritæ vicque ad urbes,
Throacique Sænum, que nunc Sæmbracia feratur,
Hinc illam Coryti Tyrrhenæ ab ſede proficium,
Aurea nunc folio ſtellantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the ſame obſcure)
would tell

Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*,
From hence he came into *Phrygia* did ſiege
And leaving *Tuſſaine* (where he earſt had place)
With *Corytus* did fall to *Samothrace*:
But now introyhized he ſits on high,
In golden Palace of the ſtarry Sky.

But contrary to this, and for many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineſcius* thinks that theſe names, *Tæcer*, *Tæcer*, & *Thraceer*, are derived from *Tæcer* or *Thæcer* the Son of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Myſians*, and *Aſianians*, mixt with the *Trojanians*, were *Germane Nations*, deſcended from *Abheſax*, the Son of *Gomer*: of whom the Country, Lake, and River of *Aſſinien* in *Aſia*, took name. That *Abheſax* gave name to thoſe places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Aſianians* think, that many others did in aftertimes paſs into *Europe*: that the name of *Tæcer* came of *Tæcer*, the conjecture is ſomewhat hard. Concerning *Tæcer*, whereas *Halicarnæſus* makes him an *Aſiatican*, I find none that follow him in the ſame opinion. *Virgil* (as is before ſhewed) reported him to be of *Crete*, whoſe authority is the more to be regarded, becauſe he had good means to find the truth, which is it probable that he care fully fought, and in this did follow, ſeeking it no way concerned *Auguſtus* (whom other, while he did flatter) whether *Tæcer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineſcius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diadorus*, and others that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Son of *Samander* and *Idæa* Lord of the Country, not founder of the City; and his Daughter or Neceſſe *Baria* was the ſecond Wife of *Dardanus* founder of *Troy*. *Reineſcius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his Daughter *Electra* to *Corythus*, or *Coritus*: and that theſe were parents to *Chryſis*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the Son of *Electra* by *Jupiter* which *Electra* was the Daughter of *Atlas*, and Wife to *Coritus* King of *Hætoris*, to whom the late *Jafius*,

Æneid. 3. *Crete Jovis magni medio jacet inſula Ponto:
Mons Idæus ubi, & genis canabula noſtra.
Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximæ undæ Pater (ſi ritè audita recorder)
Teucer Rhæus primus eſt adveſtus ad ora,
Opæſque locum regno. Nondum illum & æreæ
Pergameæ ſteterant: habitabant vallibus imis,
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiæ æra,
Idæumque nomen.*

In the main Sea the Ile of *Crete* doth lie
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is a mount *Idæ* there in fruitful Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities ſtand
Thence (if I follow not miſtaken ſtance)
Teucer the eldeſt of our grand-fires came
To the *Rhæusian* ſhores: and reigned there,
Ere yet fair *Ilium* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy*: their dwelling place they fought.

In lowly Vallies. Hence *Cybele* rites were brought:
Hence *Corybantiæ* *Cymbals* did remove;
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it ſeemeth by *Virgil*, who followed ſurely good authority, that *Teucer* firſt gave name to that Country, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built: by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the ſame book the ſpeaks thus:

*Eſt locus, Hæſſorian Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba,
Oenotri colere vires; nunc ſama miſeros
Italiæ doſſile, ducis de nomine gentem.
He nobis propriæ ſides: hinc Dardanus ortus:
Jafiusque Pater, genus à quo princeps noſtrum.*

Hæſſoria the *Greeks* call the place:
An antient fruitful Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians held it: now the later progeny

all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the World; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Hefione*, King *Priamus* his Sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true: for *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruel Man, seeing his own Son *Troas* durst not come in his sight, after the War of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, only because his Brother *Ajax* (which *Troas* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so, that *Hefione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her Brother would seek to take her from her Husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had born Children, which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hefione*, but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to do that which in those days was very common. For not only *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*; as *Herodotus* discourseth, but all people were accustomed to steal Women and Cattel, if they could be by strong hand or power get them: and having slain them, either to kill them away in some far Country, or keep them to their own use. So did *Theseus* and *Pyrythos* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were to common, that none durst inhabit near unto the Sea, for fear of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no less lawful than merchandise: wherefore *Theseus*, the Father of *Helen*, confiding in the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her Woomen, who were most of the principal Men in *Greece*, to bind themselves by solemn oaths, that they were taken from her Husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his Daughter, who chose *Menelaus* Brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helen*'s rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made unto her Father *Theseus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Islands: he was also rich in Money, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own Ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that expedition.

This did all *Greeks*, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two Brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour of that great enterprise: take Arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greek* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200 sayl, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build Ships with decks: only they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small Ships, meet for robbing on the Sea, the least of which carried fifty Men, the greatest 120, every Man (except Captains) being both a Mariner and a Soldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Greek* Army consisted of 100000 Men or thereabout. This was the greatest Army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of that Army doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the City, not the tenth part of this number; as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers* *Iliads*: but their followers and aids were very many and

strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Misra*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the less, took part with the *Trojans*. The *Amazons* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memon* out of *Affrica* (though some think out of *Aethiopia*) came to their defence.

SECT. III.

Of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to *Troy*, and of *Helen*'s being detained in *Egypt*, and of the sacrificing of *Iphigenia*.

Wherefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to trial of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Embassadors to *Troy*, who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his House. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto is uncertain, *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The sum of his discourse is this.

Paris in his return with *Helen*, being driven by foul weather unto the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Ptolemus* then King of *Egypt* finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her Husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the *Greek* demanding *Helen* had answer, that she was in *Egypt*, they thought themselves deluded; and thereupon made the War which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his Wife of *Ptolemus*, and the whole Nation of *Poets* (except *Proclus*) vary from this History, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homers* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed that he made for pleasure, and if he were driven by contrary Winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such Winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any Port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the Wind had come about, and served for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madness for *Priamus* to see to many miseries befall him, during the war, and to many of his Sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was his Son to the Kingdom (for *Hector* was elder), nor equal in vertue to many of the rest. Besides it may seem that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly then truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the War of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queen *Hecuba*, considering that she had been ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that the wife of *Silvers* to *Castor* and *Pollux*, the and *Pollux* being said by some to have been twins) who failed with the *Argonauts*, having *Tela-*

mon the Father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Hefione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a Principal Commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were so that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, it is to that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks* hereupon incensed, made all haft towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchus* (whom some say to have been a runagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homers*) filled the Captains, and all the Host with many troublefome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnon* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the Goddess was contented with a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devil, which waits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchus* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatal impediments were removed; and that till ten years were past, the Town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprise: under the command of *Agamemnon* who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*, *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phoenix*, *Ajax* the sons of *Telamon*, *I-domenus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor* and his sons *Antilochus* and *Thersites*; *Ulysses*, *Menelaus* the son of *Petrus*, Captain of the *Athians*; *Dionides* the son of *Tydemus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamides*, *Alicalaphus*, and *Jalmenus*; the sons of *Mars*, who had failed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the son of *Peas*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Chalco* said, that the City could not be taken, *Ajax* the son of *Oilius*, *Peneles*, *Theas*, *Eumelus*, *Tylandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sibecus*, *Teipolonus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the sons of *Aesculapius*; *Epous*, who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the Town was taken; and *Protesilans*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatened death to him that landed first.

SECT. IV.

Of the Ads of the Grecians at the siege.

These, and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy* found such sharp entertainment, as might easily privide them to think that the war would be more than one years work. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilans*, whom *Hector* slew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*; Gave only that by their numbers of men, they were ground enough to encamp themselves in as ap-pearch in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallness of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to fend some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Chorone* to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the Town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such *Greeks* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat, if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, That from the first year, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, and *Horace* commendeth as very credible, the report of *Horodius*, that the *Greeks* did not lay before *Troy* the first nine years; but only did bear up and down the Seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves; and so by waiting the Enemies Country, did block up the Town, until when they returned not, until the fatal time drew near when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them; and therefore fitting upon an high Tower (as *Homers* tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is *Hom. 12.* like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the Town 10 many years together. Between these relations of *Thucydides* and *Horodius*, the difference is not much, the one saying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by Land and by Sea: the others that the whole army did spend the time in waiting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many Towns and Islands waited, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great pellence arose among the *Greeks*: which *Homers* saith, that *Apollo* felt in revenge of his Priest's Daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go for any ransom: but *Horodius* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun, who raised pestilential Fogs, by which the Army was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the Camp was over-pelted with those who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having all grounded their Ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and to the rest of the chief Captains in order; when the South-layer *Calchus* had wilfully that *Agamemnon* Woman should be restored to her Father *Apollo*'s Priest, so that the pellence might cease; then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say that he alone would not lose his part of the spoil, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* denied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to fend forth his Captains. But the *Greeks*, encouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having lent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money; wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words in *Homers*), or for love of himself and his Sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair Daughters; partly also (as we may well guess) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks* when they waited the Countries adjoining unto *Troy*. So that when

when Hector issued out of the Town, he was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of Men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the Trojan Army, were Hector, Paris, Diopimus, Helenus, and the other Sons of Priamus: Aeneas, Antenor, and his Sons Polidamus, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Asius, and the Sons of Panthrus, besides Rhefus, who was slain the first night of his arrival; Memnon, Queen Penthesilea, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between these and the Greeks were many battles fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tomb of King Ilus upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Camp, wherein Hector brake through the fortifications of the Greeks, and began to fire their Ships: at which time Ajax the Son of Telamon, with his Brother Teucer, were in a manner the only Men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against Hector, when the state of the Greeks was almost desperate.

Another battle (for so Antiquity calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by Patroclus, who having obtained leave, drew forth Achilles's Troops: relieving the weary Greeks with a fresh supply. Agamemnon, Diomedes, Ulysses, and the rest of the Princes though sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of Patroclus, repelled the Trojans very hardly. For in that fight Patroclus was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the armour of Achilles which he had put on, being torn from him by Hector. It was the manner of those Wars, having slain a Man, to strip him, and hale away his body, not restoring it without ransom, if he were one of Mark. Of the vulgar, little reckoning was made: for they fought all on Foot, lightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their Captains, who rode not upon Horses, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three Horses, which were guided by some truly followers of theirs, which drove up and down the Field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftness of their Horses, presenting themselves where need required, threw first their javelins, and then alighting, fought on Foot, with Swords and Battle-Axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their arms defensive were Helmets, Breast-plates, Boats of Brass, or of Metal, and shields commonly of Leather Plated over. The offensive were Swords and Battle-Axes at hands and Stones, Arrows or Darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their Armour, which the strongest and stoutest were heaviest, also that from them they might throw their javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which Weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the Field: wherfore they were often driven to return to their Tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of Armour they had little change or none: every Man (speaking of the chief) carried his own complement, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some Captain whom he had slain, and stripped; or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore Achilles had lost his Armour, which Hector (as is said before) had taken from the body of Patroclus, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could encounter the fight: wherof he became very desirous,

that he might revenge the death of Patroclus his dear friend.

At this time Agamemnon reconciled himself unto Achilles, not only restoring his Concubine Briseis, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next Battle Achilles did so behave himself, that he did not only put the Trojans to the worst, but also slew the valiant Hector, whom (if Homer may herein be believed) he chased three times about the Walls of Troy. But great question may be made of Homer's truth in this narration. For it is not likely that Hector would stay alone without the City (as Homer doth report of him) when all the Trojans were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of Xanthus and Simois, as he must have done in that fight: nor that the Trojans, perceiving Hector in such an extremity, would have forbore to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace Achilles, who having (by what means soever) slain the noble Hector, did not only carry away his dead body as the custom then was, but boring holes in his Feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tied him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the Field, selling the dead body to his Father Priamus for a very great ransom. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenge'd; for he was shortly after slain with an arrow by Paris, as Homer says in the *Secon* Gate: or as others, in the Temple of Apollo, whither he came to have married Polyxena the Daughter of Priamus, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her Brethren: and his body was ransomed (as *Lyophras* saith) at the self same rate that Hector's was by him sold for. Not long after this, Penthesilea Queen of the Amazons arrived at Troy, who after some proof given of her Valour, was slain by Pyrrhus the Son of Achilles.

SECT. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the wooden Horse, the Book of Dares and Dyctis, the Colonies of the Reliques of Troy.

Finally, after the death of many Worthy Persons on each side, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treason of *Eneas* and *Antenor*, or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common Fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some saith that upon one of the Gates of Troy, called *Scæa*, was the Image of a Horse, and that the Greeks entering by that Gate, gave occasion to a report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horse. It may well be, that with some wooden Engine, which they called a Horse, they either did batter the Walls as the Romans in after-times used to do with the Ram: or scaled the Walls upon the fudden, and so took the City. As for the hiding of Men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the Trojans might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those Princes of Greece, that were enclosed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon): or they might have left it a few days without the City (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Walls upon the fudden to do it): by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by

issuing

SECT. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks returning from Troy.

issuing forth, unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this Horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the Gates, and that therefore the Trojans were fain to pull down a part of their Wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greeks did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest, that the including of so many principal men was altogether needless, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the Army, so that the surprising of any Gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his History of Africa, differing from this War, saith that the Greeks did both batter the Walls with a Wooden Engine; and were also let into the City by *Antenor*, at the *Secon* Gate: the Townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the Fleet of the Greeks had hoisted Sail, and was gone the day before to the Iles of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the Trojans into security. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares*, and *Dyctis* must prove, which whether we now have the time that were by them written, it may be suspected, for surely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two Authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that War made against the common report, had it so: been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous, or else contained no such repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of Men slain in this War, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to have been above 60000 on the Trojan side, and more then 80000 of the Greeks, it is a report merely fabulous: for as much as the whole Fleet of the Greeks was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200 sail, and the Army therein transported over the Greek Seas, not much above 100000 Men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of Men to extol the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause, both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the Greeks that served in the War, and *Virgil* with others, were as diligent in commending and extolling the Trojans and their City, from which the Romans descended. Yea the *Albanians* long after in the War which *Xerxes* the Persian King made against all Greece, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Melanthus* the Son of *Peleus* had shewed in marshalling the Grecian Army before Troy: wherupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yield unto *Golon*, King of almost all Sicily, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200 good fighting ships, and 30000 Men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in these parts of the World, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes that warred at Troy; all difficulties or unlikelihoos in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability, came of the Trojans, were the *Albanians* in Italy; and from them the Romans, brought into that Country by *Eneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoining, by *Antenor*: the *Chalcians* planted in *Euboea* by *Helenus*, the Son of King Priamus. To which *Hellenus* addeth, that the Politeny of Hector did assemble such of the Trojans as were left, and reigned over them about Troy.

Concerning the Greeks, they taied as much misery as they had brought upon the Trojans. For *Thesides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borders from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrival: others were debarr'd from the Sovereignty among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the Army, which weakened much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many peices, under several Commanders, nor very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set Sail, *Agamemnon* and his Brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them failed to the Isle of *Tenedos*: where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*: others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole Fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perfwaded in hate.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oristes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoteus*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salonians*, and *Philoteus* at *Petilia* in Italy. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer *Aegisthus*, who for a while after usurped his Kingdom. *Meneleus* wandering long upon the Seas, came into *Aegypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the matherhip of his own house. All the rest, either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and lain to seek out new habitations.

Ajox the Son of *Oileus* was drowned: *Taueus* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Dannus*, who was Lord of the *Japiger* in *Apulia*; some of the *Lorians* were driven into *Africa*, others into Italy, all the East part wherof was called *Magna Grecia*, by reason of so many Towns which the Greeks were driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the Grecian Ladies, whose Husbands had been at the War of Troy, were wont to call it, The place where the Greeks suffered misery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned. And thus much for Troy, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judg of *Israel*, whom *Samson*, after a vacancy or Inter-regnum for certain years, succeeded.

respect of the blessing of God, both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the finds of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Interests*, and multiply, &c. and in *Duteronomy* the seventh, *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service: to which he delivered him even from the dug. For as the first-born of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five shekels, and between five years and twenty, for twenty shekels: so was it not required by the Law, that any of the race of the Levites should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, and yet did *Moser* account himself such a one; as in the 18th of *Duteronomy*, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me*, &c. But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as before time in *Israel*, when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; *Come and let us go in the old time called a Seer*. And although it pleased God to appear by his Angels to *Moser*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision: not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from *Israel*: but as the *Caldean* Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before *Samuel's* time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Matpah* or *Mispha*, seated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: also *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The *Philistines* taking knowledge of the assembly

and preparation of War at *Mispha*, in the beginning of *Samuel's* government, gathered their Army, and marched towards the City: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistines* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel's* prayers (as he was by those of *Moser*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at the first entrance into *Arabia*;) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the Army of the *Philistines*: according to the prophecy of *Hanna*, *Samuel's* Mother, *The Lord's adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall be thunder upon them*, &c. *Josephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philistines* were swallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victory. After which, *Samuel* erected a Monument in memory of his happy success, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* calls *Lapidum fortis*: *Samuel*, *Ebenzer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in the possession of the *Philistines*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assailed from divers parts at once; having the *Philistines* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanites* toward the North and East, and the *Idumeans* on the South. The elite being thus fortified, *Samuel* for the sake of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.

* *Plato* reports of *Namur*, the second King of *Rome*, that when he was sacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismayed, but said, *Ego autem sacrifico*, or I am sacrificious.

and is so still, by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For nift he makes them know that the King will use their sons in his own service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotiers, and Foot-men; which is not only not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground no less proper and pertaining to those that are thence bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *He will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Olive tree, and give them to his servants*; with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination

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continue this Text farther otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Sovereigns hand. The former opinion is grounded on that upon that place of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many wives, covetousness, and the like, he commanded that the Kings which were to reign over *Israel*, should write the Law of *Duteronomy*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, and his Sons*. But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Laws of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *That which is left and right shall thou follow, that thou mayst live*. Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much less lawful to take the vineyard it self from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as do warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will anything from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sons: and again, *This shall be the manner of the King that shall raise up you*. God thereby fore-shewing what power, levered from piety (because it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hercof we find the first example in *Abish*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with righteous judgment*. Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsely accused, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of Law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the Kings, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testifieth of himself: *Possit me in caput gentium*: For this of *S. Augustinus* is very true: *Summa Legis inconvicta, non est inconvicta: simulata equitas, non est equitas: sed dupliciter peccatum in quo est iniquitas & Simulatio; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity, are neither*

the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and dissimulation. Such in effect is their dissipation, who think this place to contain the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchie*; which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less here to infer. Only thus much I will say, that if practice do shew the greatness of authority, even the best Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so eyed by any laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be slain without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moser* in *Duteronomy*, but perceived by *Isaac* in this Scripture: *The scepter shall not depart from Juda*, &c. It was *Gen. 49. 10. 11.* also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For he was not only assured that his issues should number equal the stars in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him: which state seeing it is traced from the pattern of his sole, who is Lord of the Universe; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath observed that civil war *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many years: and when it faced best with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*: the *Philistines* the Sea-coasts; and the *Jebusites*, *Jerusalem* it self, till *David's* time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but he maltreated and subjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations, to live under a Monarch, or whether by this means they fought to be cleared from the sons of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the persuasions; and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a King both to judge them and defend them: whereunto *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his own City and abiding.

SECT. II.

Of the election of Saul;

AFTER that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Matpah*, he forbore the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath* *Sepphim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also having waned

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAUL.

SECT. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

But when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, *Joad* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Bethel*, at *Judah*, the very utmost towards the South of *Judea*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and virtue of their Father: For the thirst of covetousness, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Justice and Judgment to the best Chapman. Which when the Elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the crooks of his own, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom

they might be judged as other Nations were; who might also lead them to the War, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossoms promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much revered, but by the choice of a King. In a censure of to great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his left arguments to deter them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath been, and

dred divers days to seek his fathers Affes, at length, by the advice of his kinsmen, travelled towards Ramoth to find a Secor or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beatts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who fought an Als and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jabro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beatts; and changed his sheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *Jahn* and *Janes* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours; but permanent and everlasting in Gods everlasting Kingdom.

When *Saul* was entered into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the king, whom he expected, and stayed his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Saul*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Saul* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Saul* in what part of the City the Lord dwelt; *Saul* answered, that himself was the man he sought, and prayed *Saul* to go before him to the high place, where all *Saul* were invited, according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should encounter him by *Rachels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Affes were found, and that his Fathers cars were changed from the fear of losing his beatts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Labor*; then a company of Prophets; and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecy with them; and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men induced with spiritual gifts, were not of the mit and most-reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings and wrought miracles, of which number were *Moses*, *Jehna*, *Saul*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Abias*, *Elias*, *Elisear*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and the rest to these Prophets, & faith St. *Chrysostom*, *Omnia tempora pertransit, preterita, presentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom St. Paul speaketh, 1 Cor. 14. 14. who enriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Mizpeh*, *Saul* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had passed between him and *Saul*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeh*, the general opinion is, that the Lord was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of *Priest*, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked the counsel of the Lord. But the calling of lots

was not only much used among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jews* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Paufanias*, and others, have remembered divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other Nations; as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called *Divitory*; the Third, *Divinatory*, and unto one of these three, all may be reduced, all which kinds, however they may seem chanciful, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord*. And in like sort fell the Kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Saul* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Josephus* confess it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Saul*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least Tribe. But *Saul* enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Saul* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and gloried for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was, of whom *Saul*, to avoid sedition, took no notice.

SECT. III.

Of the establishing of Saul by his first victory.

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge, that *Nabab* King of the *Ammonites*, prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephtha*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossessed them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephtha*'s time, yet they never perished themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slain 34000 of their men of War: and besides had used great care and policy that they neither have no Smiths to make their swords or spears: neither was it long before, that of the *Benjaminites*, and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000 and therefore in the present time, even upon this occasion they were to enlarge their Dominions over their borders: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were emboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, *Saul* in respect of their weakness: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joining with them against the *Benjaminites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjaminites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonites* might flatter himself with the opinion, that

SECT. IV.

Of Sauls disobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the Philistines and Ammonites, which caused his final rejection.

Jonathan with his small Army or Regiment that attended him, taking time of advantage, besieged a Garrison of *Philistines*: the same, as some think, which *Saul* pass by, when he came from *Ramath*, when he was first anointed by *Saul*, which they think to have been *Carith-jerim*: because a place where the *Philistines* had a Garrison, 1 Sam. 10. is called the hill of God, which they understand of *Carith-jerim*: but *Junius* understands this Garrison to have been at *Gibeah* in *Benjamin* near *Gibeah*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. However, by this it appears that the *Philistines* held some strong places, both in the times of *Saul*, and of *David*, within the Territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly irritated by this surprise, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, and six thousand Horse, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Maabon* or *Meabon*, a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Jerusalem*, and in the middle of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden invasion the *Israelites* were stricken in to great a fear, as some of them fled themselves in the caves of the Mountains; others with sword 20000 men of ordinary, and many other people, slain at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the passage of *Jehna*, when he led *Israel* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Sauls* appointment was to attend the coming of *Saul* seven days: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place, 1 Sam. 13. 9.) to execute the office which appointed not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws of the *Hebrews*, and Gods Commandments: others expound the word *abstain*, in this place, by *abstain* per *Sacerdotem*, and so make the sin of *Saul* not to have been any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandment, in not staying according to the appointment, 1 Sam. 10. 8. Secondly, a disobedience or mistrust in Gods help, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not bear patiently; and lastly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Saul*, and of the help which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sin, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by *Saul* reprehended most sharply in committing his estate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Saul* to do so, from God himself: at which time an also *Saul* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom should be conferred to another (a man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his volatility.

After this, *Saul* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to consist of 600 men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that fled, there was not any that had either sword or spear, but *Saul* and his son *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistines* had not left them any Smiths in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to *Saul*, came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the year before, or in some part of this very year, to succour *Jabes Gilead* with 300 and thirty thousand men, if there had not now been any

1 Chry. in
1 Ps. 43.
The
Orim and
Thauminn
in the orna-
ments
of the
High
Priest, he
were in-
fected
within the
palladium,
which there-
fore was de-
plicated:
they were
placed in the
petio-
lar over
against the
heart of the
High
Priest, it is
plain that
they were
not the
precious
stones, nor
any thing
made by
the Art.
See
Exod. 38. 1
Exod. 38. 1
Exod. 38. 1
in 1 Sam. 12.

1 Sam. 11.
8

1 Sam. 11.

1 Sam. 12.

1 Sam. 13.

1 Sam. 14.

1 Sam. 13.

any iron weapon to defend themselves withall, save only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his son. But howsoever, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistims*, and all those craftsman carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Israelites* only stiles to sharpen and amend such stuff as served for the Plough, and for neought else: yet that they had some kind of arms, it is manifest, or else they durst not have attempted upon the *Philistims* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but only that there was not any found amongst those 600 soldiers, which flayed with *Saul* after *Sammels* departure: and it is enough that when *Sammels* had sharply reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards forsook him, having but 600 remaining of his 3000 ordinary soldiers, and of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Sammels* arrived.

With this small troop he held himself to his own City of *Gibeah*, as a place of more strength, and better assured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to pass that the *Philistims* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Sammels* much had been done against them. For the victories of *Sammels* were not got by sword or spear, but by thunder from Heaven: and when these crafts-men were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no marvel if they could not in a short peace under *Sammels*, be retrained again. For this tyranny of the *Philistims* is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Sammels*: and yet under him is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their Artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did *Nebuchodonosor* use after his Conquest in *Judea*: *Dionysius* in *Sicily*, and many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons, in part, the *Israelites* might repair in *Gilgal*, for over *Jordan* the *Philistims* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used, and their present necessity ministered unto them, to wit, clubs, bows, and slings. For the *Benjamites* excelled in casting stones in slings: and that these were the natural weapons, and the first of all nations, it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Ikkegah*, That they were equipped with bowes, and could use the right and the left hand with slings, and with a sling it was, that *David* himself slew the Giant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard terms, the *Philistims* having parted their army into three troops, that they might spoil and destroy many parts at once. *Jonathan*, strengthened by God, and followed with his Elgiens only, scaled a mountain, whereon a company of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their army (as may be gathered by the success) being encamped in the plain adjoining. And though he were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of derision, called up to his enemies: yet he so behaved himself, as with the assistance of God, he flew 20 of the first *Philistims* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed together. In which confusion, fear, and jealousy, they slaughtered one another in fear of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrews* which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their distraction, and flew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himself taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Isra-*

elites that thronged themselves in Mount *Ephraim*, set upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophetic in *Dante's* story fulfilled by *Jonathan*, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them, ten thousand.

This done, the small Army of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his son *Jonathan*, being infected with extreme labour and emptiness, tasted a drop of honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seems to have reduced, unto the *Philistims* remembrance, their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the days of *Sammels*: so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns, all his bordering enemies: namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he prevailed. Hethen assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000 men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Sammels*, he invited *Amalek*, waiting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petrea*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Hulath* towards *Tigris* unto *Suez*, which bordereth *Egypt*: in which war he took *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Sammels* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they mist of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Egypt* in *Mose's* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the bell of the beasts, and spoil of the Country, with presence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Sammels* now a second time make him know that God would call him from his royal estate, to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and, as the Text hath it, little in his own eyes. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Sammels*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to enjoin the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that Nation, he was in all inexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalek* from under heaven. For the cruelty of *Agag*, with the predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were over-wearied, faint, sick, and aged people, was now to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above 400 years afterward: and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Sammels* witness: As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women: at which time *Sammels* did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soon after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul* until the day of his death.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of the occurrences between the rejection of *Saul* and his death.

NOW while *Sammels* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sons of *Israhel*: which *Sammels* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform: till it pleased God to direct him, how he might avoid both the suspicion, and the danger. And if *Sammels* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom, he sought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do those men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting thereon that God hath given them, do no other wise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men suspected in the opinion of fate or destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at Gods hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, where-with God hath enriched the mind of man for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Sammels*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious ways of the world.

Of the sons of *Israhel*, *Sammels*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, having refused *Eliah* the first born: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength: yet unto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, God looks not on man's face, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart. He also refusing other like brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock: for him the Lord said to *Sammels*, Arise, and anoint him, for this is he: which done, *Sammels* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this, that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David*: in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battle by the *Philistims*.

The *Philistims* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sinned still and forbore to give impediment to his prosperous courtes, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Israel*, might be repayed with advantage: if ever opportunity should have their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their Soldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superior to *Israel*. The success of their former wars had, for the most part, been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late difficulties, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes: as to a tempest hapning by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Army, possessed with a needless fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so near to the Army, which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battle, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in grofs, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the Valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides: especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they fought to decide the

matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* of *Gath*, a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertook to deie the whole Host of *Israel*, provoking them with despightful words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hands offering condition, that the party vanquished in his Champion, should hold it self as overcome in grofs, and become vassal unto the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Sammels* by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance upon public notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, until *David* (sent by his father on an errand to the Camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms, offensive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Giant, and after with his own sword strook off his head. Hereupon the *Philistims*, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the Conqueror, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistims* were lost, or at least discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, faithless, and irreverent. Because the High Priest *Ahimelech* had given *David* in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his own conquest, taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite* *Doug* murdered this *Ahimelech* and 83 Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the City, and smote with the edge of the sword both men and women, both child and 18. *Jeckiah*, both *Oni* and *Ahi*, and *Sheph*. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the *Amalekite*, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattel, contrary to the Commandment and Ordinance of God, both by *Mose* and *Sammels*, had not now any mercy in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of *Israel*. Yes, he would have slain his own son *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *David's* innocency: as also once before, for raising the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unexcusable continuation. The companions of cruelty are, breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David's* daughter, whom he had promised him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given her: also in that, when as *David* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsel of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas, when he sought counsel from God, he had been always victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this success followed, that both himself, and his three sons, with his near and faithful servants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistims*: his body with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the walls of *Beisath*; and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Goliath* of *Tub*, stole their carcases thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Israel*, together with *Sammels*, 40 years, and by himself after *Sammels* 20

M m years,

fore Rome was built: though elsewhere in his *Chronology* he notes that some place him in time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other Ages. In his *Evangelical Preparation*, where out of *Tatianus Affrican* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homér* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek Writers* more ancient than *Homér*; as *Linus*, *Philommon*, *Epinimides*, *Pheonius*, *Arifteur*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Thomyer*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homér* or *Hefiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* says the elder, that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homér* preceeded *Hefiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian, make *Hefiod* of an elder time than *Homér*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned Fables was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an *Epigram*, written upon a *Trevit*, and left by *Hefiod* in *Holicon*.

Corneilius Nepos reports that they both lived 160 years before Rome was built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about * 140 years after the fall of *Troy*. * *Euthymius* finds them both 200 years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Aeschus* the son of *Pellus*, King of *Theffaly*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty, and disagreement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dates of time. For, the curiosity of this man is no less ridiculous, than the inquisition which he begins his *Iliads* with the word *Méa*, as perhaps containing some great mystery. In devotion whereof *Lucian* faining himself to have been in *Hell*, and to have spoken with *Homér*, there asked

him the cause why he began his book with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

It seemeth that *Seyer*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senenir* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Thyphodorus* was his Successor, who preceded *Aphrus*, Father in law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Sumer* government, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time; according to *Cassiodorus*, *Enf. 10*, the *Amazons* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latins*, *Sylvis* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that Famous State of *Troy*, which fell 100 years before *Dauid's* time, there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reason of those Northern Nations: but their sprung up somewhat nearly together, six Kingdoms into greatness, not before created. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achei*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Saba*, and *Damascur*, the *Assads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* having now altered the Form of Government, began to flourish under Kings, of which *Dauid*, in a few years, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by entechance of times had subjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a most abject and grievous slavery to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Mogites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Israhites*, and the rest of *Arabians*, with the *Philistines*, *Gethurites*, *Moabites*: all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Sovereign Lord, and payed him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

OF DAVID.

SECT. I.

Of Dauids estate in the time of Saul.

THE hazards which *Dauid* ran into while he was yet only deliged King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of Fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own soul: Inasmuch as when *Saul* sought to perfwade his son that *Dauid* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause; *Jonathan* could never be perfwaded, never forsook, nor ever wearied from the care of *Dauid's* life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of *Dauid*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he was become as his household servant, and his Esquire, or Armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him upon the Harp: whereby it was thought that he might find ease, which came to pass accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of War. But the jealous Tyrant soon

waxed weary of good affection, and sought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moved only through envy of his Vertue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a spear at *Dauid* that was then playing on his Harp, to do him ease.

Confutius remembereth one *Afclapius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony. Since, in his third book of Anger, witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of caufes: and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that Musick, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *Dauid* the command over 1000 Souldiers to confront the *Philistines* withall. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his Daughter *Meroth* to Wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *Dauid* his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition,

tion, to present him with an hundred fore-skins of the *Philistines*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philistines* would take *Dauid's* head, than heretofore skins. This hoping failing, when as now *Dauid's* Victories began new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, he practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his own house, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So *Dauid* fought *Samuel* at *Ramath*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Ahimelech*, then to *Adriel* the *Philistine*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himself, he was forced to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction.

But being ill assured among the *Philistines*, he covered himself in the Cave of *Adullam*: and after conveying such of his Kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himself in the desert of *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the Hills of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Saul's* Garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his Master *Saul* was known to persecute him.

Of *Achis*, *Dauid* obtained * *Siglag* in *Simon*, pretending to invade *Judea*: but he bent his forces another way, and trook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* supposing that *Dauid* had drawn blood of his own Nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoned *Dauid* to assist him, who diffembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistines* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siglag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives, with the Wives and Children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hercupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

This Army of the *Philistines* commanded by *Achis*, encountered *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three Sons were slain. The news, with *Saul's* Crown and Bracelets, were brought to *Dauid* at *Siglag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalek*, by a Man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsely) that himself at *Saul's* request had slain him. *Dauid*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwile it followeth not that every Man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Confesso reorum non habendo ei pro explorato crimine, nisi approbato alia iustitiam religionem congruenti*. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the Confidence of the Judge. For a Man may confess those things of himself, that the Judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodia reorum l. si confitetur, & in cap. de panis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Gloss reconcile these two places in this sort: *Siquis in iudicio sponte de seipso convitetur, & postea manet in confessione, id est latius*. If any Man in judgement do confess of himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough. That *Dauid* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable: for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befel him being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but

flit up sorrow, and move compassion in the heart of *Dauid*.

The victory which the *Philistines* had gotten, was so great, that some Towns of the *Israelites*, beyond the River of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the enemy who took possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistines*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seems, that the civil War immediately breaking out between *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Judea* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an ease victory over both: and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present left by for doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation: but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

SECT. II.

Of the beginning of Dauids reign, and the War made by Abner for Isobeth.

AFTER the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the War, sought to advance *Isobeth* (or *Jehobab*, according to *Isophorus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Israel*: for *Michol* the first Son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner* and *Isobeth*, *Dauid* made a defensive War, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entered the border of *Juda*: at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isobeth* remaining in *Geth*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The Armies encountered each other near *Gibeon*, where it seemeth that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combat between the *Luedenemians* and the *Argivæ*, remembered by *Hecataeus*, 360 being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were only left unslain. The like trial by a farles number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The time challenge *Goliath* the *Philistines* made, whom *Dauid* slew: a custom very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like trial in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part in this War of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, 10 of many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whose force and valour was to equal, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory.

But the quarrel laid not here for the Army of *Juda* preff *Abner* in grofs, and brake him. Three hundred and sixty Men of *Abner's* companions were slain, and but twenty of *Juda*: whereof *Asabel* the Brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs pursue *Abner*, and by *Abner's* perswasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounded him to death with the stroke of his spear. For though *Asabel* were an excellent Foot-man, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild Roe, and as *Isophorus* reporteth, contended not only with Men, but with horses: and hoped to have gotten great fame if he could have mastered *Abner* (who as *Asabel* perfwaded himself, had by being overthrownd and flying away, lost his courage) yet here it tell us true, *Thas* therace is not to the swift.

That this civil War lasted two years, we find it written in the second of *Samuel*, the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention drew longer and therefore thematter rather fill in dispute, and some of the *Rabbins* conceive that *Ishbosheth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Ahner* held for the party of *Ishbosheth* at first, and till such time as there grew jealousy between him and *Ishbosheth* for *Saul's* Concubine: neither did the death of *Ishbosheth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Ahner* it happened, the same doth certainly appear.

SECT. III.

Of the death of *Ahner* slain by *Joab*, and of *Ishbosheth* by *Rechab* and *Baanah*.

Ahner, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered, for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *David's* Favour, and in the commandment of his forces by which he was grown so powerful, as *David* forbore to call him to account: for thus much he confesseth himself, *I am this day weak, and sleep Men, the Sons of Zerviah, betwixt hand for me.* In this four *David* complained after *Ahner's* death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of *Joab*, and on all his father's house: and let them be subject to Ulcers, to the Leprosy, to Lemneth, to the sword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly have endangered *David's* estate, *Ahner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes; not yet reconciled. This mischief therefore *David* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Ahner* held, being General of the Men of War, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himself worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterward slew *Amasa* his own kinsman, and the Kings, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to see him joyed with himself as Captain of the host of *Juda*; much less could he brook a superior: and such a one as had slain his brother, and been beaten himself in Battle. But however *Joab* did late or despise *Ahner*, *David* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great Man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming that he dyed not like a Fool, nor a Man vanquished: *But as a Man fallen before wicked Men, so (saith he) didst thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and virtue in him, whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares, or whom subtilty in fire true bringeth to confusion. For all under the Sun are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Ishbosheth* meant to have dealt with *Ahner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of this estate, and with him all *Israel* were posselt with great fear: in so much as two of *Ishbosheth's* own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Ishbosheth*, and presenting his head to *David*, received the same reward that the *Amalekites* lately

did, for pretending to have slain *Saul*. *Ishbosheth*, being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

SECT. IV.

Of the flourishing time of *David's* Kingdom, the taking of *Jerusalem*, with two overthrows given to the *Philistines*, and the conduction of the *Ark* to the City of *David*.

When *David* was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the *Philistines*, who in defiance of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as it is thought) manned their Walls with the blind and lame of their City; which *David* soon after entered, all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion*, which was afterward the City of *David*, he became Lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Philistines*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moser* and *Jephtha* and after them almost 400 years. There are who expound this place, otherwise: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Philistines*; others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac* and *Jacob*; the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angels, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my self, I take it with *Jephtha*, that they armed their Walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of *David's* attempt. For they that had held their City about 400 years against all the Children of *Israel*, *Jephtha*, the *Judge*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

When he had now posselt himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadours and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other Concubines, and named more Wives, by whom he had ten Sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former Wives, he had six in *Hebron*, where he reigned 7 years.

The *Philistines* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountered by *David* at two several times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giant's*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalpezzim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000 choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Ark* of God from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the City of *David*; which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the Son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with music, dances, and signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. *Heruon* *Micah* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncircumcised as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his Servants*, namely, that he forgot his regal dignity both, in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that the disliked *David's* behaviour (as I take it) though the made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant grief, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband

husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her Father and Brethren, out of whose veins she conceived that the Son of *Jehoi* had built this his greatness: together with the many new Wives and Concubines embraced, since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despicable terms, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan*, for the building of the Temple or House of God, but was forbidden it, because he was a Man of War, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all *Israel* homicide; having threatened, not in vain, that he would require the Blood of a Man, at the hand of a Man and Beast. The Wars which *David* had made were just, and the Blood therein shed was of the Enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the Foundation of that Holy Temple, because it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by blood-shed and terror of their Wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the bloodless promises by their *Saviour* unto the peace-makers. Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent to well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne that should be established in his Seed.

SECT. V.

The overthrow of the *Philistines* and *Moabites*.

Soon after this, *David* overthrew the *Philistines*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in hall. For it is written, *Accept sennam Amara* & *maam Philisthina*, which place, our English *Genes* converts in these words, And *David* took the bride of bondage out of the hands of the *Philistines*. The Latin of *Jerome* giveth another and a better sense; for that bride of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Genes* hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Casarea*, set on the frontier of *Palestina*, at the entrance into *Judea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thence their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier Town of equal strength to the *Philistines* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrews* call *Amme*, whereof and of the word *Gath* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 13. This explication is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro*, 18.

There was no Nation bordering the *Jews* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistines* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but infused them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were furnished free from paying tribute to the *Philistines*. After this he gave them four other overthrows; but the War of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbosheth* the head of whose spear weighed 300 shekels of Brass, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and

slew the *Philistin*, whereupon the Counsellors and Captains of *David* (let the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quenched) vowed that he should meet thereon hazard himself in any battle. The first of these three encounters and overthrow of the *Philistines* was at *Gath*, a place near *Gaza*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assisted of the *Philistines* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his Parents with him in trust. But where it were to be King or no, it is not known. The *Rabbins* feign that *Moab* slew those kinfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sams* time; but questionless *David* well knew how that Nation had been always enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them, that were offered. And he also remembered that in the 23 of *Dut*, God commanded *Israel*, not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to Till the Ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Haddadezer* the Son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the Holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

SECT. VI.

The War which *David* made upon the *Syrians*.

It is written in the Text: *David suavit ad Haddadezer, &c.* as he went to recover his border at the River *Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as he went to recover his border) be referred to *David* or *Haddadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Joins* thinks that the article (he) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tul* oppressed by *Haddadezer*, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprise towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before, seeing that (*Haddadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back either to pursue him, or to take victuals and supplies from him, or to the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing *David* was either to pass through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmyra*, his Army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both Horse and Chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army; not bending his course towards the River *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whence it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria*, *Damscofer*, and of *Damascus* whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Haddadezer* was overthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, and the loss of his own Country which adjoined to *Syria Zoba* of *Haddadezer*, sent for an Army of *Arames* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appears, came too late for *Haddadezer*, and too soon for themselves for these perished of those supplies. 20000. This King of *Damascus*, *Josphus* (out of *Niebolus*, an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family, as also those other *Adads* were which now began to grow up

in greatness, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damascus* under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*: having also sacked the adjoining Cities of *Beath*, and *Borathi*, belonging to *Haddadezer*, of which Cities *Paltayim* calleth *Beath*, *Tania*: and *Borathi* he nameth *Burathana*, *Toba* or *Thoi*, whose County of *Hamath* joynted to *Haddadezer* (as in the description of the Holy Land the Reader may perceive) sent his Son *Joram* to congratulate this success of *David*, partly because he had War with *Haddadezer*, and partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of Gold, Silver, and Brass: all which, together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and the best of all the spoils of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Ysaie* translated the wordes (*Cypres aureus*) by *Uniones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of Gold, but the Boles only. The *Septuagint* call them Bracelets: *Aquila*, Golden Chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of Brass in place of shields of *Haddadezer*, as such time as *Shibac* the Egyptian sack'd the Temple of *Jerusalem*, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Haddadezer* were golden shields.

This done, *David* sent Embassadors to *Hannum*, King of the *Ammonites*, to congratulate his establishment in his Fathers Kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nabash*, the Father of *Hannum*. But this *Ammonite* being illadvised, and over jealous of his estate, used *David*'s Messengers to barbarously, and contemptuously (as he thereby drew a War upon himself, which neither his own strength, nor all the aids purchased, could put off or sustain. For notwithstanding that he had waged three and thirty thousand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates, to wit, of the Vassalls of *Haddadezer* twenty thousand, and of *Maachab* and *Israhel* thirteen thousand (for which he disbursed a thousand Talents of Silver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the *Ammonites* were by *Joab* and his Brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that which it was written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the Walls, the other in their deserts adjoining, till *Joab* was returned to *Jerusalem*.

Haddadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the Companies that he could levy out of *Misopotamia*: who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest Men of *Israel*, and marched toward the Syrian Army in *Palmirena*, nor yet entered into *Arabia*: so that, at *Helma* a place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Jerusalem* was towards the South-West. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest off journey that ever he had) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. He also possit himself of *Thadmor* or *Palmirena*, which *Solomon* afterward strongly fortified: and this City was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the River *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000 Horsemen, and 700 Chariots, together with *Sobach* General of their Army. The *Chronicles*

call these 40000 Souldiers, footmen, and so *Junier* convertit, and so it is very probable. For the Army of *Israel* consisting of Footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000 Horsemen, except they quitted their Horse and fought on Foot. So are the Chariots taken in this Battel, numbered at 7000 in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth: in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as their dyed of the *Syrians* in this War against *David*, before he forc'd them to tribute, 100000 Footmen, besides all their Horsemen and waggons, and besides all those that *Joab* slew; when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Robabah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adams* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impoverished, even to the fall end of that State.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Misopotamians*, from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lieutenant of his Armies to forage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Robabah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possit. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of Gold, garnished with precious Stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the City. And though *David* stayed at *Jerusalem*, following the War of *Uriah* his Wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entered: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrival. To the People he used extreme rigour (if we may so call it, being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them he tare with Harrows, some he sawd alunder, others he cast into burning Kilns, in which he baked Tyle and Brick.

SECT. VII.

Of Davids troubles in his reign and of his forces.

As victory begeth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself, the Giver of all goodnes: so did these changes, in the fortunate state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Lawes and Commandments: For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires: For he was not only fatisfied to take *Uriah*'s Wife from him, and to use her by stealth: but he imbroidered his adultery with *Uriah*'s slaughter, giving order to his trusty Servant *Joab* to murder him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Robbah*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best Sergeants and Souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness, and his days then to come, were filled with joys and woe interchangeable, his trodden-down sorrows began again to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witnesses of *David*: own Mouth

mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekites*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own error in the poison of another, to wit, of him that took the poor mans sheep that had none else, the bereaver being Lord of many: He then vowed to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although he pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet he delivered him Gods justice together with his mercy in the tenour following: Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, &c. He slain *Uriah* with the sword of the children of *Ammon*. Soon after this, *David* lost the child of adultery which he begot on *Bethsabee*. Secondly, his own son *Amnon*, being in love with his half sister *Tamar*, by the advice of his counsellor-german the son of *Shimeah*, *David*'s brother, possit her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despitel manner. Two years after which he begot on *Bethsabee*, *Abishalom* caused him to be murdered at the feast of his sheep-shearing: not perchance in revenge of *Tamar*'s ravishment alone: but having it in his heart to usurp the Kingdom, in which, because he could not in any fort be advanced by *Ammon*, he thought his affairs greatly afflicted by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despoiled her: the other after a long dissembled malice first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmai* King of *Goffur*, near *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abishalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his son) was brought again, first to the Kings favour, and then to his preference: he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to win men, and by detracting from his fathers equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *David*'s sin.

The company which *Abishalom* gathered at the first were but 200 men: which he carried with him from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Abishalom* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, and was by the people (who's hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted for a King, that *David* doubting to be set upon the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own City of *Jerusalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of surpris: but incamped in the fields and deserts with some 600 of his guard, and few else. The Priests he left in *Jerusalem* with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of the things that chanced to whom he directed *Hophai* his trusty friend, and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abishalom*'s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Abishalom*, a revolting Counsellor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *David* prosperly had smothered, but his adversity lightened) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most despitfully cur-

sed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbade *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his son *Solomon*, *Abishalom* being now possit of *Jerusalem*, was advised by *Abishalom* to use his fathers concubines in some public place, as if *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being persuaded, they then redely adhered to *Abishalom* and his cause, without fear of being up upon a reconciliation between them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsel) *Abishalom* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction, who most of all other inflamed *Abishalom* against his Father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the Sun: for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all *Israel*, and before the Sun. He also gave advice to *Abishalom*, that himself with an Army of 12000 men might be employed at the instilling been imbrued by *Abishalom*, had not *Hophai* *David*'s faithful servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: persuading *Abishalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Abishalom* to pursue his father, than by such a troop, which *David* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Abishalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, as if God, the loss of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Abishalom* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shew'd) the success which followed, dispos'd of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Abishalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprise against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possit himself King of *Mahanaim* in the Tribe of *Judah*: the fame wherein *Isobab* himself in the war against *David* after *Saul*'s death feared himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the son of *Nabash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the fame which *Joseph* calleth *Shiphai*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannum*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdom, after *Hannum* overthrown: in thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David* assistance *Mehir* of *Lodbar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among others *Barekiah* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Abishalom* prepared to fight: *Abishalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the Army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*: an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in France. *David*, persuaded by his company, stayed in *Mahanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abishalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembered that *Abishalom* had lately dispos'd of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that *Abishalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not persuade the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with his own servants dispatch him. It appeared also by the sequel that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living: and tearing

That this civil War lasted two years, we find it written in the second of *Samuel*, the second Chapter : though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dur'd longer : and therefore the matter reiteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbins* conceive that *Ishbosheth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Ishbosheth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousy between him and *Ishbosheth* for *Saul's* Concubine : neither did the death of *Ishbosheth* instantly follow : but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth certainly appear.

SECT. III.

Of the death of *Abner* slain by *Joab*, and of *Ishbosheth* by *Rechab* and *Baanah*.

Abner reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered : for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *David's* Favour, and in the commandment of his force : which he was grown so powerful, as *David* dur'd not to call him to account : for thus much he confiteth of himself, *I am his day work, and these Men, the Sons of Zeruiah, be too hard for me.* In this *David* complained after *Abner's* death : and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation : *Let the blood fall on the head of *Joab*, and on all his fathers house : and let them be subject to Ulcers, to the leprosie, to lameness, to the sword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly have endangered *David's* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischief therefore *David* openly bewailed, to that all *Israel* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being General of the Men of War, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himself worthy to hold the place entire, it once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity : wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that he afterwards flew *Amsai* his own kinsman, and the Kings, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to him joined with himself as Captain of the host of *Juda* : much less could he brook a superior : and such a one as had slain his Brother, and been beaten himself in Battle. But however *Joab* did hate or dislike *Abner*, *David* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great Man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming that he dyed not like a Fool, nor a Man vanquished : But as a Man fallen by force wicked Men, so (saith he) didst thou fall. And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and virtue in him, whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares, or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the *Sun* are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Ishbosheth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of this estate, and with him all *Israel* were posset with great fear : in so much as two of *Ishbosheth's* own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Ishbosheth*, and presenting his head to *David*, received the same reward that the *Amalekites* lately

did, for pretending to have slain *Saul*. *Ishbosheth*, being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

SECT. IV.

Of the flourishing time of *David's* Kingdom, the taking of *Jerusalem*, with two overthrows given to the *Philistines*, and the conduction of the Ark to the City of *David*.

When *David* was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the *Philistines*, who in denision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as it is thought) manned their Walls with the blind and lame of their City : which *David* soon after entered, all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion*, of which was afterward the City of *David*, he became Lord of *Jerusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Joshua* : and after them almost 400 years. There are who expound this place, otherwise : Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some think that it was meant by the Idols of the *Jebusites* : others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Jacob* : the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angels, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my self, I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their Walls with certain impotent people at first, in fear of *David's* attempt. For they that had held their City about 400 years against all the Children of *Israel*, *Philistines*, the *Jebusites*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

When he had now posset himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadors and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre* : he entertained divers other Concubines, and married more Wives, by whom he had ten Sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former Wives, he had six in *Hebron*, where he reigned 7 years.

The *Philistines* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountered by *David* at two several times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the Giants, they were at both times overthrowen. After which he called the place *Bazephataim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000 choice *Israelites* to conduct the Ark of God from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibeon* to the City of *David* : which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzab* the Son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord flew for presuming to touch the Ark, though it were with intent to flay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with sacrifice, music, and dances, and signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the Ark, and afterward told him in scorn, that he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his Servants, namely, that he forgot his regal dignity both, in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets : not that the disliked *David's* behaviour (as I take it) though he made it the colour of her derision : but rather the abundant grief, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband

husband to whom he was delivered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her Father and Brethren, out of whose ruins he conceived that the Son of *Israh* had built this his greatness : together with the many new Wives and Concubines embraced, since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despitul terms, for which she remained barren to her death.

This *David*, confuted with the Prophet *Nathan*, for the building of the Temple or House of God, but was forbidden it, because he was a Man of War, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide : having threatened, not in vain, that he would require the Blood of a Man, at the hand of a Man and Beast. The Wars which *David* had made were just, and the Blood therein shed was of the Enemies of God, and his Church : yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the Foundation of that Holy Temple, hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by idolatry and terror of their Gods, to make themselves in greater like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride : not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessings promised by our Saviour unto the peace-makers. Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne that should be established in his Seed.

SECT. V.

The overthrow of the *Philistines* and *Mosabites*.

Soon after this, *David* overthrowed the *Philistines*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in half. For it is written, *Except from *Ammar* it was not *Philistines* which place, our English Genevies converts in their words, And *David* took the bridge of bondage out of the hands of the *Philistines*.* The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sense : for that bridle of *Ammar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and to the Genevies hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsarea*, set on the frontier of *Palestina*, at the entrance into *Judea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thercinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished ; there was left no such frontier Town of equal strength to the *Philistines* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* stood, the Hebrews call *Amma*, whereout of the word *Gur* is made *Ammar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 15. This explication is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro*, 18.

There was no Nation bordering the Jews that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistines* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforced them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatsoever they needed : so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were fain to come from paying tribute to the *Philistines*.

After this, he gave them four other overthrows, but the War of the *Mosabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was endangered by *Ishbi-benub*, the head of whose spear weighed 300 shekels of Brass, which made nine pound three quarters of our poizes : at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and

flew the *Philistim*, whereupon the Councillores and Captains of *David* (left the light of *Iff* at night by his loss he quizzed) vowed that he should not be thenceforth hazzard himself in any battel. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistines* was at *Gath*, a place near *Geth*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistines* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Mosab*, from whence notwithstanding in his adversity he fought succour, and left his Parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not known.

The *Rabbins* feign that *Mosab* lived those kindsthis of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Saul's* time : but questionless *David* well knew how that Nation had been always enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them, that were offered. And he also remembered that in the 23 of *Deut*, God commanded *Israel*, not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Mosabites* : which *David* well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to Till the Ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammun* towards *Syria Zobib*, the region of *Haddadezer* the Son of *Reobek* King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the Holy Land : to which I refer the Reader.

SECT. VI.

The War which *David* made upon the Syrians.

It is written in the Text : *David juste assi Haddadezer, &c. as he went to recover his border at the River Euphrates.* Now whether the words (as he went to recover his border) be referred to *David* or *Haddadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (he) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Zobib* oppressed by *Haddadezer*, overthrowed the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrians*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprise towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before, seeing that (*Haddadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back either to pursue him, or to take victuals and supplies from him, or to the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing *David* was either to pass through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmeyra*, his Army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all : He had now both Horse and Chariots good force to carry his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrowen the *Syrians* *Aramites*, not bending his course towards the River *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrians*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his borders, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria*, *Damascus*, and of *Damascus* whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Haddadezer* was overthrowen by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, and the loss of his own Country which adjoynd to *Syria Zobib* of *Haddadezer*, sent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour : but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Haddadezer*, and too soon for themselves for their perished of those supplies 22000. This King of *Damascus*, *Josephus* (out of *Niebolus*, an ancient Historian) callith *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family, as also those other *Adads* were, which now began to grow up in

in greatness, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the Assyrians, as is shewed heretofore. David having now reduced Damascus under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in Edom: having also sacked the adjoining Cities of Betah, and Berath, belonging to Hadadezer, of which Cities *Psalm* calleth *Beth Lathai*; and *Berath* he nameth *Barathaim*, *Telusur* (that, whose County of Hamath joined to Hadadezer. Thus the description of the Holy Land the Reader may perceive) sent his Son *Ioram* to congratulate this success of David: partly because he had War with Hadadezer, and partly because he feared David now victorious. He also presented David with vessels of Gold, Silver, and Brass, all which, together with the golden shields of the Ammonites, and the best of all the spoils of other Nations, David dedicated unto God at his return. *Joab* translated the wordes (*Chypus aureus*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of Gold, but the Bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them *Bracelets*: *Aquila*, *Golden Chains*. But because *Robam* made shields of Brass in place of those of Hadadezer, as such time as *Shebazi* the Egyptian sick'd the Temple of Jerusalem, it may be gathered thereby that those of Hadadezer were golden shields.

This done, David sent Embassadors to Haman, King of the Ammonites, to congratulate his establishment in his Fathers Kingdom: for David, in the time of his affliction under Saul, had been relieved by Nabab, the Father of Haman. But this Ammonite being illadvised, and over jealous of his estate, used David's Messengers barbarously, and contemptuously, by curtailling their Beards, and their Garments, as he thereby drew a War upon himself, which neither his own strength, nor all the aids purchased, could put off or sustain. For notwithstanding that he had waged three and thirty thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates to wit, of the Vassals of Hadadezer twenty thousand, and of Machab and Ishob thirteen thousand (for which he disbursed a thousand Talents of Silver) yet all these great armies, together with the strength of the Ammonites were by Joab and his Brother Abishai castly broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Ammonites fled, the Ammonites also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the Walls, the other in their deserts adjoining, till Joab was returned to Jerusalem.

Hadadezer hearing that Joab had dismissed his Army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the Companies that he could levy out of Mesopotamia; who under the command of Shobach passed Euphrates, and incamped at Helon, on the South side thereof. David hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest Men of Israel, and marched toward the Syrian Army in Palmyrena, not yet entered into Arabia to wit, at Helon a place no less distant from Damascus, towards the North-east, than Jerusalem was towards the South-West. Now David (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards Euphrates (which was the farthest off journey that ever he had) because he was now Lord of Damascus, which lay in the midway. He also possit himself of *Thadmor or Palmyrena, which Solomon afterward strongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from Helon, and the River Euphrates. So had he two safe retreats, the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damascus. In this encounter between David and the Syrians, they lost 40000 Horsemen, and 700 Chariots, together with Shobach General of their Army. The Chronicles

call these 40000 Souldiers, footmen, and so *Joab* convertit, and so it is very probable. For the Army of Israel consisting of Footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000 Horsemen, except they quitted their Horse and fought on Foot. So are the Chariots taken in this Battle, numbered at 7000 in the first of Chronicles the ninth: in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as their dyed of the Syrians in this War against David, before he forc'd them to tribute, 100000 Footmen, besides all those that *Joab* slew; when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adas* in following ages gave strength again, and afflicted the Kings of Juda often: but the Kings of Israel they impoverished, even to the last end of that State.

David having now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians, from the party and confederacy of Ammon: He sent our Joab the Lieutenant of his Armies to forage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the Israelites mastered and possit. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of Gold, garnished with precious Stones, David let on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the City. And though David layed at Jerusalem, following the War of Uriah his Wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entered: yet Joab in honour of David forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrival. To the People he used extrem rigor (if we may call it, being exercised against heathen Idolaters), for some of them he tare with Harrows, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning Kills, in which he baked Tyle and Brick.

SECT. VII.

Of Davids troubles in his reign and of his forces.

But as worldly begetteth security, and our present victory breedeth a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the Giver of all goodnes: so did these changes, in the fortunate state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Laws and Commandments: For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires: For he was not only fatisfied to take Uriah's Wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but he embrodered his adultery with Uriah's slaughter, giving order to his truly Servant Joab to march him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of Rabbah, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best Servants and Souldiers should perish together with Uriah, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness, and his days then to come, were filled with joys and woes interchangeable, his trodden-down forrows began to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witnesses of David's own Mouth

Chap. 17.

of the history of the World.

mouth against him, as David himselfe did against the Amalekites, which pretended to have slain Saul, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when Nathan the Prophet propounded unto him his own error in the person of another, to wit, of him that took in the poor mans life, that had none else, the better being Lord of many; He then vowed to die the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon David for his life, which remission the Prophet Nathan pronounced; yet he delivered him Gods justice together with his mercy in the tenour following: Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain Uriah with the sword of the children of Ammon. Soon after this, David lost the child of adultery which he begot on Bophia. Secondly, his own son Amnon, being in love with his half sister Tamar, by the advice of his confederate, the son of Shimeah, David's brother, possit her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careles and deplorable manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, Abshalon caused him to be murdered at the feast of his sheep-shearing: not perchance in revenge of Tamar's ravishment alone; but having it in his heart to usurp the Kingdom, in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of Ammon, he thought his affairs greatly advanced by his deflection. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her: the other brother a long dissembled malice first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of Talmai King of Gether, near Damascus, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when Abshalon by the invention of Joab (but chiefly because of the great affection of David towards his son) was brought against, first to the Kings favour, and then to his preference; he began insensibly to practise against David his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threatened by the Lord as a punishment of Davids sin.

The company which Abshalon gathered at the first were but 200 men: which he carried with him from Jerusalem to Helon, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when Abshalon repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted for a King, that David doubting to be set upon the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own City of Jerusalem, nor in any other walled town for fear of surpris: but incamped in the fields and deserts with some 600 of his guard, and few else. The Priests he left in Jerusalem with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced: to whom he directed Huihai his truly friend, and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of Abshalon's party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of Abshalon, a revolting Counsellour, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, Ziba also sought to betray his master Abshalon: the son of Jonathan: And Shimei of the house of Saul (the fire of whose hatred Davids prosperity had quenched, but his adversity illighted) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at David, and most delightfully cur-

sed him to his face: but David attending no private revenges, forbade Abshalon to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his son Solomon. Abshalon being now possit of Jerusalem, was advised by Achisholai to use his father's concubines in some such publick place, as all Israel might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they sought then resolutely adhere to Abshalon and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation betwixt them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsel) Achisholai indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing, that this rebellion might take end in his deflection, who most of all other inflamed Abshalon against his father. And now was it fulfilled that Nathan had directly foretold David: I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbours, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the Sun: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the Sun. He also gave advice to Abshalon, that himself with an Army of raccoo men might be employed at the instant for the impairing of David: which had willingly been suggested by Abshalon, had not Huihai Davids faithful servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading Abshalon that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of Israel to pursue his father, than by such a troop, which Davids valor and those of his attendants might either endanger or resist. This delay in Abshalon, and advantage of time gained by David, was indeed, after Gods will, the loss of one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon Achisholai rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsok both the party and the care of Abshalon, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprise against him, marched away all night, and past Jordan, possessing himself of Mahanaim in the Tribe of Gad: the fame wherein Ishobai himself in the war against David after Sauls death feared himself. To which place there repaired unto him Shobi the son of Nahab, the Ammonite, whom David loved, the fame which Josephus calleth Shiphar. And though it be greatly disputed, what this Shobi was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to Haman, whom David for his fathers sake established in the Kingdom, after Hamans overthrow: in thankfulness whereof he relieved David in this his extremity. There came also to Davids assistance Machir of Lodabar, Guardian in former times to Mephobosh, and among others Barzilai the Gileadite, who willingly fed David and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and Abshalon prepared to fight: Abshalon made Amasa Commander of the Army of Israel, the same place which Joab held with David; an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in France. David, persuaded by his company, stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces he had to Joab, Abishai, and Itai, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of Abshalon, but Joab, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembered that Abshalon had lately disposed of his government to Amasa, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that Abshalon hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with his own servants dispatched him. It appeared also by the sequel that Joab affected Adonijah whom he afterward acknowledged, David yet living; and fearing

the disposition of *Abisalom*, he embraced the present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a son, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the City, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather desired death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, persuaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to throw himself to the Army. For first, he told him that he had discontenanced his faithful servants, who had that day preferred his life: inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not only not to acknowledge to great a love and constancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary, grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abisalom* at an easy rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies, and hated his friends: and that it witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithful servants, but would have joyed if they had all perished, and *Abisalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithful deeds and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himself publicly to his men of war, that they would all at one time rebel and abandon him: concluding with this fearful threatening, *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amsai*, who commanded the Army of *Abisalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship: the fame which *Abisalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amsai* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had falsely accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Bazaiiah* the *Gileadite*, his late liberal host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his service done him: who excusing himself by his age, appointed his son *Chishum* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba* the son of *Bichai*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*: finding some discontent among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemed that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare him a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* impliedly his reconciled Captain *Amsai*, to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because he conceived that *Amsai* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than

Joab had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the Army within three days, which he foretold: but being onward on his way, *Abisai*, *Joab*'s brother, was sent after him, with *David*'s guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amsai* near *Gibion*, pretending to embrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of *Amsai* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued *Sheba*: and finding him inclosed in *Ahal*, assaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the persecutions of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he returned his Army to *Jerusalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Host of *Israel*.

The next act of *David*, was the delivery of *Saul*'s sons or kinsmen to the *Gibonites*, whom those Citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reason of *Saul* and his house: to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibonites*: and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may judge humanely, to rid himself of *Saul*'s line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and endangered: only he spared *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sons of Rizpah, whom she bore unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibonites:* *Junius* calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *David*'s wife, the whom *Saul* married to *Pharai*: but *Michol* here named, had *Adriel* for her husband: the fame which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *David* when he slew *Goliath* in the Valley *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any humane respect in the delivery of her children, it is only known to God.

Now where the *Genez* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an eclipse or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the fame kindred, as in the 19th verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of *Goliath*, whose spear was weighty as a *Wexers* beam, when as by the same eclipses it must be understood by the brother of *Goliath*: *Goliath* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Saul*'s children God secured the house of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: so did he strengthen both the King and Nation against foreign enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thousands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over these were six Colonels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. The Colonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon meer consideration of their virtue. For *Abisai* the brother of *Joab*, who in the war against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the first rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three

Colonels

Colonels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness of blood unto the King, the flourishing estate of his own house, and his well approved services. All these Colonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Saul*'s time, and been hardened with his adventures. Others there were very many, and principal men in their several Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*: but these Captains and Colonels (who with *Joab*, that was General of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37,) were the special men of War, and reckoned as *David*'s Worthies. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent men of War, so may it probably be guessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sons of *Zerai*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Solomon*, who wanted his brother *Abisai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *David*, it is gathered, that he had reigned now 33 years or thereabouts, when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Solomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by numbing the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab*, with other Captains of his Army, who after nine months and twenty days travel, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thousand, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*, whereof in *Juda* and the Cities thereof, five hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *God* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased: to wit, seven Years Famine; three Months War, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies: or a general pestilence to last three days: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70 thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men: whereof he giveth this divine reason, *For his mercies are great.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the last acts of *David*: *Adonijahs* faction; the revenge upon *Joab* and *Shimei*.

Lastly, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bedrid, *Adonijah* his eldest son (*Amnon* and *Abisalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that in-

vincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, began manfully to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldest now living of *David*'s sons, and a man of goodly personage, *Solomon* yet young, and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by *Saint Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without reluctance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Bersabee* the Mother of *Solomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Solomon*, her son should reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing unto the King, and frowning her report of *Adonijah* his presumption) the King calling unto him *Zadok* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Banaiab* the Captain of his Guard gave charge and commission to *anoint Solomon*, and to fit him with one the Mule wheron himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Solomon* attended, and throngly guided by the ordinary and choice men of War, the *Cherubims*, and *Pelabiers*, threw himself to the people. These things being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he hid by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present *Solomon* pardoned. After this, *David* had remaining two special cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts: the one concerning the peace of the Land, which might be disturbed by some Rebellion against *Solomon*: the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the several Tribes, all the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; and who did repair unto *Jerusalem*.

In this Assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. *Hercia* he took occasion to lay open his own title to the Crown, shewing that the Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Joab* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himself it was pleased to make choice of him among all his Fathers sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed *Solomon* by name to be his Successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his son to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this Work of the Lords house, which *Solomon* was chosen to build. Then produced he the pattern of the Work, according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himself had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of silver, they added unto it seven thousand of gold, and ten thousand of silver, besides brass, iron, and Jewels, heartily rejoicing in the advancement of so religious a Work. This business being so well dispatched, a solemn Feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Solomon* was again anointed King, and received Calvary of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sons of King *David*. *Solomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, did exhort his son to execute the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprises, he uttered these mighty words: *Joab*

1 King. 2. *lead to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, &c.* to the performance of which GOD failed the execution, and profusely of his illures. For this done (saith GOD himself) *Thou shalt not want one of thy Posterity to sit upon the Throne of Israel.*

Secondly, he advised him concerning *Joab*; who out of doubt had served *David* from the first advent of *Joab* down to the last of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, saying that he failed himself to *Abiathar* (his malice yet living) and thereby vexed him in his rebellion. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that *Joab* should drink of the same cup, whereof he had enticed other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly trusted others withall. *Qui gladio percutit, gladio perbit*: for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amasa* their lives, laying against the one the presence only of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: against the other but a mere jealousy of his growing glory in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himself that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him, or supplant him, yet GOD (denying the policies of wicked men) raised up *Boaz* the son of *Jehoiadab*, to pull him from the Sanctuary: and to cut him in pieces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Joab* against *Abner*, that he slew the Captains of the Host of *Israel*, and that the blood of War in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable that *David* remembered the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Solomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, of which in these words he put his son *Solomon* in mind: *Thou knowest also what *Joab* the son of *Serviah* did to me, &c.* Now whether this was meant by the killing of *Abner*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words used to him when he mourned the publishing of *David*'s Letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Solomon* as defended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of War do oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their malices cannot miss them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrowen many a worthy man, otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to *Solomon* to rid himself of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *David*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time *David* lived, yet being dull in the grave, he flew him by the hand of *Solomon* his son. Hence it knoweth that King *Henry* the seventh of England had his putting, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eighth to execute *Pool* as soon as himself was buried, having made promise to the King of Spain, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab*'s yield unto *Solomon* any less great profit or advantage as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adid* of *Idumea*, and *Rezin* of *Damascus* to vex him; as who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to entrap upon *Solomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his Father's,

and that *Joab* the Captain of the Host was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all forty Years, as we, in *Hebrew* even Years, and in *Jerusalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces, he far exceeded all other men, as putting his honour far apart, he was said by God himself to be a man according to his own heart. The Psalms which he wrote, witness his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Jerom* to *Paulinus*: *David Simonides asoter, Pindarus, & Alceus, Ptoleus, quoque Catullus, & Sarcus, Christianus lra postulat, & in delatodibus Psalms ab inferioris suscitavit reversionem*; *David* (saith he) our *Simonides*, *Pindarus*, *Alceus*, *Horace*, *Catullus* and *Sarcus*, he playeth *Christ* on his Harp, and on a never-fading *Psalter* he causeth him up rising from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth *Christ* more lightly and lively than all the rest.

The book of the Psalms, saith *Clement*, was divided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekiel*: but whether all the Psalms were written by *David*, it is diversely disputed. For *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors answering, the titles of the several Psalms, as *Moses*, *Solomon*, and thereto heretofore named; and that only 73 Psalms were composed by *David* himself; namely, those which are intitled *psalm David*. For the 50 and the 72 with *psalm* that follow, are belowned on *Asaph* the son of *Berachiah*, eleven other on the sons of *Korah* and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 84 and the 109 following, and so they are intitled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three except) file them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these Psalms which *David* wrote not. *Sixti*, *Senesius* nameth as *tolews*; *Solomon*, *Moses*, (when *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Jerom*, maketh one of *David*'s fingers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Ezaias*, *Ethan*, *Idithum*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But *S. S. Cyrillus* makes *David* the sole Author of all the 118 Psalms, and so doth *S. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalms only to *David*, which are over-written *psalm David*, and the rest intitled *psalm David*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Ysaie Evangelica*, *Salvatoris ipsius refutator*, ubi ait quod *ipse David* in spiritu Christiano discit esse suum Dominum, quoniam *Psalmus* 109 *ps* incipit, *Dixit Dominus Dominus meus, Se de dextera meo*, &c. The voice of the Gospel respects this opinion, whereto saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called *Christ* his Lord; because the 109 Psalm begins thus: *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand*, &c. Lastly, his Testimonies are used both by *Christ* and the Apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Story, and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron*, 29. vers. 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which treat chiefly of *David*, were, as it seems, written by these three holy men.

Constantine Mansueti hath an opinion, that the *Trojan* during the time of the siege fought for succour by *David*, and that he stayed Neuter in that War. But it seemeth that *Mansueti* did miscake the time of *twixt David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abraham* and *Samson* Judges of *Israel*, about the World's years 2848, and *David* died in the year 2591.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of the Treasures of David and Solomon.

His Treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22 of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Solomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of Silver, and of Brass and Iron of all weight, which is more than any King the World possit besides himself, and his Son to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of Silver, allowing two thousand weight of Silver, or six thousand pound tending to every cart-load, besides therefore and fifteen millions of French Crowns, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear, seeing that the Judges had not any treasure, nor any sovereign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by such volunteers as the several tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistines*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possit by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years, might amass up such mighty treasures. For though possibly he it felt a great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that he made the utmostmost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Enchirius* in his book and in chapter de *Preparatione Evangelica*, cited the words of *Jeremias*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melania* (or as *Vallapandus* corrects it, *Achania*) a City of *Arabia*, and from thence sent Men to dig for Gold in the Island *Uphre*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Epulomus* in this place of *Enchirius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Island was in the red Sea: from whence, saith this *Epulomus*, they brought Gold into *Jury*, *Finida* 1.4. de *Rebus Solomonis*, c. 1. thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and ceteris this testimony of *Epulomus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest from the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, besides those fruitful valleys near *Jordan* in *Thracanitis* and *Bafan*, and the belt of *Spiza*, and other countries bordering the *Eufrates*. These domains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his Wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written 2 *Chro*. 17. that *Jahobab* was over his treasures in the Field, in the Villages, in the Cities, in the Towns: that *Ezer* was over the labourers that tilled his ground, *Simeon* over the Vineyards, and *Sabdi* over the flocks of the Wine: *Basai Hanan* over the Olive trees, and *Josh* over the flocks of the Oyle: also that he had herdsmen that had charge over his Cattel, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Affes. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and Cattel, the ancient Kings every where held both before and after *David*'s time. For we read of *Pharaoh*, that he spake to *Joseph* to appoint some of his Brethren, or of their Servants, to be rulers over his Cattel. We read of *Ugria*,

that the love of husbandry had much Cattel Land ploughmen, and the Res of *Vincis* his wife we read in it all Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and Flocks: whereto it were needful to cite *Agges* and *Almanus*, whereto for other examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not employed in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of great professions, as the ancient Romans in like manner used their slaves.

To such profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tobu* and others) we may add the great spoils which he found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: all the dead money which was gathered prolegem capitum: by the law of captivation, or dead money, every Man rich or poor paying half a tale of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous sum in that Kingdom: whereto one thousand thousand five hundred and fifty thousand lighting Men were numbered by *Joab*. Now although this law of captivation be thought by some very learned, not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confest is against the *Hebrew* explications) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practice. And by these means might he be able to leave those huge treasures to *Solomon*. Yet it may seem that of this great mass of Gold and Silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private; and so will appear the less wonderful that he left so much. Or his own liberality we find, that he gave to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of Gold, and seven thousand talents of Silver: a great sum, but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continual increase, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Joshua*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expenses, and maintained the Priests and Levites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Soldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half: whereby all the Country received benefit of the Victory, yet so, that the Soldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred of that which was given to the Soldiers: namely, one hundred and one thousand part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, thirty two thousand Women being taken, the Army had sixteen thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand given to the Army, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute: Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the less for that the Army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every Soldier; but when it consisted of many hundreds, they who remaining at home were faint under the ordinary manner of travel in domestic affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was

altways certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some special commandment, as when all the Gold, and Silver, and other metals found in *Jericho*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and people, as when after the Victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one Man, all Jewels, Bracelets, Earrings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not these treasuries robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never got possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that

was purchased by so many Victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due proportion, it is evident, seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lieutenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils obtained in War, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains of other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former Victory had purchased, those of *Joab* perhaps excepted: but these vast sums of an hundred thousand Talents of Silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in his former Ages, than to have been the mere fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of *Solomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues with his tributes, 666 Talents of Gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also fix rich Returns from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his Ships performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the twentieth year of his reign, and ruled forty years. Besides this, all *Judea* and *Israel* were now manured to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borders, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascus*, of *Palmyra*, of *Timae*; all of *Idumea*, *Mob*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, with whom the *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished though subdued.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 30 years reign, and 70 years of life, died in a good age, full of days, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written by *Joseph* that there was hid in *David's* Tomb a marvellous quantity of treasures, inasmuch as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanee*, or race of *Macechabe*, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding mass of Gold and Silver therein. And it was an ancient custom to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they inscribed themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Solomon* did bury so much treasure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise or which were left unto him: were it not withal considered that his want of money grew from such

magnificent employments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Monuments of these Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Ulcia*) they remained within these thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed upon them.

SECT. X.

Of the *Philistims*, whom *David* absolutely mastered: and of sundry other Contemporaries with *David*.

OF the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time somewhat here may be spoken.

They defended of *Caslim*, who, according to *L. I. lib. 1. p. 19.* *Idor* and *Josephus*, was one of the Sons of *Misram*, *3. p. 1. 3.* and was furnished *Philistin*, as *Ejus* was furnished *Edom*, and *Joab* *Israel*. There were of them five Cities or petty Principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Alod*, *Gaza* or *Azaph*, *Ascalon*, *Gethor* *Gath*, and *Accaron*, *1 Sam. 6.* It seemeth that *Caslim* was the first founder of this Nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham's* Wife.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*; which *Abimelech*, fancied *Isaac's* Wife, as his Father had done *Sara*. *Gen. 16.*

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembered in the Scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocracy*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Ashur* be named King of *Gath*, *1 Sam. 18.* the fame to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time.

After whom we read of another *Abimelech* who lived with *Solomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive Servant, what time the seeking of his Servant was the loss of his life. *Jeremy* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palistin* or *Philistin*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. Thereof the Wars of the *Philistims* are remembered in the Catalogue of the Judges, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Siliv* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have lived till the year of *Italy* thirty years. And about his fourteenth year *Cadmus* the first King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those who being called after *Medon*, *Minotides*, without regal name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of Sovereignty, but in honour of *Cadmus* only. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, and the mountain of *Oeta*, sought counsel from the Oracle, for their success in the Wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then and doubtless all the riches which he got otherwise or which were left unto him: were it not withal considered that his want of money grew from such

living. *Cadmus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own Forces and putting on the habit of a common Soldier, entered the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountered, was himself forthwith cut in pieces. He expelled the 31 King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30 began to rule that Empire, about the 13 year of *David*, and held it 38 years.

Near the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heracleidae*, the Son of *Eurhythmus* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heracleidae* in *Lacedemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his Successors were called *Agidae*, for many years after. He restored the *Lacedaemonians* to their former liberty: he overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery: whereof it came, that all the *Messians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helots*.

In like sort from the *Selavici* came the Word *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the Country of *Byzicia*, and made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slaves* which is in their language *Glorigus*. But in aftertimes (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants with their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current through many Countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later about the 23 year of *David*, and say that *Achisrathus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Enfichus* calls *Labites*, and sets him in the 13 year of *Solomon*.

In the tenth year of *Achisrathus*, *Andronicus* the third Son of *Cadmus*, assisted by the *Iones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoining of the Isle of *Samos* to his Territory, was slain by the *Carians*, whose Country he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetis*, his armed Statue being set over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Andronicus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Ephesus* on the sea-coast of *Asia* the less) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Aeolians*, which joyneth to *Ionis*: and that his posterity governed the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythrae* by the name of *Basilides* in *Strabo's* own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponnesus*, I have *spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heracleidae* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein, with the *Dorians*, they expelled the *Aeolians*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heracleidae* 100 years.

The City of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425 foot, and 220 in breadth, sustained with 127 pillars of marble, of 70 foot high: whereof 27 were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polished, the work being first set out by

Ctesiphon of *Gnossus*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which *Timothy* was Bishop: to whom and to the *Ephesians*, *St. Paul* wrote his Epistle so entitled. The other City possess by *Andronicus* in *Asia*, was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sylva's*, furnished *Erythrae*, who lived 740 years before Christ was born. *St. Augustine* avoweth that a Roman *Proconsul* buried him in an ancient *Grecopoly* certain verses of this Prophetess, which began (as *St. Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these words: *Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Salvator; Jesus Christi Son of God, the Saviour*.

About the time that *Joab* besieged *Rabbi* in *Mosh*, *Vaphor* began to govern in *Aegypt*, the same that was Father in law to *Solomon* whose Epistles to *Solomon*, and his to *Vaphor*, are remembered by *Enfichus* out of *Polemon*. In the 21 of *David*, was the City of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the less founded, the same which is situated upon the River *Meander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the best herds of the *Leifer* *Asi* breed, whence *Linus*:

Et Magnetis equis, Moxa goss cognovit arvis.

About the same time *Cunus* in *Campania*, was built by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cameanus* of *Aeolis*, saying, that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the City. Of this *Cunus* was *Ephor* the famous Scholar of *Isochares*.

Enfichus and *Cassidor* 1 and the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31 year of *David*, but much mistaken. For the Father of *Dido* was *Mitros* the Son of *Badezus*, brother to *Jezebel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*: and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were walled, about 45 years.

In this time also *Acahus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Cadmus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a Magistracy of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Aeolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oristes*, possessed the City and Island of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32 year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyze*, according to *Josephus*, who con- *Ant. 8. 2.* fesseth in his twelfth year *Solomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Josephus* to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely as he knew not how at all to ease any account. For it is manifest, that *Hiram* sent Messengers and Cedars unto *David*, soon after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the beginning of *David's* reign over *Israel*, when as yet he had reigned only seven years in *Hebron* over the house of *Juda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30 years before *Solomon's* unless more credit should be given to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of the Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Solomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

C H A P. XVIII.

OF SOLOMON.

S E C T. I.

Of the establishing of Solomon: of birth-right, and the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Solomon's wisdom.

SOLOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet Nathan, began to reign over Judah and Israel, in the year of the World 2991. He was called Solomon by the appointment of God: he was also called Jedidias, or Theophilus by Nathan, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of Tyre, after Solomon's anointing, dispatched Embassadors towards him, congratulating his establishment: a custom between princes very ancient. Whence we read that David did in like sort salute Hannum King of the Ammonites, after his obtaining the Kingdom.

The beginning of Solomon was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For soon after David's death, he caused his Brother Adonijah to be slain by Benaiab the Son of Jehoiada, taking occasion from Adonijah's desiring by Jerubbaa, that the young maid Abisag (which lay in David's bosom in his later days, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that Adonijah was his elder Brother, and fought the Kingdom contrary to the will of David, whom God inclined towards Solomon. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wife, and he that fees but the claw may know whether it be a Lyon or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisdom of Solomon, this motion of Adonijah, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been Concubines of a King, might not after be touched by a King: whence Adonijah's wife Adisalom to take his Fathers Concubines as part of the Royalty. And David after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to him, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it seems was the depth of Ishobab's quarrel against Abner, for having his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custom may seem too in the words of God by Nathan to David; I have given thee thy Masters house, and thy Masters Wives. And in the words of Saul upbraiding Jonathan, that he had chosen David to the shame of the nakedness of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of Adonijah, to marry with her that was always present with David in his later days, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdom to Solomon. There may be divers further occasions, as either that he would learn fish things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would persuade her to forge some strange tale about David's last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of Solomon.

As for the right of an elder Brother which Adonijah pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customs of the Jews: yet the Kings of the Jews were so absolute, as they did therein, and in all else, what they pleased.

Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to use his paternal authority in transferring the birth-right to a younger Son: namely, of Jacob's disinheriting Reuben, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to Joseph: of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in David, it appears by the words of Bersabee and Nathan to David, and of Jonathan to Adonijah. For, as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirm, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder Brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the stories of the Jews. It is said indeed that the people made Saul King at Gilgal: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before, no Man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of choosing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall choose.

But to proceed with the acts of Solomon: at the same time that he put Adonijah to death, he rid himself also of Joab, and three years after of Shimei, as David had advised him: he displaced also the Priest Abiathar, who took part with Adonijah against him, but in respect of his office, and that he followed David in all his afflictions, and because he had been the Ark of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdom, he took the daughter of Vaphres King of Egypt to Wife: for so Eschusim out of Euphrates calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing unto him in a dream, had him ask what he would at his hands: Solomon chose to have wisdom, which pleased God. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, nor hast thou asked the life of thine enemies, behold I have done according to thy words: in which we may inform our selves, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the conveying after long life in respect of our selves, cannot but proceed of self-love which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness, which God abhorreth: To affect revenge, is as much as to take the Sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make Solomon know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brethren slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from David, or from the Law of God; but because Solomon desired Wisdom only, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule Men, it pleased God to give him wisdom that which he desired not. And I have given thee (saith God)

God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of Wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture testifies: though no doubt the chief excellency of Solomons wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how he judged the controversy between the two harlots.

S E C T. II.

Of Solomons building and glory.

HE then entered into league with Hiram King of Tyre, whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father David, and another from God. For like as it is written of David, that he called Solomon his son, and charged him to build a house for the Lord of Tyre, so doth Tostatus give the force of a divine precept to these words, Bebold, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my Name. He began the work of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at Esion-gaber to trade for gold in the East-Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were putting to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from Ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written: as Salomon, Montanus, Ribera, Berradar, Azorius, Villalpando, Pineda, and others to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, Solomon employed 30 thousand Carpenters, 10 thousand every month by course: he also used 50 thousand Malons in the Mountain, and 70 thousand labourers that bare burdens, which is conceived, he selected out of the Provinces, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his works: so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men: in which number the Sidonians, which were far more skilful in hewing timber than the Israelites, may (as I think) be included. For Hiram caused his servants to bring down the Cedars and Firs from Lebanon to the sea, and thence sent them in rafts to Jappe, or the next port to Jersusalem. For in the second of Chronicles the second Chapter, it is plain, that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the over-icers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of Hiram, and of Vaphres King of Egypt. In recompence of this Timber and Stone, Solomon gave Hiram twenty thousand measures of Wheat, and twenty measures of pure Oil yearly. Eschusim out of Euphrates in the ninth book of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of Solomons Letter to Suron (which was the name as Hiram and Hiram) King of Tyre, in these words:

REX Solomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phoenicie Regi, Amici, patris mei salutem. Scis me a Deo magno David patris nostri regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater precepit templum Dei, quod terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem preceptum: Scribo igitur, & peto a

te ut artifices atque fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittas velis.

KING Solomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phoenicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. Thou mayest understand that I have received of the great God of my father David, the Kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God, which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King Suron made this answer.

Suron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phoenicie Rex, Solomoni Regi salutem. Læti literis, gratias æque Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros, miniſtrosque ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te milia hominum atque agna, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex mare Judeæ, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Cur igitur in necessariis non egeam, & Templo Dei condico, ad non redunt.

Suron of Tyre, Sydon and Phoenicia King, to King Solomon greeting: When I read your Letters, I gave God thanks who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdom. And because you write that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent you five thousand shand men, and a Master-builder, a Tyrian, born of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessities be provided for them; for, as you, when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

The Copies of these Letters were extant in Josephus's time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen (saith he) Tom in nigris quæ in Tyriorum antiquis, adhuc in ovis, æt in the Tyrian annals. But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse between Solomon and Hiram either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either Euphrosim or Josephus set it down, but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like Letter in effect Solomon is said to have written to Vaphres King of Egypt, and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some Commenters upon Solomon, find that Hiram King of Tyre, and Vaphres King of Egypt, gave Solomon the title of Rex magnus, and cite Euphrosim in Eschusim, I do not had any such addition of magnus in Eschusim, in the last chapter of the ninth book; neither is it in Josephus in the eighth book and second chapter of the Jews Antiquities: it being a vain title used by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and used likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, inasmuch as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great Herme the nut, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his nightgowns.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, Solomon fortified Jersusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazor which had been the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before Jephthas's time: so did he Gaza of the Philistines: he built Bersheba, Gesar, and the Mills or munition of Jersusalem. For Pharaoh (as it seemeth in favour of Solomon) came up into the edge of Ephraim, and took Gesar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their City. The place and Territory

Teritory he gave *Solomon's* Wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because *Solomon* was then buied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entrusted his *Tyber* in law to rid him of their neighbours, which *Pharab* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his son *Rehoboam's* time *Shebass* this man's successor did sack *Jerusalem* it self.

Solomon also built *Mogido* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*, and *Balsh* in *Dan*: also *Thadmo*, which may be either *Palmyra* *Thamoon* in the desert of *Juda*, or (as *Jofeph* thinks) *Palmyra* in the desert of *Syria*, which *Palmyra*, because it stood on the utmost border of *Solomon's* dominion in the Northeast of *Libanus*, and was from *David's* conquest when he wan *Dimasur*, it may seem that *Solomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Jofeph* calls this place *Thadmo*, by which name (saith he) given by *Solomon*, the *Syrian* as yet call it. *Joam* in his book of Hebrew places, calls it *Thermob*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building, *Solomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hiram* for service: *Solomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the upper *Euphrate*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called *Chabul*.

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Galilee* of the Gentiles, *Non quod gentis ibi habitarent: sed quia sub domine Regis Gentilis erat, Not that it was possit by the Gentiles (saith *Nucleus*) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsoever it were, it is true that *Solomon* in the 21 Year fortified those places which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into *Syria* *Tobab*, and established his tributes: the first and last war (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, putting from *Thadmo* to the North of *Palmyra*, and to the Deserts of *Idumea*, from whence he visited *Ezionogabar* and *Eloth* the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red Sea: which Cities I have described in the Story of *Mose*.*

SECT. III.

Of *Solomon's* sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about *Solomon's* riches, and of *Pineda's* conceit of two strange passages about *Africk*.

HERE *Solomon* prepared his Fleet of ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joyined in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrusians* being of all other the most expert seamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet pass to the *East-Indies*, which was not far off, namely, to *Ophir*, one of the Islands of the *Molucces*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Pera*, do yet plant in those Islands of the *East* at *Manila*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Pera*, or new *Spain*.

The return which was made by these Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450 talents: whereof 30 talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420 talents, which make five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand crowns, came clear. And thus meet those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents of gold: that sum, as I take it, is not other receipts of *Solomon's* which were yearly, and which came to him, besides those profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the Land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Pera* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Country in the *East-Indies*; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedily return to *Jerusalem* from the *East-Indies*, than in three years; and that *Tharshis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the first book.

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Beitica*, would fain have *Gades* or *Cadiz* mist, in old times called *Tarshis*, which is the South-west corner of that Province, to be the Source from whence *Solomon* fetch his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own Country, and because of some faintness of found between *Tharshis* and *Tarshis*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three Years ere they that took ship in the Red Sea, should return from the *East-Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffic, and in their land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the Red Sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that they have no need to make *Solomon's* men to go many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Solomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrusians* which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterranean Sea; and for (besides many wonderful inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have elaped the troublesome land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the Red Sea, through dry, desert, and the chieftly Countreys: and within 30 miles of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other haven in *Solomon's* own Country, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis*, in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia*, being swallowed up in the *Atlantic* Ocean, hindered *Solomon's* ships from passing through the Straits of *Gibraltar*: for this, he allegeth *Plato* in *Timæus*. But that this calamity happened about *Solomon's* time, or that thereby the Straits of *Gades* were filled with mud, and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the Mediterranean Sea; or that this indraught where the Sea meeteth most violently, and most effectually fourthly his channel, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to have stood; or that *Solomon's* ships being in the Red Sea, should neglect the golden Mines in the *East-Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red Sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek gold at *Cadye* by the way of compassing *Africa*; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himself that hath also therein *Pera* in the West, fourthly in the *East-Indies*, and inhabits some part thereof, as in *Manilla*, hindring in those parts no less

less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possessed) considered) than in *Pera*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharshis* the City of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the Mediterranean Sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three days swimming above twelve thousand English miles along the Mediterranean Seas, and through the Straights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africk*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the Red Sea, that he might have perhaps some fix miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Nineve*. This conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word *Seip*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red Sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the Red Sea. But in *Jonas* c. 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth thus) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finished in three days, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore further there is no necessity of this miracle, we find it back upon him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets: *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And again, *Non sunt mirabilia creandi, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda. Miracula non sunt multiplicanda nisi necesse sit, nec delictorum causa, nec signa ad placitum*. Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of *Solomon*.

The Queen of *Saba's* coming from far to *Solomon* (as seems from *Arabia Felix*, and not, as some think, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Solomon's* reciprocal magnificence, and his relieving of her difficult questions; those are set down at large in the Text. But herein *Jofeph* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba*, *Nicanor*, the successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight Egyptian Kings which succeeded *Meneus* the Founder of *Mempbis*; adding, that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in law of *Solomon*, the name of *Pharab* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharabs* after the father in law of *Solomon*. Yea, above three hundred Years after *Solomon*, *Pharab* *Necbo* slew *Jofeph* King of *Juda*.

It is also written of *Solomon*, that he kept in garbisons fourteen thousand Chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent in Country every day thirty measures of fine flower, threecore measures of wheat, one hundred tenth, besides fags and fag Deer, bugles and fowls four thousand stalls of horses he had for his Chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in the first of *King's* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thousand stalls or teams, and in every term ten horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was laid to be wiser than any man, yet than were *Ethan* the *Ezerite*, than *Heman*, *Chilath*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fifth, to wit, *Ezerack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezerite* by Nation, *Junius* writes them, *Athan*, *Aman*, *Chilath* and *Darda* the sons of *Heman*. He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity

of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Solomon's* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil causes, and not Ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into Gods Book.

SECT. IV.

Of the fall of *Solomon*, and how long he lived.

NOW as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his fifteen hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moth*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heb*: and when he fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as *Asteroth* of the *Edomites*, *Milcom* of *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moth*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the masters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tore from his son *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Dan p. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

In the reign of *Solomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other works of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty Years he reigned; how many more he lived, it is not written, and most therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Solomon's* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they continued, and consequently learn the true, or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth year he took *Jerusalem*, and named with the *Philistines*, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the Ark seems to have been in the tenth Year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the Year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the *Philistines*, *Moshites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him five Years, considering the *Aramites* of *Damascus* raised war against him, after which time he had beaten *Haddadzer*; and that in years of these wars, he had the entire victory. Neither is likely, that these services occupied any longer time, because in those days and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the Year, Kings went forth to war, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies country, partly upon the private provision which every soldier made for himself. The 17 Year of *David*, in which he took *Meghiboth* the son of *Joab* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the Year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to trial of a battle (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war, taking up all the Summer. *David's* personal expedition against the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Haddadzer* under his own allegiance, appears manifestly to have been the next Years work, wherein

hied cut off all means of succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab, and Idumea being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20 Year of David's reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Jash* to besiege *Rebba*, and finished the war of Ammon: wherein also he killed out the matter of *Uriah's* wife. So one half of David's reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow, by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God for his foul and bloody offence.

New vices manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Solomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen Years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the death of his father, as being begotten in the 21 Year of his fathers reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of David, as may be collected out of ensuing Actions: for two Years passed ere *Abshalom* slew his brother *Amnon*: three years ere his father pardoned him, and two Years more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been one Years work. So the rebellion it self, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa*, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the 30 Year of David's reign.

Whether the three years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the *Philistines*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining Years of David there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three Years of famine, for four Years of war, and for numbering the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the war with the *Philistines* was but one years work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gath* or *Nob* near unto *Gazer*, and the last at *Gath*. This war the *Philistines* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by David's old age: for he fainted now in the battle, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So David had six or seven years of rest, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of War dyed (being of his own age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken pay of *Jash* the son of *Zeriah*.

At this time it might both truly be said by David to *Solomon*, *Thou art a wise man*; and by *Solomon* to *God*, *I am but a young child*: for nineteen Years of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of *Solomon's* profiting himself a child, that he was but eleven Years old when he began to reign. Of these *Rabbi Solomon* seems the first Author, whom other of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of *Abshalom's* rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they understood as Years of David's reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the son of *Solomon* was 41 years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himself but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if *Solomon* (who reigned 40 years) were but eleven Years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Jephthah* allows 80 Years of reign to

Solomon: a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, construed the words of *Jephthah*, as if they included all the Years of *Solomon's* life. But by such reckoning he should have been 40 Years old at his Fathers death; and consequently should have been born long before his Father had won *Jerusalem*: which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 80 Years remembered in *Abshalom's* rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between David's first anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to *Jephthah*, *Theodore*, and the Latine translation) four Years; which passed between the return of *Abshalom* to *Jerusalem*, and his breaking out.

SECT. V.

Of Solomons Writings.

There remain of *Solomon's* Works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Solomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Book intitled, The Wisdom of *Solomon* (which some give unto *Solomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Jerom* and many others of the best learned make us think it was not *Solomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith *Jerom*) qui *Solomonis* inscribitur, *Græcam videtur eloquentiam*. The Title of *Græcam* the Book of *Wisdom*, which is ascribed to *Solomon*, from favourers of the *Græcian* eloquence; and of the same opinion was *S. Augustine*, and yet he confisseth in the nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: *Circumveniamus iustum, quoniam iniustus est nobis*, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he cleaveth us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the son of the Lord, &c. and doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moser*, *Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isaiah* the Prophet. *Suidas* s. Sen. *Jul. Cedrenus* report, that *Solomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they say) *Ezechias* pulled down, because the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Solomon's* Books of Invocations, and Enchantments to cure diseases, and expeel evil spirits, *Jephthah* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Solomon's* ring disposed divers persons of evil spirits in the presence of *Yeshaphat*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly, so strange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wisdom from God himself in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Judea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end,

by the perfwade of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forgotten, and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnes, of which he was more liberal to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Solomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious; for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever: How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a flood? Thy mind covered the whole Earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy Name went abroad in the Isles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* But thus he concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loins to Women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly*, cap. 27.

SECT. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Solomon.

Near the beginning of *Solomon's* reign, *Agathias* the third of the *Heracidae* in *Corinth*, *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*, and soon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, swayd those Kingdoms: *Longibones* then governing *Alfria*, *Agathis* and *Archiphus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the six and twentieth of *Solomon's* reign, *Hiram* of Tyre died, to whom *Balthazarius* succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after *Mercatori* account; who reckons the time of his Rule by the age of his

Sons. *Jephthah* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antonicus*, finds *Bozartus* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram* and the reign of *Bozartus*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Solomon*, *Sefac* or *Shishak* (as our English *Geneva* terms him) began to govern in Egypt, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sofachis*; *Jephthah*, *Sufac*; *Cedrenus*, *Sisifmus*; *Eusebius* in the column of the Egyptian Kings, *Smedas*; and in that of the Hebrews, *Sufac*. *Jephthah* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveh it as an error in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the Acts of *Sufac* to *Sesphris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sefac* another *Sesphris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and virtues of King *Sesphris*, I have spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: only in this he was removed; that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Entropius*, at such time as *Sesphris* was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which *Sesphris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: To whom the captive King answered, That in those he beheld the infallibility of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the uppermost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Sesphris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sesphris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sefac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Solomons Successors until the end of Jehophaph.

SECT. I.

Of Rehoboam his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and Jeroboams Idolatry.

REhoboam the Son of *Solomon* by *Nahama* an Ammonitess, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Solomon*, and was anointed at *Shechem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in Egypt, since he fled thither, fearing *Solomon*. After his arrival the People presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmus est fove Imperium, si amoris mallet quam metus*; So should his Empire (saith *Jephthah*) be more assured, if he desired rather to be beloved than feared: Wherefore he took three days to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of David, that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himself he knew not how to resolve, so had he not the judgment to discern of Counsel; which is the very test of Wisdom in Princes, and in all Men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and advised Men, that served his Fa-

ther, who perfwaded him by all means to satisfy the multitude: He was transported by his families and favourites, not only to continue on the backs of his Subjects those burdens which greatly cruel them; but (vaunting fallacy of greatness exceeding his Fathers) he threatened in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unfupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the success, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it self: They also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the help, and not for the harm of Subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his People? His witsless Parafites could well judge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* designs. For being fore-

foretold by the Prophet *Abdiel* of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the Peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes of *Israel*: the People cried out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the Son of *Abi*. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *David* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his Bones and his Flesh: Yet now after the manner of Rebels, they forgot both the bond of Nature, and their duty to God; and as all alienate resolved hearts do, they served themselves for the present, with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the People, a Man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: whom they indantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Siechem* with all speed; and recovered *Jerusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel*, with an hundred and thousand chosen Men, *Shimei* in the Person of God, commanding: to the contrary, all was layd for the present. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Siechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exercise of one Religion would also join the Peoples hearts again to the House of *David*, and having in all likelihood also promoted the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, he set up two Calves of Gold for the Children of *Israel* to worship, impiously persuading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these he represented those Gods which delivered them out of Egypt, and refusing the service of the Levites, he made Priests in for such gods. It must needs be, that by banishing the Levites which served *David* and *Solomon* through all *Israel*, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himself: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by *Mose* and *Joshua*, for as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda*, &c. This Irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of Idolatry that never could be rooted out, until *Israel*, for it was rooted out of the Land) was by Prophetic Miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the afflictions maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophetic nor Miracle could make them yield. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the Authority of *Abi*, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he stretched it over the Altar, which all clearly find according to the sign, which the Man of God had given him by the commandment of God; who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, so he held it the safest policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forsok God, and the Religion of his fore-Fathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a modern Historian compared with the policies of late Ages: observing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian born. *Sic qui loquitur* (saith he) *Politici vocantur, & propria commodi presensque utilitas sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituent, causam quam vocant statim in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tunc, promittenda, conservanda, amplianda nihil non facient, dum putant. Si ipsius proximo irroganda, si justitia bonificanda legem subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessandenda, si deique omnia pars Divina & humana violanda, nihil innotuit, nil per fas nefasque relinquendum consensit, emulatur, omnia percontant: nihil ad ipsos, modo id quod est resus esse sibi persuadent, obtinent, ac si nullus sit qui ius*

lia curat, castigare possit Deus: So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wot to alledge the cause of state for such, as the principal point to be regarded: For the good of the State, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the State, they think that they may do anything. If they mean to oppress their Neighbour, to overturn all Laws of Justice and equity, if Religion it self must go to wrack, yet, if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing: let all go to wrack, unless care they, so long as they may have what they would: as now should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *Ragione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amaziah* the Priest of *Babel* confuted the Prophet *Amos* not to prophesie at *Babel*; For (saith he) it is the Kings Court. Upon this Ground even *John* that had massacred the Priests of *Babel*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any vile depart from that politique sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sin. It was reason of State that persuaded the last French King Henry the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsok, obeyed him, yet the Protestants whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted Vizard of policy proceeding, delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it: And behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it, whereof *John*, and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves very great examples.

SECT. II.

Of Rehoboam his impiety; for which he was punished by Sefac: Of his ends, and Contemporaries.

While *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining, with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fifteen Cities of *Juda* and *Benjamin*: Not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the Egyptians, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only furnished himself, but wished invitation to invade *Judea*: laying perchance, before them the uncountable Riches of *David* and *Solomon*, which might now be easily had, being ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judeans*. So as by those two ways (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of foreign Force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the Seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatry in few years after he rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* having also, as he thought, by Fortifying divers places, assured his Estate, forsok the Law of the Living God, and made High Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his Reign, *Sefac* a King, or *Shibac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom, as well *Adad* of *Idumea*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his Instruments, entered *Judea*: with twelve thousand Chariots, and *Infantry*, three score thousand Horfes, besides Foot-Men, which

which *Josaphat* numbers at four hundred thousand. This Army was compounded of four Nations: Egyptians, Libanians, Suceans, and Cushites. The Libanians were Libanites, the next bordering Region to Egypt, on the West side. The Libanians were of *Petræa*, and of the Desert *Arabia*, which afterwards followed *Zera* against *Aza* King of *Juda*. The Suceans according to *Justin* his opinion, were of *Suecia*, which signifieth Tents: He doth suppose that they were the *Troglodites*, mentioned often in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the Banks of the red Sea, in 22 Degrees from the line Northward, about six hundred English miles from the beiti and Marimacate part of Egypt: and therefore I do not think that the Suceans or Sucei were those *Troglodites*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabæ Egyptiæ Ischthopolis*, which posses that part of Egypt behind the Mountains called *Adiabitis*, and the Red Sea, far nearer Egypt, and readier to be levied, than those removed Savages of the *Troglodites*.

With this great and powerful Army, *Sefac* invaded *Judea*, and (besides many other strong Cities) was *Jerusalem* itself, of which and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoil, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden Shields which *Solomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadazer*, in the Syrian war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brass, which were inough to guard a King of his quality, whom *Syriac* calleth, *The Foolishness of the People*.

From this time forward the King of Egypt claimed the sovereignty of *Judea*, and held the Jews as their Tributaries: *Sefac*, as it seems, rendering up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the Word of God, where premising the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of Egypt, in these words, *Nevertheless they (to wit, the Judeans) shall be his servants*, that is, the servants of *Sefac*.

After this overthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and his losses received by *Sefac* notwithstanding, he continued the War against *Jeroboam* all his life-time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Israel* four years.

Rehoboam lived 58 years, and reigned 17, his Body was written at large by *Shemajah* and *Hiddan* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tesippus*, the third and fourth *Arabians*, or Governors for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdastarnus*, or *Abstratus*, in *Tyre* *Dorijebus*, the fifth of the *Heraclide* in *Sparta*, according to *Ensebius* (others make him the sixth) and *Primus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Lutins*, reigned *Silvius Alba*, *Silvius Atys*, the fourth and the fifth of the *Silvii*.

About the 12 of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastarnus* King of *Tyre* was murdered by his Nurses sons, or Followers, brethren, the elder of which usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times, *Pericades*, or *Pyribidates*, began to Govern *Assyria*, the 34th King thereof: And not long after *Asturnus*, the King of *Babylonia*, recovered the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the *Ursurpers*.

SECT. III.

Of the great Batel between Jeroboam and Abia, with a Collation of the Examples of Gods Judgment.

Abijah the son of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. He raised an Army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies joyed near to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the strength of *Israel* broken: For there fell of that side five hundred thousand; the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those Nations. *Abijah* being now Master of the Field, recovered *Babel*, *Jehonab*, and *Ephraim*. Soon after which discomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22 years. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himself, entered into League with *Hezion*, the third of the *Adams* of *Syria*, as may be gathered out of the 2 of *Chron*. He reigned but three years, and then died. The particulars of his Acts 16: 23 were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as some parts of his Fathers were.

Here we likewise pleaed God to punish the sins of *Solomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: First, by an Idolater and Traytor: And then by the Successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter *Solomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his Estate, which while he served God was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when he forsok him, it was torn away by his meanest Vassals. Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian *Sefac*: For the son *Abijah* was able to levy two hundred thousand Men, and with the same number he overthrew eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and flew of them five hundred thousand: God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleased him. And as in those times the causes were expell, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at that instant delivered by Prophets: So the same Just God, who Liveth and Governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give Victory, Courage, and Discomfiture, Raife, and throw down Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: For which reason, in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, always the causes are set down, that they might be as preludens to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *David*'s time for three years, For *Saul* and his bloody house, &c. And *David* towards the latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for *Uriah*, *Solomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his son for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his Riches and Honour by *Sefac* of Egypt, because the People of *Juda* made Images, High Places, and Groves, &c. and because they suffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Jeroboam* was punished in his Idolatry, and his Politicity, for the Golden Calves he erected. *Joram* had all his Sons slain by the *Philistines*, and his very Bowels torn out of his Body by an Excoriating Flux, for murdering his Brethren. *Abab* and *Jezabel* were slain, the Blood of one, the Body of the other eaten with Dogs, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punned the same, and the like sins in all After-times, and in these our days by the same Famine, Plagues, War, Loss, Vexation, Death, Sicknes and Calamities: howsoever the Wife Men of the World raise these effects

and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new up-starts, more than to call their eyes upon that Royal house of *David*, from which the fixation of five Kings in legal descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omeri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than plausible. For *Omeri* was not only an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him; as which it might serve alone to prove, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, for the course which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baasha* (*Asa*'s mortal enemy) gives manifestation, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore in reaching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten Tribes (which was such, that they may seem to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes: it were not anulus to examine the causes moving the people to reverse the death of *Eli*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son *Jeroboam*, who followed the *Worsen* person as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first detection of the 10 Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their necks. Their desire was to have a King that should not oppress them: nor to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose *Jeroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it seems) herein altogether deceived. For his affection of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the institution of his new devised Idolatry; wherewith he told the people, that it was too much for them to travel so far as to *Jerusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to scale towards the latter end of his reign, and of his sons reign, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was only good by courtesy of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more contented by some prerogatives of a King, that he still retained in his own hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens, it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Israel* joined with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and crucifixion of *Jeroboam*'s house.

Now the reign of *Baasha* himself, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was call away; the other side of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philistines*, but left that business to his son, who likewise appears an unprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the favour of the people toward the house of *Baasha* grew from his good form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And surely he that shall take pains to look into those examples which are extant of the different courts, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of justice, will find it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so averse from the line of *David*: as to think all adversity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that house. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them detested; yet in that they

sifted it without form of judgment, they suffered life unto man innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealousy: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may be supposed that many were call away) he would have slain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appears by his contented return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have ended wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jeroboam* did upon his brethren, and upon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Joab* did so put to death *Zababai* the son of *Jehoiada*, who had made him King, even in the court of the house of the Lord: and *Manasse* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he replanted *Jerusalem* from corner to corner; and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sin, wherewith he made *Juda* to sin. Contrariwise, among the Kings of *Israel* we find no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unless perhaps the words of *Jeroboam* the son of *Asa* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God do so to me, and more also, if the head of Eliha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day*. whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Assyrians*, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a sufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. The death of *Nadab* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Nadab* did not fail to stand upon his own right, though *Asa* were even fain for anger; neither was he forced that cause put to death, as upon commandment, but made away by conspiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murder of the Prophets is continually ascribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent Woman, and not unto the King, her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people being Idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (such as are required) prove them to use a more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the Kingdom, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were slain by the people, and two were denied a burial amongst their Ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his brethren, slain by *Joab*, with the destruction of all that Royal seed of *Ahaziah*, did not (for ought that we can read) stir up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddenness and uniformity tell the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unless we should think that the death of *Ahaziah*, after seven years reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill punishing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government, wherewith she had sinned. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all slain by the conspiracy of the great men, who assisted by treason to the Crown: the people being so far from embracing their hands in the blood of their Sovereigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their

their power; nor approve the good success of treason, unless forced compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being thoroughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Eli* and *Zababai*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traitorously got and usurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the seven remain, whose ends the people took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is precisely said in the slaughter committed on *Ahab*'s children by *Jehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same fear might be in them at the death of *Pekah*, whose History (as others of that time) is curiously passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as fear left the people should stir in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the Law calls treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it self with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruin of their natural Sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal person; which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may if more charitably, and I think, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosed by *Pallas*, did with his 100 hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarchies need not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Story might very well have born the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracy, and that *These* alone did mar all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good Form of Government sufficeth by it self to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: every Sheriff and Countable, being fitter able to arm the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening Rebel, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it self of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually diffamed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the Royal blood of *Juda*, should by the only authority of a Queen-mother have destroyed all the seed of *David*, and usurped the Kingdom very near 7 Years, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Jehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principal men of the Land to set up *Joash* their lawful King, wherewith the whole Nation were generally well affected, he was fain to give to these Captains and their men, the *swords* and the *spears* that were King *David*'s, and were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionless, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience,

than they which had Kings of their own choice or admission, holding the Crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did never seek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their first Kings, which died in the reign of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new Family, rather than they would submit themselves with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoke.

So *Asa* having lived the death of 7 Kings of *Israel*, died himself at one and forty years reign, leaving *Jehoshaphat* his son to deal with *Ahab* the son of *Omeri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

SECT. VII.

Of Jehoshaphat and his Contemporaries.

Jehoshaphat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happy, he destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and sent Teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistines*: from the one he had silver, from the other sheep and goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of men of War were more than admirable; for it is written that *Ahab* had the two hundred and fourscore thousand, *Jehoshaphat* of two hundred and fourscore thousand, and *Ahasa* of two hundred thousand: also that he had, besides these in *Benjamin*, of those that bare shields, which we call Targeteers, and of Archers under *Eladai*, two hundred thousand, and under the commandment of *Jehozabab* a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbers together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the King, besides his Garrison.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David*'s time found five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but a hundred and fourscore thousand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourscore thousand: *Amaria* intoll'd all that could bear arms, and they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoshaphat* that *Morb* and *Ammon* were entered his Territory to the West of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field the 11 hundred and 60 thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (reverting my self to better judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17 distributed to several Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300 thousand under *Adnah*, and the 200 and fourscore thousand under *Jehoshaphat*, were afterward commanded and mulctured by *Ahasa*, *Eladai*, and *Jehozabab*: for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehoshaphat* brought to *Ashdod* did not show that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the *Mosabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared, could never make the conquest of those numbers, which he that commanded the army among *Jehoshaphat*'s Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joyed in friendship with *Abab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked Woman *Jezebel*. Him *Jehoshaphat* visited at *Samaria*, and caused his son *Joram* to marry *Abhalia*, this *Abab's* Daughter. *Abab* persuaded *Jehoshaphat* to assist him in the War against the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Basilees*, to fore-tell the success: who promised him Victory. But *Jehoshaphat* believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to consult with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Abab* made answer that he had one called *Micahiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because he always fore-told of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Micahiah* was sent for to the King: but by the way the messenger prayed him to confer with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise Victory unto them, as they did. But *Micahiah* spoke the truth, and repeated his Vision to both the Kings, which was, that God *would who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead*: to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus pater vestri loquitur in vobis*, it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kind did the devil in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, encourage *Abab* to his destruction. And as *P. Marry* upon this place well observeth, these evil spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, and are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ, for as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to save and deliver from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth: both which are said to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Ecdoliaphan* remembereth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are every-where visible. There are spirits, faith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on fire strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Micahiah* having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets, whose spirit he discovered, was stricken by *Zadiah* one of *Baal's* Prophets, and by *Abab* himself committed to prison: where he appointed him to be relieved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Micahiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me*. Nevertheless *Abab* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehoshaphat* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehoi* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Arames* or *Damascenes*, joined with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Idumeans* to invade *Judea*: who pass *Jordan* and encamp at *Engaddi*: and when *Jehoshaphat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jahaziel* came-told him of the Victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: and so when *Jehoshaphat* approached, this Assembly of Nations the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disputing with the *Idumeans*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves, thereof *Ammon* and *Moab* set upon the *Idumeans* and brake them utterly: which done, they also invaded each other: in which broil *Jehoshaphat* arriving, took the spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was fore-told and promised by God. Notwithstanding this Victory, *Jehoshaphat*,

forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an idolatrous King, did notwithstanding join with *Obadiah*, the son of *Abab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophe*, hoping of the like return which *Solomon* had: but as *Elizeus* the Prophet fore-told him, his ships perished, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprise was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram*, the brother of *Obadiah*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, the *Edomites* join their Forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their Army. The *Moabites*, subjects to *David* and *Solomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themselves their vassals to *Jehoram*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Abab*: but *Jehoshaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Collage, yet as it cometh he was drawn into this War, both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joyed themselves with the *Syrians* against *Jehoshaphat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook *Juda*, and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to pass by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to assure that Nation: for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Jehoshaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehoshaphat*, is not certain: for in the 2 of *Chron.* 11. ver. 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it cometh to me that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to return from them, and to join themselves with the Army of *Juda*. For, that they were numbered among the enemies of *Jehoshaphat*, it is plain in the 2 of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain 2. 1. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoshaphat's* death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumeans* having a purpose to rebel, misled the Army of *Juda* and *Israel*, with intent to infest them for want of Water: true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the Armies of *Cyrus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions: and had all likelihood utterly perished, had not *Elisab* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not only *Jehoshaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Israel* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God having ever been prone to save the evil for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evil.

The miserable issue of this War, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice, on the rampire of his own City, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Jehoshaphat* reigned 25 Years and died: he was buried in the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* let over his grave is yet to be seen, faith the Son of *Hanan*. His acts are written at large by *Jehoi* the son of *Hanan*.

There lived with *Jehoshaphat*, *Ophe* prince in *Assyria*, *Capeus*, and *Tibirinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*: of the latter, the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albulus*) took name.

In *Jehoshaphat's* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mizades* in *Athen*: *Agelas* or *Agellian* in *Corinth*: and *Archilum* of the same race of the *Heracleids* the seventh in *Lacedaemon*. *Badsirus* ruled the *Tyrans*: *Abab*, *Obadiah* and *Jehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, and Ahazia.

SECT. I.

That Jehoram was made King Jundry times.

Jehoram the son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*, began his reign at thirty two years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King: But of these eight years, which *Jehoram* is said to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his Father, who going to the *Syrian* War with *Abab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his stead, as *Abab* did his son *Abazia*. This appears by the several beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Jehorams* Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Abazia* the eldest son of *Abab*. For *Abazia* is said to have begun his reign, in the seventeenth year of *Jehoshaphat*. *Jehoram* the Brother of *Abazia* succeeded him in the 2 year of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*: that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Juda* was designated King by his Father: it being (as we find elsewhere) the eighteenth year of *Jehoshaphat* himself, who went with the *Syrians* against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal Office was retained still by *Jehoshaphat*, who governed absolutely by himself, not communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth year of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoshaphat*, the old King took unto him, as Partner in the Government, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32 years old, his father being 57. Now for as much as *Jehoshaphat* reigned 25 years, it is evident that his son did not reign alone till the eighth of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, who did not always reign precisely so long as their years of the Text may seem at first to affirm: but their years were sometimes confounded, sometimes only current, sometimes confounded with the years of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing less needful than curious, to enquire into the reasons moving *Jehoshaphat* either to assume unto him his son as Partner in the Kingdom, whilst he was able himself to command both in Peace and in War, the like having never been done by any of his Progenitors, or having once (in the 17 of his reign) vouchsafed unto him that honour, to re-sume it to himself, or at least wife to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were passed. Yet so far as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a mean to find more light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary business ensuing, I hold it not unaim to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider, that this King *Jehoshaphat* was the first of *Rehobams* issue, that ever entered into any straight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had

with much labour and long War, tired themselves in vain, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Jehoshaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a League offensive and defensive between *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true root and fountain of all Wisdom: Yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtless it wanted not due pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutual fortification of both those Kingdoms, against the uncommunicated Nations their ancient Enemies. This apparent benefit, being so inestimable a jewel, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from Father to Son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure Bond of Affinity, and therefore was *Abhalia* the Daughter of *Omnias* a Sister of *Abab* King of *Israel*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was Son and Heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queen *Jezebel* her brothers Wife, that she did not disdain to take upon herself, to perform a great deal more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. She was indeed a Firebrand ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest Houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those Men or their Children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great League, was the *Syrian* War at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the Victory should have redounded wholly to *Abab*: As Godly Princes very seldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather have the turn of those false Friends, who being ill affected to God himself cannot be well affected to his Servants. Between their setting forth, *Abab* designed, as King, his Son *Abazia's* not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of War (for none of his Predecessors had ever done the like, upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Micahiah* (for he despised to take) as inviting *Jehoshaphat* by his own Example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King Jehoshaphat to change his purpose often, in making his son Jehoram King.

Many arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his Wife, especially for his forsaking the Religion of his Godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Ahab*.

That she was a Woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her Husband think that his Brethren and Kindred were but mean and unworthy Persons in comparison of him, and of his Children, which were begotten upon the Daughter and Sister of two great Kings, not upon base Women, and mean subjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his many Victories obtained against the Syrian *Benhadad* were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himself, as being allied to honourably, who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his Brethren, as being the eldest, and Heir apparent to the Crown, whereto already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his Idolatrous Religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his Fathers eyes to water: who thereupon caused the young Man to know himself better, by making him call back into rank among his younger Brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehoshaphat* about the same time, argue no small displeasure of the whole Country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good King was fain to make his progress round about the Land, reclaiming the People unto the Service of God, and appointing Judges throughout all the strong Cities of *Juda*, City by City. This had been a needful labour, if the Religion taught and strongly maintained by *Ahab*, and by himself, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Justice been perverted by the power of such as had born authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give by his Judges: and by his commission given to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, and to the Steward of his house in temporal Matters, to be general Overseers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahab* the son of *Ahab*: but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahab* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram*, *Jehoshaphat*'s son, though afterwards this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second year, even in his Fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private estate, until the two and twentieth of his Fathers reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet we may not think, that motives thence, appearing substantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondence with *Jehoshaphat*, that his Father had done: and made use of it. He drew the *Judeans* into the war of *Mosh*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his Father, as in the Syrian expedition he had been. Or it we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprise

against *Mosh* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth's yet, the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for fear of tumult after his death: or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himself might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren: it being a thing usual in mischievous fell natures, to be as abject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repulsed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise toward his Brethren, as caused their Father to enable them, to not with store of silver and gold, and of precious things, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtless had used unto his younger sons) but with the custody of strong Cities in *Juda*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, against unwonted perils.

SECT. III.

The doings of Jehoram, when he reigned alone, and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

But all this providence availed nothing: for an higher Providence had otherwise determined of the sequel. When once the good old Man, their Father, was dead, the younger sons of *Jehoshaphat* found strong Cities, a weak defence, against the power of him unto whom the Cities were obedient. If they came in upon the summons of a King their Brother, then had he them without any more ado: if they stood upon their guard, then were they Traytors, and so unable to hold out against him, who besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdom against them: so that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great Men of the Land, such belike as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant sought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was depofed from his Government: in which effice they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young Masters which he would now call Treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrary.

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone to make invasions in Religion, wherein he was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and safe conduct unto Superstition and Idolatry, and to provoke and encourage the People to that sin, whereto it is wonderful that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sins: but he used compulsion and was it not the very first (the first that is registered, to have set up Idols) by force.

Whilft he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad: and having hitherto since *David*'s time, been Governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themselves a King. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots: with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to flee into

into their places of advantage, whereto he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the Prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Elias* in process of time should break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*: but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and foreign Wars, the Jews by sundry Nations had been brought low: *Antiochus* the *Edomite*, with *Hord* his son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jews, in the despicable age of *Isaac*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it self.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Jehoshaphat* was a particular City, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and let it self in liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering Enemies of *Juda*, and therefore so unlikely it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken by their powerful and thoroughly incensed Lord. The *Israelites* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: Neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free State. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers, which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason moving the Inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites: who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not only some allowance to countenance by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout Men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the ten revolted Tribes any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free, or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general Visitation before remembrance, wherein *Jehoshaphat* reformed his Kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governors, and giving them special charge to do Justice without respect of persons, used these words: The Levites shall be Officers before you: Deal good and straight, and do it, and the Lord shall be with you. By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, their just proceedings of his Son: whom if the Levites did (according to the trust imposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many Princes of the Land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much belied or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehoshaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one Month have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his Father would have Levied, there were not many which *Jehoram* could well trust: and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier loss, to let one Town go, than to put Weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared than to be loved, are fain themselves to stand in fear of those by whom they might have been eradicated into others.

SECT. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.

These afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince: a Prophecy in writing was delivered to him, which threatened both his People, his Children, his Wives, and his own Body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruel Persecutor of Gods Servants: in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, both good and evil Kings: but were fain to denounce Gods Judgments against him by Letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elisha* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the days of *Jehoshaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this Prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elisha*. Induced any thing may rather be believed, than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from Heaven did find this Epistle: a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladys letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from Heaven to St. *Giles*.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the Prophecy was as terrible as the Sentence. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* brake into *Juda*, and took the Kings House, whereto they found all, or many of his Children, and Wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his Goods. These *Philistines* had not reclaimed since the time of *David*, to make an offensive War till now for they were by him almost confounded, and had lost the best of their Towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territories, by defensive arms, to which they were constrained at *Gibbion* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked People, all Horsemen, and ill appointed: their Country affording no other furniture, than such as might nake them enter to rob and spoil in the open fields, than to offend among Cities, such as were thick set in *Juda*. True it is, that in Ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the World then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the Art of War: and that the Provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Province, did make them able and skillful in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good Horsemen, but ill appointed: very dangerous to passagers, but unable to deal with good Soldiers.

as tiding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swift-ness of their Horses than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seem to have been, that spoiled *Judah* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Country was always barren and desert, wanting manual Arts wherby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are their bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoshaphat* (wherein were enrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting Men) had been enough to have driven away far greater Forces than these Enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the People been unable to deal with them, for lack of Weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealousie, as in *Saul's* time by the policy of the *Philistims*.

It may seem that the house of the King which these Invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Country, where his Wives and Children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sack the City, or spoil the Temple, which would have invited them to a more commodious booty, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* as felt by surprise, the People being disarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore having done what spoil they could, withdrew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to convey away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and forty brethren of *Ahaziah*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruel massacre wherein all the Royal Seed perished (only *Jos* excepted) under the tyranny of *Ahaziah*, following within two years after this invasion of the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, make it seem probable, that the Sons of *Jehoram* were not all slain at once, but that rather the first murder began in his own time, and was seconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith this house was incessantly stricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, finiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which let him not until his guttelle out, and his wretched soul departed from his miserable Carcase. The People of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place or Burial among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own Son succeeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the same spirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Ahaziah* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous matting of a dead Husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatness, to retain her Favourites in their Authority, and to place about her Son such Counsellors of the house of *Ahab*, as were fittest for her turn. Wherefore she thought it unreasonable to make such a do- about a thing of nothing, and offend the Peoples eyes, with a stately Funeral of a Man by them de- fected: But rather chose to let the blame of things passed, be laid on the Dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her self and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked Intelligers, having made greedy use of bad Imple- ments, to charge, not only with his own Vices, but with their faults also, the Man whose evil inclina-

tions their finitser counsels have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a bulic time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelites* who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult War against the *Ammites*; and therefore could have no better leisure to help *Ahaziah*, in setting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the same hindrance) to help her Husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistims*. Yea, rather he needed and craved the assistance of the Men of *Judah*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly in- treated.

The acts of this wicked Man, I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circum- stances remembered in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of Men, impugning the revealed Will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miracu- lous means, confound themselves in the seeming- wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all Men might learn to submit their judgments to the Ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his Commandments, and fol- low the prudent conceits which worldly Wisdom dis- tinct into them. For in such kind of unhappy sub- tilities, it is manifest that *Ahaziah* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

SECT. V.

Of the reign of *Ahaziah*, and his business with the King of *Israel*.

O *Ahaziah*, or *Ahaziah*, the son of *Jehoram* and *Ahaziah*, began his reign over *Juda*, in the twelfth year of *Jehoram* the son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of more probable conclusion than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of *Ternulius*, alleging the Edition of the *Septuaginta* at Rome, Anno Domini 1588 which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his Kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that do give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young; for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsel, by which he perished. In matter of Religion, he altered none of his Fathers courses. In matter of State he like- wise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his cousin the *Israhelites* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they won, but not with- out blows; for the *Ammites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own per- son, which escaped not unwounded.

The Town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Israhel* King of *Aras*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Israel* withdrew himself to the City of *Jezreel*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his Wounds; and *Ahaziah* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scanty one year; whereof the former expedi-

tion, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay fore of his wounds. Belike *Ahaziah* was brewing some new plots, which his preference would have hindered, and therefore fought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work to leave his kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgment, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the house of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Ahaziah* doubtless was one; whose malicious purposes it will shortly be needful, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

SECT. VI.

How *Ahaziah* perished with the house of *Ahab*: and how that Family was destroyed by *Jehu*.

T

he whole Army of *Israel*, with all the principal Captains, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elias* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were sitting together, who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearsing unto him the Pro- phesy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had over- heard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Pro- phesy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, who had upon the sudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affec- tion, who joyed with him, in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be fore- slowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The first care was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being fore- seen, he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Jehoram* was now so well recovered of his Wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting, and joy made, especially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahaziah* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certain it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the blood Royal at there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the son of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life;

and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was so great be- tween *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success to any rebellious enterpriser: so that now the pro- phesy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an unlikely tale by them that be- held the majestic face of the Court, wherein for great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this security, whilst these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about pro- tection of their intents, with against the *Ammites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already achieved, and the Queen-mo- ther dressing her self in the bravest manner to come down amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a com- pany coming. These news were not very trouble- some: for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready against all attempts of the *Ammites*, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice that the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance; yet the King to be fatished, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by *Jehu*. These dumb breds bred some suspicion in *Jehoram*, whom the Watchman cer- tified of all that happened. And now the company drew so near, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himself by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his Chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* in his company, whose preference added majesty to his train; when strength or retreat, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to salute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the treason to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he struck him dead, and threw his carcass into that field, which, pained with the blood of the right- ful owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did *Ahaziah* escape so well, but that he was afflicted by a Wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jezabel* might now be ad- vertised of this calamity, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced a- gainst her long before, had overtaken her, when the least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her self ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her hateful and impu- rous looks to daunt the Traitor, or at least to utter some Apophthegm that should express her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whose panches the *Israhelites*, with which she be befriended her

eyes, would more offend, than the folding language wherewith the armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehoi* drew near, he opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in meer humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly; as rare all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her own Eunuchs that stood by and heard her, were not affected to much as with any compulsion of her fortunes much less was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehoi* saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, he made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her servants to know which of them would be on his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service before the very face of their proud Lady. Herupon he commanded them to cast her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatness and estate, wherein she had a few hours before *lived* gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the judgments of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subject, but now her Lord: and the perished miserably, struggling in vain with base groans, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy fate on horse-back, adding indignity to her grief by scornful beholding the shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcass that was left without the Walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, murder, and oppression, with flow, but sure payment, and full interest.

Ahasia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehoi*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked: and receiving his deadly wound in the Kingdom of *Samaritis*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grandfathers sake, not for his Fathers nor his own. He died at *Megidda*, and was thence carried to *Jerusalem*, where he was entred with his Ancestors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of *Athalia*; and whose son he was that succeeded her.

SECT. I.

Of *Athalia's* usurping the Kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.

After the death of *Ahasia*, it is said that his house was not able to retain the Kingdom: which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Jos*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispossessed of her son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and flew them, that so she might occupy the Royal Throne her self, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to fly, whatsoever they saw or heard.

Yet ambitious, how violent soever it be, is seldom or never so shameless as to refuse the commodity or goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd far us to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royal blood, all of them in a manner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the *Philistines*, began even to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, those probabilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great truth of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some truly

creature of hers might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, should by any accident fall (as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to pass) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular detestious man per adventure, one that to countenance his own unworthiness, would not care what aspersions he laid upon that Royal house, which was fallen down. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, foreseeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his feed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authority, not only his successor, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the Crown might never be subject to any rising, but remain in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared coming to pass, his own posterity could not retain it.

Such persuasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her heir, the last and youngest of his house, whom most concerned, as being the Queen Mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husbands time, yet might she do it in her sons. For *Ahasia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not like to take much care for the security of his half-brother,

SECT. II.

How *Jehoi* spent his time in *Israel*, so that he could not molest *Athalia*.

In all this time *Jehoi* did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Ahab*, and reforming something in Religion: afterwards in wars against the *Ammonites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventy living in *Samaritis*, out of which number *Jehoi* by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one days warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were enjoyed by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Basal* by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehoi* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should beallured to the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel Tyranness: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Basal* out of *Israel*, he was promised notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remain in his Family to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumference; so doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needless Card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole bet. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Basal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retain them) he now tormented, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, that could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehoi* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, wherewith *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the Prophecy of *Elihu*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their Cities shall thou set on fire; and their young men shall thou lay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rend in pieces their women with child*. So did not only the wickedness of *Ahab* cause the ruin of his whole house, but the obdurate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazael's* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; Q. 9 2 but

but he smite them in all the east of Israel, and wasted all the Country beyond the River of Jordan. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatry (For in those days the Lord began to smite Israel:) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Athalia*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Bombadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his mother that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease and the pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid: and therein by God, whom they first forsok, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wilfulness, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

SECT. III.

Of Athaliah's Government.

THESE calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home: as having little to do abroad, unless it were so that the held some correspondence with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her Husbands Grand-father King *Asa*, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this wicked *Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate to the house of God, did they bestow upon Baalim. Such a sacrilege, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her own Idolatry, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successeur was fain to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Priests and Levites was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himself, howsoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of *Levi* must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the obligations and other perquisites, by which they lived, being now very few and small: and the store, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet they up-held in all this misery the service of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no less than in those days wherein their entertainment was far better.

SECT. IV.

Of the preservation of Joas.

Jehoiada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wife, and religious man. To his carefulness it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort up-held in those unhappy times. His Wife was *Jeshabab*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and sister to *Athalia*, a godly Lady and virtuous, whose piety makes it seem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argues the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Joash* the young Prince that reigned soon after, was conveyed out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to pass that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was missing: nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people should hear say, that one of the children had avoided that cruel blow: it might have made them hearken after innovations, and to be less conformable to their present government. So *Joash* was delivered out of that slaughter, and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him suck, who too lightly doubting that her self should have been slain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

SECT. V.

Whose Son Joas was.

§. I.

Whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the Son of Ahaziah.

NOW concerning this *Joash*, whose son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversy among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the son of *Athalia*, seem plain enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might give title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Successor, I neither by my self can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural son of *Athalia*. For whereas it is said, that the house of *Athalia* was not able to retain the Kingdom: some do infer that this *Joash* was properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as son in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder

murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For the perceiving that the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom the had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the Tyranny exercised by her Husband at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now be revenged upon her self. The ruin of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrify both her and her Minions: the sentence of the Law regarding that offence with death: and the Tragedy of *Jeshabab* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her if her own Grand-child had been heir to the Crown: for she that had power enough to make her self Queen, could with more ease, and less envy have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more obeyed by others, and secure of her own Estate, as not wanting an Heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the Child of her own Son, of whose life she might have made greater use than the cool of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grand-mothers to their Nephews, is little less than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seem incredible, that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requirerth it, yet when all humane policy doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perfwaded.

§. II.

That Joas did not descend from Nathan.

BUT (as it is more easy to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to show how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this *Joash* is, by them which think him not the son of *Athalia*, let down in such sort, that it may very justly be suspected. They say, that he descended from *Nathan* the son of *David*, and not from *Solomon*: to which purpose they bring a History (I know not whence) of two Families of the race of *David*, saying, that the line of *Solomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the Family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the son of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *St. Augustine* sometimes was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet: for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Isaias*, the daughter of *Amemar*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Ersamus*, and *Abel Stapulensis*, have likewise held the fame of *Joash*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Solomon* by the same Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods to have been the Children of *Uriah* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulensis*, who follow the Hebrew Expolitors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Solomon* calling himself the only begotten of his Mother, do approve this Exposition: For we read no more than two sons which *Isaias* or *Isaias* did bear unto *David*, whereof one begotten in Adultery, died an Infant, and *Solomon* only of her Children by the King did live. So that the rest must needs have been the Children of *Uriah*, and are thought to have been *David*'s only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not been the son of *Athalia*, then must that pedigree have been false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriveth him lineally from

Solomon; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesy of the Nation, and form of Law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philis*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joash* was not of the posterity of *Solomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frian Annus* his *Philis*: For no other Edition of *Philis*, hath any such matter; but *Annus* can make Authors to speak what he list.

§. III.

That Joas may probably be thought to have been the son of Jehoram.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, methinks it were not amiss to open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his Children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods Mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would give him a Light, and to his Children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, there was not a son left him, save *Jehoshaphat* the youngest of his Sons. Now if it were in regard of Gods promise to *David*, that after those sacrifices of *Jehoram* upon all his Brethren, and of the *Philistines* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped; why may it not be thought that he was fain to have escaped, in whom the line of *David* was preserved? For had all the race of *Solomon* been rooted up in these woful Tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof, like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, is indeed apparent by the Genealogy of our Lord, as it is recounted by *St. Luke*: But the preservation of the House of *David*, mentioned in the Book of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Jehoshaphat*, in whom the Royal branch of *Solomon*, the natural, and not only legal issue remaining of *David* was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joash*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngest son of *Jehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a Step-dame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of *David*'s line, by Gods especial Mercy, in regard of his Promise made, should pertain rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* herself, there were two and forty of his Brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sons of his Brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by *Jehoi*; than have reference to the lamentable destruction, and little less than extirpation of that Progeny, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhumane Murder which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the History) revenged upon his own children: then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Jehoi*, and finally took effect by the hands of that same wicked Woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon *Jehoram* and all his children, only *Jehoshaphat* his youngest son was exempted: whom therefore I should affirm to be the same with *Joas*, which is called the son of *Athalia*, I should

should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwife have been. For it was the youngest son of *Jehoram*, in whom the race was preferred; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahaziah*, seeing that he was twenty years old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and consequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* should have begotten many Children before he was eighteen years of age, or that he (as he had) many Wives and Children, he should have had a son at the eighteenth year of his age, and yet have been more than thirty years following; each of which muſt had been true, if this were true that *Ahaziah* was the fame *Jehoshaphat* which was his youngest son. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causticks cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Josiah* are easily cleared, if *Josiah* and *Jehoshaphat* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion; For he was *seven years old when he began to reign*; which if we understood of years complete, he might have been years old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it necessary to say that he was the natural son of *Jehoram*, though he be the son of *Ahaziah*, than it were to say, as great Authors have done, that it is difficult notwithstanding, that he was of the Posterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer, which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoshaphat*, that foundeth much more near to *Josiah*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an English ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some, skilful in that language) against the diversity of certain Letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, *Ahaziah*, if it be that *Ahaziah* himself be also *Josiah*, and *Ahaziah* and *Jehoshaphat*; in which manner *Josiah* might also have been, I know not how to answer. I find no other warrant hereof than this, because I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weakness of foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more ability to judge, and leisure to consider of this point,

§. IV.

*Upon what reasons Athalia might seek to destroy
Joas, if he were her own Grand-child.*

If therefore we shall follow that which is common-
ly received, and interpret the Text according to the Letter, we may say, that *Abigail* was not only blinded by the passion of Ambition and Zeal to her Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, and thus sacrificed the accomplishment of some unnatural desires, in seeking the destruction of her Grand-child, and the death of the Blood-Royal. For whether it were so that *Abigail* (as proud and cruel *Wome* are not always chaste) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel* her Sister in Law, whose Whoredoms were upbraided by *John* to her son; or whether the had Children by some former Husband, before she was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and Sister to *Abab*) certain it is that she had Sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the

Crown upon her own Children, the did seek to cut off, by wicked policy, other children. As for *Jos*, if he were his Grand-mother's, yet she might mistrust the interest which his Mother had in him, left when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hercof (belides that Women do commonly better love their Daughters Husbands, than their Sons Wives) there is some appearance in the reign of her Son: for he made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that he might rule at home; and he living abroad is estranged from his Wife, and entertain some new fancy, wherein *Jezebel* had cunning enough to be his Tutor. But when the sword of *Yehu* had rudely cut in sundry all these devices, then was *Abihai* fain to go roundly to work, and do as the did, whereby the thought to make all his leaving, if (as I could rather think) the were only Struck, if not dead, we need not seek into the reasons moving *Jos* to take away his life: her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the fire.

SECT. VI.

*A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty
of using conjecture in Histories.*

THus much concerning the Person of *Jehs*, from whom, as from a new root, the Tree of *David* was propagated into many Branches. In handling of which Matter, the Jews consider the nature of this History, and the diversity between it and others, the less me-thinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deferring blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all Histories do give us information of humane counsels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the Writers can afford ; but of Gods Will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only as women, and many times fallily. This we often find in prophane Writers, who ascribe the ill success of great undertakings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the less wonder, if we consider the answer made by the *Jews* in *Egypt* unto *Jehemy* the Prophet, reprehending their Idolatry. For howsoever the written Law of God was known unto the People, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed ; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their Wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction, but they told the Prophet roundly, that they worshipped the *Queen of Heaven*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to do. *For then* (said they) *bad we plenty of Vi-³⁰ 30-40*
tuals, and were rich, and felt no evil: Adding, that *17. 18.*
all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off that service of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wisdom of Man, in looking into the Counsell of God, which to find out, there is no better nor o-ver guide than his own written will. Not perverted by vain additions.

But this History of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of merely humane Authors: it setteth down expressly the true, and first causes that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-browardness in *Battel*; the ruine of his Family, to the security of *Jezebel*, in

in *Jerusal*: not the Victories of *Hirad*, to the great commotions raised in *Ispad* by the coming of *Jehus*: but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these Books nothing largely described: nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their Ornament, but somewhat of their fableance. Informations are often false, Records not always true, and notorious Actions commonly insufficient to discover the Passions which do let their heart on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I speak of the best, and in that which is allowed for to take out of *Livy* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his Journey against *Alibabam* in *Italy*, fitting all to another Endicits, or any Practice of that kind, is not the Historical, nor Poetical) to search into the popular humour of Princes and of those which have governed their Affections and Influences, by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the most likely motives or impediments of every bunleins; and to figuring a near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously conceal the defects in country, or obliquity in proceeding.

affluence, howsoever it may give Satisfaction. For the heart of Man is unsearchable: and Princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them; yet sometimes either by their own cold temper, by some subtil misfs, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lie dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begar, are converted to another use. The industry of an Historian, having for many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent caufe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one final matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great cities, which consume whole Hordes or Towns, begin with a few fraws, that are waisted or not seen: when the flame is discovered, having falten upon some Wood-pile, that stretcheth all about it. Queli-onk is it is, that the Wars commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, proceeded from the desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire: Howsoever the enterprise of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the Ground of that Quarrel; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton desire of the Queen *Atossa*, to have the *Grecian* daughters her Bond-women, did first move *Darius* to prepare for this War before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodias* be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen in Bed with her Husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every estate some sufficient witness) that matters of much consequence founded in all seeming upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no Historians would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus* *Quintus* the Pope, made to a certain Friar, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner estate, been his familiar Friar. This pope *Friar*, being emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondered how it was possible for his Holiness, whom heretaker took for a direct honest Man, than any cunning Polititian, to attain unto the Papacy ; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty brains, find work enough : and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plain dealing Friar, dealt with him again as plainly, saying : Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this World is Governed, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant Engines, by which the course of affairs is moved, the Pope said true. For the wildest of Men are not without their Vanities, which requiring and finding mutual Toleration, work more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that Supreme Governour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Jupiter*.

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque tristia,
Divosque mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the Wind swollen
streams.

The civil Cities, and th'infernal Realms,
Who th'Host of Heaven, and the mortal Band,
Alone doth Govern by his just Command.

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change, he foretenth all things, and all things dispoſeth to his own Honour & He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived: but continuing one and the ſame for ever, doth conſtantly Govern all Creatures by that Law, which He hath preſcribed, and will never alter. The vanities of Men beguile their vain contrivers, and the proſperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea, this broad and head-long paſſage to Hell, is not ſo delightful as it ſeems at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poſſons which infect the ſoul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the Body; all which if any few elude, they have only this miſerable advantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift and expedit. But the Service of God is the Path guiding us to perfect happineſs, and hath in it a true, though not complete felicity, yea, ſuch a full abundance of all good things, as ſufficiently doth eaſily overcome all afflictions whatſoever: though unſubtle people blemiſhes that ſometimes tears the ſkinn of ſuch as walk in this bleſſed Way, do commonly lay hold upon them at ſuch time as they fit down to take their eaſe, and make them wiſh themselves at their journeyes end, in the preſence of their Lord whom they faithfully ſerve, in whole perfection *is the fulſet of joy, and at whoſe right Hand are pleaſures for ever.*

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such Wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvel though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Juda* and *Israel*, being written by Men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly, in that which

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is most requisite for us to know: as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.* Had the expectation of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by some Prophet after the captivity: we may well believe that the Council of God therein, and the Executioners of his righteous Will, should have occupied either the whole or the principal room in that Narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the business at *Sardis*, with other occurrences, been the less true, though they might have been omitted, as the less material: But these things it had been lawful for any Man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of Circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forbore to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the business that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any Man of judgment will tax me, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearsef probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things which Authority alone, without further Circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every Mans belief. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawful, nor mis-becoming an Historian.

SECT. VII.

The conspiracy against Athalia.

When *Athalia* had now six years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and had found no external Enemy, nor domestic Adversary, to disturb her possession, suddenly the period of her Glory, and reward of her wickedness meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and shameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his Education should be simple, to him seem the Child of some poor Man (as for his safety it was requisite) when his Capacity required to have been induced with the stomach and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehoiada* the Priest considered, and withal, the great increase of Impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to spread it self over all the Country, if care were not used to weed it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated unto himself five of the Captains, in whose fidelity he had best assurances, and having taken an oath of them, and slewed them the Kings son, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. These drew in others of the principal Men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first only that they should repair to *Jerusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole Matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the business: The promise of the Lord unto the House of *David*, was enough to assure them that the action was both lawful, and likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open

force they should bring their purpose to good issues: neither were the Captains, and other Associates of *Jehoiada* able by close working, to draw together to many truly and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the business. To help in this case, the Priest gave order to such of the Levites that had finished their courses waiting on the Divine Service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart until they knew his further displeasure. So by admitting the new comers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough: for if the Tyranness did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the People was like to shew it self on their side, who made head against her. These Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captains, and other Adherents, were bestowed in the outer Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it self had store enough; King *David* had left an Armoury to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in readines, and the day come, wherein this high design was to be put in execution, *Jehoiada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a Guard unto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such Solemnities, with great applause of the People. Of these doings, the Queen was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seem: for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill-tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All *Jerusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of peril, under the windows of the Court, were the People running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing and being, holding the extraordinary concourse, and noise of the folks in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happening; though what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, the meant to use her own wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that the thought it some especial solemnity used in the Divine Service, which caused this much ado; and hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout Men, about the Town, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that the little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Josaphat* would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the Text, *She came to the People in the House of the Lord*, (which was near to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his Pillar, as the manner was with the Prince, or Great Men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him; she rent her cloths, and cried Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or fear, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her self, as one cast away, and cried out in vain upon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a Guard of armed Men to the Temple, (as

Josaphat

Josaphat reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entered alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she should fairly have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she got it, and thence had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop yet it had been meer madness in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if this, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of seven years old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom the law to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is that the council of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to discomfit it: yet we need not so fit her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of *Jehoiada* found more efficacious, through her infidelity, than his otherwise could have been expected: so that at his appointment, she was without more ado, carried out of the Temple and slain, yet so, that no blood, save her own, was shed in that quarrel; for his small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

SECT. VIII.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.

Much like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Israhelite*, who did foolishly call himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, into his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet the her self, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughters, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Husband; was an Idolatress and a Murderess. The only difference appearing in their condition, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them surviving her Husband about eight years, did spend their time in satisfying her own affections; the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference was, or in those things which may seem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone.

Each of them was taken on the sudden by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slain at her own horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogs, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her burial there is no monument, for she was a Church-robbet. The service of *Baal* erected by these two Queens, was destroyed as soon as they were gone, and their Chaplains, the Priests of that Religion, slain. Herein alio it came to pass, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; both of them by the same hand of *Hazeel* the *Syrian*, in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perished in few days after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; she had sons living after she was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed her as necessarily, and been required, as well as the death of *Matan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, *Deut. 17. 16.* could not have saved these ungracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every Man should die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advocates of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yet had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likewise it is, that they should not have cleaved with life, if *Jehoiada* the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, so the severity of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For there had been esteemed as heirs of their mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazeel* in his Wars against *Jehoi*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehoiada* might, with the more providence, adventure to take Arms against their Mother, that was desolate.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XXII.

Of Joas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

S E C T. I.

Of Joas his doings, whilst Jehoiaha the Priest lived.

BY the death of Athalia, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas*, a child of seven years old, or there-about, began his reign, which continued almost forty years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehoiaha* the Priest, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him unto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he took by appointment of *Jehoiaha* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This business he followed with so earnest a zeal, that not only the *Levites* were more slack than he, but even *Jehoiaha* was fain to be quickened by his administration. Money was gathered for the charges of the work; partly out of the tax imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people; who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver; and with all other utensils. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had been, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

S E C T. II.

The Death of Jehoiaha, and Apostasy of Joas.

BUT this endured no longer than the life of *Jehoiaha* the Priest; who having lived an hundred and thirty years, died before his Country could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the City of David*. As for the King himself, who did owe to him no less than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehoiaha*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he soon forgot, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counsellor, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himself, the Author of all good gifts. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, whereby *Josabab* and *Amasia* had so infected the Country, in fifteen or sixteen Years, that thirty Years, or thereabout, of the reign

of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to clear it from that mischief. The King himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the frow admonitions of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

S E C T. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians invading *Juda* in the days of Joas.

BUT God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philistines*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army hearted by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough, that the Kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Rasnah* *Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites* in the time of his predecessor, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extreme misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Nether is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdom, if some opportunity had not performed such ease and good success as might rather advance, than any way disturb his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to join all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehoi* his posterity, who like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their mother, even the whole house of *Abah*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever we find, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore took all the lawful things, and all the gold that was found in the treasure of the house of the Lord, in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionless) thinking it a better bargain,

to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty-seventh year of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoiaha*, he made this purchase; but in the time or very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Behadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael*, is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the second book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleged by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battle, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life. In the one *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first Army came to conquer, and was so great, that it cried the King of *Juda*; The second was a small company of men, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, achieving a very great Army.

Now, concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehoiaha* the Priest, because that story is joyed to the resurrection of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehoiaha* had been afterwards mentioned in that place; the second book of *Kings*; or if the Apostasy of *Joas*, or that of other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjoint in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Jesus* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgement upon the house of *Abah*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithal, which are joyed together, were used in the house of the Lord continually all the days of *Jehoiaha*; soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is, (as some very learnedly collect) in the sixth, or thirty seventh year of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foul Idolater.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) were to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and strict account; punishing them with their faults to get the start of their punishment; and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amerites*) till their wickedness be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man, did not only continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetful

of God and all goodness, as if he had thoven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villanous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

S E C T. IV.

How Zacharia was murdered by Joas.

SUNDRY Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the son of *Jehoiaha* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and son to a man so exceedingly beloved in his life time, and revered, that if *Joas* had repented him (as *Abah* did *Eliaz*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had born unto the King, and the unaccountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already formed the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen, in the parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of *Yerabeam*; who said, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing blithe that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any form of open Law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether furnishing him by any close treachery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into public judgment, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of Law; which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of *Juda*.

S E C T. V.

How Joas was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.

THIS odious murder, committed by an unthankful (make upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the

well described curle of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throned of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that infamous monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live, how he lived without controulment. When that year was expired the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action; for they came with a small company of men: but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friends, is, in my judgment, proof sufficient: though otherwise his bold composition with *Hazael*, when he might have leved (as his son after him did mutter) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a very great Army, for that wife men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making thow as it he would fight for his Country, and expose himself to danger of war, whereas indeed all was mere ostentation and no peril to be feared: he going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret, considering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh not only at this vain-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders or by some amazement happening among the fouldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose persuasion the King had become a Rebel to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abimelech* and others expound the story) he was forely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to bring out of him an excessive ransom.

And surely, all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favourably. Now at that time *Joas* the son of *Jehozabab* reigned over *Israel* and *Rehoboam* the son of *Hizabab* over the *Syrins*, in *Damascus*: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country, the other inferior every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some flow of war at his doors, it werc casie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unsuspected) ill success, which the *A-*

ramites found in their following was against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might, refuting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty Years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that only thirty Horsemen, ten Chariots, and ten thousand footmen were left; prevailed against his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they liked, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* laden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves being like falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The King of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonite*, and of a *Mobabite*, whom some (because only their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as Tyrants use) he should revenge himself upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King, the Scripture tells us plainly, that, For the blood of the children of *Jehozabab*, this befell him. And the time appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amasias*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdom was established: but contrariwise his body was judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharias* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recomended by his son, upon the Traytors, which well deserved death.

SECT. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of *Joas*: of the time when Carthage was built: and of Dido.

There lived with *Joas*, *Mozabab*, and *Diogenes* in *Athens*: *Endemus* and *Arifomander* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Syllius*, and after him *Syllius Alaudius*, were Kings of the *Alban* in *Italy*. *Orosius*, commonly called *Anaxandrus*, the thirty seventh King, succeeded unto *Ophrasius*, began his reign over the *Affrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenus*, the fourth from *Sesias*, succeeded unto *Chopri* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the reign of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of *Carthage* by *Dido*, the building of which City is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70 years younger than *Rome*, others above 400 Years older, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow:

Joephus,

Joeph.
ant. *Agg.*
11.

Joephus, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight months from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyam* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Joephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make clear the total sum. But whether it were so that *Joephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyam* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whole Books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four Generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was an hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*, and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: A time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Anthonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Ille ego sum Dido vultus quam conspicis hostes,
Affimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis erat, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit erat
mens.
Vix me inestis lata cupidinibus:
(Namque me Aeneas vidit me Troius anquam,
Nec Lybiam adventi, classibus Illici.
Sed furias fugiones, atque arma prociacis laræ,
Servatis, fatore, morte pudicitiam
Pellere transfixo castris quod petulatis enses:)
Non furor, aut Lese erudit amore dolor.
Sic occidisse jurat: Vixi sine vulnere fame,
Ultis virum, postis manibus oppeti.
Invida car in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingent in nostra damna pudicitia?
Vos magis Historic lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum consuevitque canant,
Falsidice vates: Tenentur qui crimine verum,
Hominis que deos affimulant vitis.

Which in effect is this:

I Am that *Dido* which thou here dost see,
Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Image,
Like this I was, but had not such a foul,
As Maro feign'd, in cecitious and foul.
Aeneas never with his *Trojan* Host
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Larbas* villany,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousy,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death unclimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Town,
Revenge'd my Husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why didst thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe Historians; not thofe.
Who to the World *Joves* thefts and vice expose.
Poets are Liars, and for Verses sake,
Will make the Gods of humane Crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first *Punic* War, that *Carthage* grew and flourish'd in Wealth and

Conquests, we find in many Histories: But in particular we find little of the *Carthaginians* affairs before that War, excepting those few things that are Recorded of their attempts of the life of *Sicily*. We will therefore defer the Relation of Matters concerning that mighty City, until such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed and prosecuted in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

SECT. VII.

The beginning of Amasia his reign: Of Joas King of Israel, and Elihai the Prophet.

Amasia, the son of *Joash*, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*, wherein he laboured to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The Law of *Moses* he professed to observe; which howsoever it had been fiercely despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great Persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea, and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deep root in the Peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the Service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himself, even whilst that execrable Murder, committed by the King upon *Zacharias*, was yet fresh in Memory, did serve as a notable example of Gods Justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the People in holding the Religion of their Fathers, and to discourage *Amasia* from following the way, which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learned of his Father the art of Diffimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traytors that had slain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the People having wearied it felt into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handy-work of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but retired secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken: The King, who perceived his Government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of Mens affections being well allayed, it was casie to distinguish between their Treasons and Gods Judgments, which by their Treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their Children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the People, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging son. This being done, and his own life better secured by such exemplary Justice, against the like attempts, *Amasia* carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amasia* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the *Israhel* grew as fast in power, by following the war hotly against the *Aramites*.

Aramiter. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the Calves of *Jerobam*. For this sin had God plighted the house of *Jehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Elisba* and *Benadab*, in the time of *Jehoram* and his son *Jehozabab*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this political Idolatry, so were the mitres, rewarding that iniquity, unable to reclaim *Jehozabab* from the same impious cause: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, did condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miserable Subjects, were obdurate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters the ten Tribes recovered space; but the favour of God which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they fought: that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amaziah*, *The Lord is not with Israel, neither with the house of Ephraim.*

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisba*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the *Israelites* under the reign of *Josiah* or whether *Jehozabab*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himself in part of the heavy cares attending those unhappy Syrian Wars, by laying the burden upon his hopeful son: we find that in the thirty seventh year of *Josiah*, King of *Juda*, *Josiah* the son of *Jehozabab* began to reign over *Israel* in *Samaria*; which was in the 15th year of his Fathers reign, and some two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did for well husband that poor flock that he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisba* the Prophet, argue no less. For *Josiah* visiting the Prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus, *O my Father, my Father, the Chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen of the same:* by which manner of speech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy Man had freed his Kingdom in more stead than all the Horses and Chariots could do.

This Prophet who succeeded unto *Elisba*, about the fifth year of *Joram* the son of *Achaz* King of *Israel* died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Josiah*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elisba* was doubled, or did rest upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead Child unto life, as *Elisba* had done, but when he himself was dead, it pleased God that his dead Bones should restore life unto a Carcase, which touched them in the Grave. In fine, he beloveth as a Legacy, three Victories upon King *Josiah*, who thereby did fit *Israel* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakening the Kings of *Damascus* in this sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

SECT. VIII.

Of *Amaziah* his War against *Edom*; His Apostacy and overthrow by *Josiah*.

The happy success which *Josiah* had found in his War against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amaziah* a desire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himself might purchase the like Honour. His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thou-

sand servicable Men for the Wars, and his Treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of War he had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his Grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the sloth and timorousness of his Father *Josiah*. Yet, so far as he was the Men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exercise of War (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few Bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wisdom to increase his Forces, with Soldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of Silver, an hundred thousand and valiant men as the Scripture telleth us, though *Josiah* diminisheth the number, saying that they were but twenty thousand.

This great Army, which with so much cost *Amaziah* had hired out of *Israel*, he was fain to dismiss before he had employed it, being threatened by a Prophet with ill success, if he strengthened himself with the help of those Men, whom God (though in Mercy he gave them Victory against the cruel *Aramites*) did not love, because they were Idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diminution, as an high disgrace, which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand Men, and some spoil, which they carried away. But *Amaziah* with his own Forces, knowing that God would be assistant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* Country; over whom obtaining Victory, he slew ten thousand, and took other ten thousand Prisoners, all which he threw from an high Rock: holding them, it seems, rather as Traytors, than as just Enemies. This Victory did not seem to reduce *Edom* under the subjection of the Crown of *Juda*, which might be the cause of that severity, which was used to the Prisoners: the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so dear a rate, as the loss of their own liberty. Some Towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amaziah* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no Garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have purified the Conquest of the whole Country. Howsoever it were, he got both Honour by the Journey, and Gains enough, had he not lost himself.

Among other spoils of the *Edomites*, were carried away their Gods; which being vanquished and taken Prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so beloveth this unworthy King *Amaziah*, that he set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense unto them.

For this, when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatening answer, asking the Prophet, who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the world. If either the costly stuff, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, he should have rather turned them to matter of Profit, or kept them as household Ornaments and things of Pleasure, than thereby have suffered himself to be blind, with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon

to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that the same affections carried him from God, unto the Service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to walk so roughly to the Prophet reproaching him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such Auxiliary Forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*, which done, it is said, that he was encouraged, and led forth his People, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by Miracle, than let him fall of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the Will of God, whose pleasure it was that *Edom* having broken the yolk of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Israel* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amaziah* did hope to reconquer all the Country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectations; yet so, that he brought home both Profit and Honour, which might have well contented with him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched Pride, wherein Men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the Honour of those Actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own Industry, Courage, or fore-thought. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they who entering into Battle, are careful to pay for aid from Heaven, with due acknowledgment of his Power, who is the Giver of Victory; when the Field is won, do vaunt of their own exploits; one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a Battalion; a third, how he fixed on the Enemies Canon; every one striving to magnify himself, whilst all forget God, as one that had been present in the Action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another Mans virtue, is, I conceive, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which indeth better success, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happiness; so he whose meer Wisdom and Labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the Victory, and for those virtues by which the Victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of Magnanimity; no Virtue being so truly Heroical, as that by which the spirit of Man advanceth it felt with confidence of acceptance, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Esau* in *Virgil* useth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admiration.

Ande super contemere opes, & te quoque dignum Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amaziah* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shed himself little a better Man of War than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehoshaphat*, and could be well contented, that his People should think him little inferior to *David*, of which honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him loose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasures he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any Miracle at all. That he was dittered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the wretchedness of his impiety following) *Josiah* doth tell us, saying, that he despised God, and that being put up with his good success, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Josiah* King of *Israel* to become his Subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Sovereign, as they had done their Ancestors King *David* and *Solomon*.

Some think that his quarrel to *Josiah* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the Journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stir him up, than the remembrance of an old Title, forgotten long since, and by himself neglected thirteen or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might be so, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to require new wrongs, but would also call old Matters into question; that to the Kings of *Israel* might, at the left, learn to keep their Subjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amaziah* desired only recompense for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from *Josiah*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Josiah* returned, likening himself to a Cedar, and *Amaziah* in respect of him to no better than a Thistle, shews that the challenge was made in insolent terms, their perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Josiah* hath written) between a King of ancient Race, and one of less Nobility than Virtue.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the War of *Troy*, his Father did bid him to be as valiant, and get Victory by Gods assistance, he made him answer, That by Gods assistance a Coward could get Victory, but he would also get it without such help: After which proud speech, though he had many valiant Acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himself in a madness, whereunto he fell upon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of Burial. That *Amaziah* did utter such words, I do not find, but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with success accordingly. The very first council wherein this War was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wise Prince indeed at *Jersusalem*, among his Parallels, but a fool when he did deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak People, trusting more in the feat of their Country, than the valour of their Soldiers; and to encounter with *Josiah*, who from so poor beginnings had raised himself to such strength, that he was able to lend his Friend a hundred thousand Men; and had all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a brave speech that *Esau* in *Virgil* useth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admiration.

Josiah
9. c. 10.

fwade him to leave his lord behind; had not their good King delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an Idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *he wrought treason against him in Jerusalem*: a manifest proof that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a Man in his adversity of his faults & sins, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Priests and Prophets were less welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, wherof themselves might always be masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not the first, nor second of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battle. *David* himself had abandoned the City, leaving it before the enemy was in sight, unto *Abiathar* his rebellious Son. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Josiah* might so easily have been kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesai* in? *Aza* was reputed a virtuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Belike these traducers could commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if so, he should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to let open the Gates to *Josiah*; but it was the people that did it. Good favours ought not to have obeyed their Masters Commandments to his disadvantage, when they law him not master of his own Person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it self, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he been as haughty to *Ayas* others were, he might have escaped as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base multitude courage by his Royal example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when speaking another Mans words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yield: he bad them stand to it and fight like Men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the enemy having wisely preferred the surprize of a Lion that was captured, before the chafe and slaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

Tis not the like words comforting *Amaziah*, were able to perfwade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have sufficed well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But he was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good success foretold by a Prophet; could easily find how to impute this late disaster unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seems that he meant to keep himself safe from her by sitting still; for in fifteen years following (so long he outlived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his own ruine. He

that suspected his own worth or other Mens opinions, thinking the less regard is had of his Person than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority in purulating the name of a fervent Man. For the affected frowardness of a vain fellow, doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise: and the fear wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carries a show of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazzle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, Men might attain to such as they ought, they do usually miss spend, in seeking to appear such as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable course; more indignation, in stead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unable Spirit, being over-perted with too high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amaziah* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to believe that he did not love them? the best was, that he had, by revenging his Fathers death, provided well enough for his own security: but who should take vengeance (or upon whom?) of such a murder, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himself, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his Anointed. Yet as *Amaziah* careless of God, was carried headlong by his own affections: to his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, rose against him, with such head long fury, that being unable to defend himself in *Jerusalem*, he was driven to forsake the City, and fly to *Lachis*, for safeguard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his presence in the Country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Questionless he chose the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands; for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an Army for the matter) sent pursuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmost City of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Juda*; so that he might have made an easy escape (if he durst adventure) into the Territory of the *Philistines*, or the Kingdom of *Israel*. Therefore it may seem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treason to the general infurrection; the murderers could not at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jerusalem*, where they gave him burial with his Fathers.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

Of the Inter-regnum, or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of Juda, after the death of Amaziah.

It hath already been shewed, that the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by complete years, otherwhises, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last year of his Fathers Reign, or the foremost of his Sons. But we are now arrived at a most vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly set down in Scriptures, nor yet remembered by *Josephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amaziah*, King of *Juda*, lived after the death of *Josiah* King of *Israel*, fifteen years; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amaziah*, was about the end of fifteen years complete, which *Jeroboam* the second (who in the fifteenth year of *Amaziah* was made King over *Israel*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Uzziah*, who is also called *Asaiah*, unto his Father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Asaiah* began to reign in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*: the sixteenth year of his life, being joynted with the first of two and fifty that he reigned. So the Inter-regnum of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the Text otherwise than the letter sounds.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place left of all cited, by the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are now where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Asaiah* was eleven years under age, that is five years old, when his Father died, and so his sixteenth year might concur with the seven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text it self might have suffered some wrong, by miswriting twenty seven for seventeen years; and so by making the seventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be saved. These are the conjectures of that worthy Man *Gerardus Mercator*, the first of which I think it may suffice, as to the Author himself doth easily let it pass, as impossible; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question; which could not be falsified in all copies, if perhaps it were in one, as for the second it may be held with some qualification, that *Asaiah* began his Reign being five years old; but then must we add those eleven years which passed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his sixteenth year, which is all one in a manner, with allowing an Inter-regnum.

But why should we be so careful to avoid an Inter-regnum in *Juda*, seeing that the like necessity hath enforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few years, in the Kingdom of *Israel*? The space of time between *Jeroboam*'s death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*'s reign, and such another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, have made it easily to be admitted into *Samaria*, which the consideration of things as they stood in *Juda*, when *Amaziah* was slain, doth make more probable to have hap-

pened there, yea, although the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the publick fury having so far extended it self, as unto the destruction of the Kings own person, was not likely to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redress of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to pass, that they which already had shewn themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of Regality, is nevertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from head-strong, and forgetful subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Asaiah* to have been King but one and forty years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too hardly with the Text. The best opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of reign with his Father, before he began to reign single in the fifteenth of *Amaziah*; did it not swallow up almost the whole reign of *Josiah*, and extending the years of those which reigned in *Israel*; by making such of them completas as were only current) and take at the shortest the reigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every Man may follow his own opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for these purposes.

SECT. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with Amaziah, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.

The Princes living with *Amaziah*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Josiah* and *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; *Ceplrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Abadims*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Albia*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Phereclus*, and *Atriphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedaemon* *Theleides*, in whole time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Garanthes*, *Amylea*, and some other Towns.

But more notable than all these, was *Asyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amaziah*, succeeding his Father *Oroonazes* or *Anuonides*, reigned twenty years, and was slain the last of the eleven void years which fore-went the reign of *Asaiah*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate Pallard he was, passing away his time among strippers, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unhappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, that he durst not let any Man draw a sight of him; yet for he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beauly spectacle, of a Man disguised in Womens attire, and striving to counterfeit an Harlot, that he thought it a great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a Creature. Purposing therefore to free himself and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belsiff* or *Belsa* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased

pleased with the Prophecy, did promise unto *Belofus* himself the government of *Babylon* and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrel, the other persuaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These four Nations armed forty thousand Men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such forces as he could out of other Nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, answer to the manner of his retrenches. For in three battles he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not *Belofus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the same time, an Army out of *Babylonia* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it upon the way, persuaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joynted themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a slight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great security was unprepared for resistance.

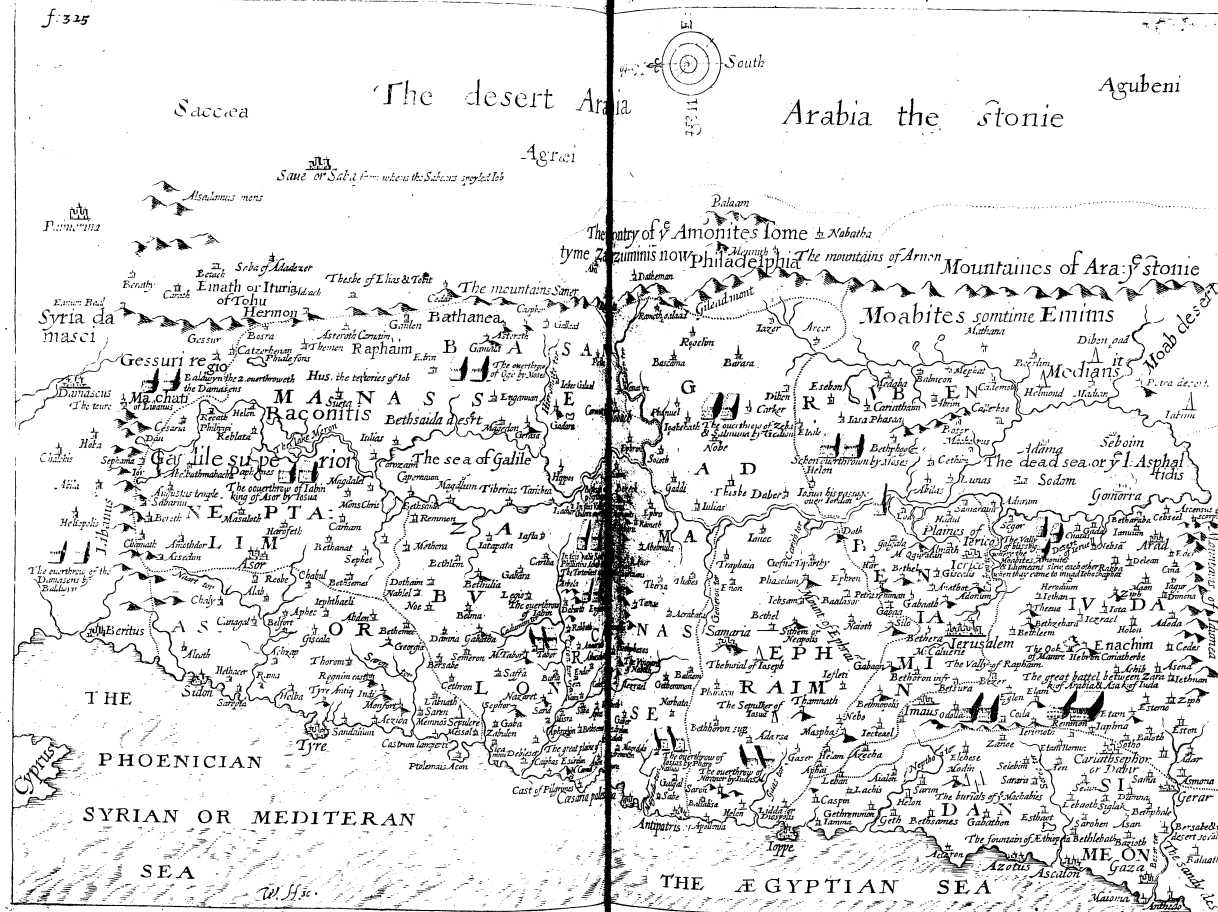
This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives Brother *Salammus* to keep the Field, he withdrew himself into the City of *Nineve*; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Nineve* should never be taken, till the River were Enemy to the Town. Of the greatness and strength of *Nineve*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battles overthrown the Kings Army, and slain *Salammus*) was fain to be two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted Engines and skill to force those Walls, which

were an hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high twolven with rains, it not only drowned a part of the City through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the Wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuchs, and all his Treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a Monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a City of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that City *Strabo*, l. 9. and *Tharsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding Men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraged others with veries well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any vertue besetting a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end, saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greek Writer, that lived in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be known. *Diod. Siculus*, l. 2. c. 7.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive, or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were over passed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true: *Silence and Oblivion have oppressed them.* *Theophilus Antiochenus*, l. 1. c. 21.



C H A P. XXIII.

Of UZZIAH.

S E C T. I.

The Prosperity of Uzziāz and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, and Pekahiah.

UZZIAH, who is called *Ahaziah*, the son of *Josham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the son of *Josabab* King of *Israel*. He served the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built *Eloth*, a Town that stood near to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistines*, of whose Towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories: Also he got the mastery over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute. Such was the fruits of his prosperous Wars, wherein (as *Josaphat* rehearseth his acts) he began with the *Philistines*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of War, over which were appointed two thousand and six hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *shields*, and *spears*, and *helmets*, and other Arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late Predecessors had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the Nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war the *Princes*, and all the *Chariots*.

As the Victories of *Uzziah* were far more important, than the achievements of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if not superiour to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Solomon*. For, besides that great conquests are wont to repay the charges of War with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turned his lands to the best use, keeping Plough-men and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding; whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of vast ground serving for pasture. For defence of his Cattel and Herdsmen, he built Towers in the Wildernels. He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. *Josaphat* calls them Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers he commanded the water, that none could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith, questionless he took the only course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the Wildernels; it being hardly possible, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundry Towns among the *Philistines*; he repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which

Josabab had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The state of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Uzziah* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the son of *Josabab*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the *Syrians*, he won the Royal City of *Damascus*, and he won *Hamath*, with all the country thereabout, from the entering of *Hamath*, unto the Sea of the Wildernels; that is (as the most expound it) unto the vast deserts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well, for he was an Idolater. It was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction wherewith the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the succession of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of those whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promised the Kingdom of *Israel* unto the fourth generation, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited to repentance by new benefits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the son of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* was held so precious, that neither the Kingdom it self given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry: nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better Course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great Prosperity of *Jeroboam* the son of *Josabab*, to make him render the honour that was due to the only Giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God made unto *Jehu*, that his sons, unto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly guess at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam* the son of *Josabab*, after a victorious reign of one and forty years, had ended his life; it seems in all reason that *Zachariah* his son should forthwith have been admitted to reign in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown passed by election, must needs have appeared base; and the virtue of the last King having been so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish

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the already confirmed right of a family fo rooted in poffeffion. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty years did pafs before *Zacharia* the Son of *Jerobam* was, by uniform confent, received as King. The true original caufes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Rehob*, where the golden Calves did ftand; yet fecond Infruments of this difturbance are likely not to have been wanting, upon which the wil-dom of man was ready to call an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the army (who afterwards flew one another fo fift, that in fourteen years there reigned five Kings) did now by head-ftong violence, rend the Kingdom afunder, holding each what he could, and either difpofing, or hatting fome qualities in *Zacharia*'s; until, after many years, being wearied with diftention, and the principal of them: perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they confented to yield all quietly to the fon of *Jerobam*. That this Anarchy lafted almoft three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of *Uzzia*, which was the laft of *Jerobam* his one and fortieth (his feven and twentieth concurring with the firft of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the fame *Uzzia*, in the laft fix months whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are fome indeed that by fuppo-fing *Jerobam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut of the interregnum in *Juda* (before men-tioned) and by the fame reafon abridge this Anarchy that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time to prove that the Kingdom of the ten tribes was no lefs diftempered than as is already noted. But I choofe rather to follow the more common opinion, as con-curring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture: that gives to *Jerobam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reign unto his own: which was it felt indeed fo long, that he may well feem to have begun it very young. For I do not think that God bleffed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his fervant *David*.

Thus much being foken of the time wherein the throne of *Israel* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*'s little may fuffice to be faid of his reign it felf, which lafted but a little while. Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himfelf a worthipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to juftifie the judgment of God: whereby he was flain. He was the laft of *Jehu*'s houfe, being (includingly) the firft of that line, which may have been fome caufe of the troubles impeaching his orderly fucceffion: the prophetic having determi-ned that race in the fourth generation. But (befides that God's promife was extended to the utmost) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any o-ther, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the flaugter of *Jeoram*, and for the era-dication of *Abah*'s houfe.

Zacharia having been fix months a King, was then flain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, the fpace of a month in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was I do not find; fave only that he was a Traytor, and the fon of one *Jahsh*, whereby his father got no honour. It feems that he was one of thofe who in time of faction had laboured for himfelf, and now, when all other Competitors were fitten down, thought eafily to prevail againft that King in whole perfon the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifeft it is that *Shallum* had a ftrong party, for *Tiphah* or *Thaphah*, and the coaft thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menabem*, his enemy and fupplanter, then lay,

refufed to admit, as King in his ftead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his treafon, and was flain by *Menabem* who reigned in his place.

Menabem the fon of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In oppofition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, for he not onely destroyed *Tiphah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ftript up all their women with child, becaufe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been ufed in reveng of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would have been as earnest, in pro-secuting unto him his fathers Crown when it was fit due. But in performing that office, there was ufed fuch long deliberation, that we may plainly difcover Ambition, Difdain, and other private pallions, to have been the caufes of this bloody outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it feems) in the beginning of his reign, *Pul*, King of *Affria*, came againft the land of *Israel*, whom this King ap-pealed, with a thoufand talents of filver, levied up-on all the fubftantial men in his country. With this money the *Israelite* purchafed, not only the peace of his Kingdom; but his own eftablifhment therein: fome fadious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) fought to ufe his help, in depofing this ill-belov'd King. *Joseph* reports of this *Menabem*, that his reign was no more than his entrance. But after ten years, his Ty-ranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Son suc-ceeded in his room.

Of this *Pekahia* the ftory is fhort: for he reigned only two years, at the end whereof he was flain by *Pekah* the fon of *Ramalia*, whole treafon was rewarded with the Crown of *Israel*, as in time coming, another mans Treafon againft himfelf fhall be. There needs no more to be faid of *Menabem* and his fon, fave that they were both of them Idolaters, and the fon (as we find in *Joseph*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Affrian* King, who firft opened unto thofe Northern Nations the way into *Paleftina*; it will fhortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Belfus* (called alfo *Belfer*, and by fome *Phul Belochus*) who joy-ned with *Arbaces* the Median againft *Sardanapalus*, or whether he was fome other man. At the prefent it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia*'s life, who our lived the happinefs wherein we left him.

SECT. II.

The end of Uzzia his Reign and Life.

AS the zeal of *Jehojada* that godly Priefl was the mean to prefeve the lineage of *David* in the perfon of *Josias*, fo it appears: that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, when the hated born to his Father *Azaziah* had endangered his fucceffion. For it is faid of *Uzzia*, That he fought *God* in the days of *Zacharia* (which underftand the affifts of God) and when as he fought the Lord, God made him profper.

But, when he was ftrong, his heart was lifted up to his deftruftion: for he tranfgreffed againft the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incenfe upon the Altar of incenfe. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by meddling in the Priefts office, whole power had in every extremity been fo helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude and civil policy, fhould have held back *Uzzia* from

increaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been filent in this cafe, and not forbidding it. Howfoever, the King forgot his Duty, the Priefts remembred theirs, and God forgot not to affift them. *Azaziah* the high Priefl interrupted the Kings pur-pofe, and gave him to underftand how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the Office of the fons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaziah* fourfcore other Priefts, valiant men, but their valour was fhewed only in affilting the high Priefl, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings prefumption. This was enough, the reft God himfelf performed.

We read in *Josephus*, that the King had apparelled himfelf in Prieftly habit, and that he threatened *Azaziah* and his Companions, to punifh them with death, unlefs they would be quiet. *Josephus* indeed enlargeth the Story, by inferring a great Earthquake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it refled againft another Hill, flopping up the high-ways, and fpoiling the Kings Garden in the Pallage. With this Earth-quake, he faith, that the Roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun beam did light upon the Kings face, which was prefently infected with Leprofie. All this may have been true, and fome there are who think that this Earth-quake is the fame, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*: wherein they do much mifreckon the times. For the Earth-quake foken of by *Amos*, was in the days of *Jerobam* King of *Israel*, who dyed feven and thirty years before *Uzzia*, fo that *Jaham* the fon of *Uzziah*, which fupplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, fhould, by this account, have been then unborn: for he was but five and twenty years old, when he began to reign as King. Therefore thus far only we have affurance: that while *Uzzia* was weak with the Priefts, the Leprofie rofe up in his forehead, he faw the Priefts. Hereupon he was caufed in all hafte to depart thence, and to live in a houfe by himfelf until he died, the rule over the Kings Houfe, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jaham* his Son and Succeffor. *Jaham* took not upon himfelf the title of a King, till his Father was dead: whom they buried in the fame Field wherein his Anceftors lay interred, yet in a Monument apart from the reft, becaufe he was a Leger.

SECT. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; and of Princes then ruling in Egypt, and in fome other Countries.

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the firft of the leffer Pro-phets, *Hofea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed fet down, when *Joel* or *Obadiah* did prophesy, but if the Prophets, whole times are not ex-pressed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hierom*'s rule,) with the next before them: then muft thefe two be judged contemporary with *Hofea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of thefe five was the moft ancient, it may per-haps be thought, at leaft, a fuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived hath fo plentifully been fought, without reprehention, how can he be taxed, which offers to fearch out the antiquity of thefe holy Prophets?

It feems to me that the firft of thefe in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*, who foretold the great Vi-

ftories of *Jerobam* King of *Israel*, and therefore is likely to have propheticd in the days of *Josias*, whilst the afflictions of *Israel* was exceeding bitter: the Text it felf intimating no lefs: by which conle-quence he was elder than the other Prophets, whole works are now extant. But his Prophecies that concerned the Kingdom of *Israel* are now loft: that which remaineth of him, feems, not without rea-son unto fome very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whole days *Ninive* was firft of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Chrift by his Sufferings, than by his Writings, now extant: in all the reft are found exprefs promifes of the Miffias.

In the Reign of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that *Ely* the firft of the four great Prophets, began to feek his Vilions. This difference of *Greater* and *Leffer* Pro-phets is taken from the Volumes which they have left written, (as *S. Auguftine* gives reafon of the diftinction) becaufe the greater hath written larger Books. The Prophet *Ely* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his No-bility, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the Son of *Amos*, the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellen-cy both of his file and argument, wherein he fo plain-ly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Paffion, and whole Hiftory of our Saviour, with the Calling of the Gen-tiles, that he might as well be called an Evangelift, as a Prophet; having written in fuch wife, That (as *Hierom* faith) one would think he did not foretel of prefent things to come, but compile an Hiftory of matters al-ready paff.

Bochoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reafon) was current, when *Uzzia* took poffeffion of the Kingdom of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bochoris*, *Affin* followed in the Kingdom of *Egypt*: unto him fucceeded *Amfis*, and thefe two occupied that Crown fix years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian* became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten firft ran along with the laft of *Uzzia* his reign and life. Of thefe and other *Egyptian* Kings, more fhall be foken, when their affairs fhall come to be intermedd with the bufinefs of *Juda*.

In *Athen*, the two laft years of *Atriphron* his twenty, the feven and twentieth of *Tofpafius*, the twentyeth of *Agamellor*, and the three firft of *Aelchylus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as befwifed did in *Alba* the laft feven of *Silvius Aventinus* his feven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Amilius Probus*, and two and twenty the firft of *Silvius Pinarius*. In *Media*, *Arbaces* began his new Kingdom in the firft of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his fon *Sofarnus* fucceeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the divifion of the *Affrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppreffed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to ufe more particular difcource, that we may not wan-der in too great uncertainty in the ftory of the *Affrian* Kings, who have already found the way into *Paleftina*, and are not likely to forget it.

secure of the *Sythians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdoms, whereto civil diffinition of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Armenians* that *Darius*, Friends and Cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For this, and the other before alleged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of *Belus*, even as by the names of *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Darius*, the *Medes*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Ahasuerus*, with the like, are thought, or known to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better known in their own Countries have called *Nabopolassar*, *Caxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we draw neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, or need to trouble our selves or others with framing new conjectures. This in effect, is that which they allege in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Belus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found these famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadur*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belus* or *Belus* were that *Pul* that invaded *Israel*, if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*, if he were father of *Teglat-phal-Aser*, from whom *Salmanassar*, *Sennacherib*, and *Asahaddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seek *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among those Princes, yea and conclude him: to be none other than *Salmanassar* who is known to have reigned in those years which *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabonassar*. As for *Mardocad*, who supplanted *Afar-haddan*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his Disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such Conjectures. They lay hold upon the Conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the Premises upon which it is intended. For (say they) If *Nabonassar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those *Affrian* Kings, then it is manifest that the races were distinct, and that *Pul* and *Belus* were several Kings. This consequence is to plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought five Arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary.

For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Affria*: this is proved by his Name, which is usually *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassar*'s name is proper to the *Affrians*.

It is likewise proved by the Astronomical observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Affrians*, do shew that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws that Epoch, or account of times, was a *Babylonian* and not *Affrian*.

Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the success of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardocempadur*, called in his own language *Mardac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Ezay* his Prophecy, *Mardac*, by the former part of his Name; or *Mardac* *Baladan*, the son of *Baladan*. Now if *Mardac* the son of *Baladan* King of *Babel* were the son of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* no other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Affria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greek* or *Latin* writings, hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein.

So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it self.

To conclude, *Mardocad* began his reign over *Babylon* in the sixth year of *Hesekias* which time *Salmanassar* took *Samaria*: therefore if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he said *Mardocad*, yea, and *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joseph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Pul* *Belus*, for the proving that *Pul* and *Belus* were not sundry Kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painful men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not by mentioning *Amius* his Authors, given such offences that men refused thereupon to read their Books and Chronologies, A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I believe nothing that *Amius* his *Barfius*, *Metallinus*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so fœmish, but that I can well enough digest a good book, though I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alleged in it: I have (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of *Amius* his Authors: Nevertheless, I may lay here again, that where other Historians are silent, or speak not enough, there may we, without blame, borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we find, and fervent to explain or enlarge it without improprieties.

Neither indeed are these honest and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows) who set down the *Affrian* Kings, not *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of the *Affrians*: taking *Pul* for *Belus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers, as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Amius*, though disliking him in general) *Hesekiel* is not to be slighted a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doors with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*: they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force as cannot either be refuted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*: that he was not King of *Affria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger*'s reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Affrian*; yet what hinders us from believing that one man in two languages might be called by two several names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an *Affrologer* or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them. *Propheta mſio quo, qui Nabonassarum Astrologum fuisse in somniis videmus, Propetia I know not who, that in their sleep have dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an Astrologer.*

Whether

Whether *Nabonassar* were an *Astrologer* or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative: But as his being Lord over the *Chaldeans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him not to have been also King of *Affria*. The Emperor *Charles* the fit, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his son, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think, Posterity will not use this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar* did use the *Affrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars; but it seems, that he and his posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation; left the richer, out of which they first issued, as likewise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable arguments (as *Scaliger* terms them, being rethinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike found and writing of these names *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeness of found, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted, which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some place in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it self: this indeed might be, and it might be otherwise. His reasons are nothing save conjecture. But in that which is alleged out of the Prophet *Ezay* concerning *Mardocad* the son of *Baladan*, and in that which is said of this *Mardocad*, and *Mardocempadur*, his being the successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reign in the sixth year of *Hesekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in half. I will therefore defer the handling of these objections until I meet with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hesekia*, wherein *Mardocad* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the Reader, that far will I here satisfy him; that how strong soever this argument may seem, *Scaliger* himself did live to retract it, ingeniously confessing, that in thinking *Mardocad* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider, in what fort they have fashioned their Story, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belus* or *Belus*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to fall in *Afar-haddan*, which left all to *Mardocad* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confess my want of books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the body of this History in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sebus Calvisius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaliger*'s learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Belus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Teglat-Pulassar* did reign (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to let down *Baladan*, for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himself revoked.

In this case therefore I must lay down the plot of these divided Kingdoms, in such sort as I find it com-

ceived by *Augustinus Tornilius*; who one of all that I have seen, sets down the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Affria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belus*, and his Posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Tornilius* is a regular Clerk of the congregation of *S. Paul*, whose Annals were printed the last year; he appears to me a man of a curious industry, sound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it wilfully) forgetful of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inferring some what of theirs. But in this business he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto *Tornilius*; but confess my self to have received benefit by his writing, and with that his Annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed me and imboldened me to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I have no leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared led it had over hastily passed out of my hand, and been exposed to other mens constructions) of the four Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abra-* *Cap. 11.* *ham*, I find him adventuring as I have done, to say, *Sid. 13.* that they may probably be thought to have been some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Araces*, being the most mighty, fought to get all to himself, but was opposed by *Belus*, in which contention, one *Pul*, a powerful man in *Affria*, sided with *Belus*, and that two prevailed so far, that finally *Araces* was constrained to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Othavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornilius* himself made this, or the rest made of it) that *Araces* made himself Sovereign Lord of all, and that the defeat of his Empire in *M. B.* at *Sid. 13.* was the first year of his reign, and that *Pul* and *Belus* reigned in short space, that is, in four years, it cannot be by the just judgement of God, that *Pul* and *Belus* rebelled against *Araces*, like as *Araces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and instead of being Victories, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Tornilius* himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposing, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him make bold to guess. Having thus devised how *Pul* and *Belus* might, at the first, attain to be Kings, he orders their time and their successions in this manner.

Four years after *Araces*, *Pul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Teglatphalassar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diversely, according to the Authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversify them) succeeded unto *Pul*, reigned thirty and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Sennacherib* reigned seven: and when he was slain, *Afar-haddan* his son, ten years: in whom that line ended.

The same time that *Pul* took upon him as King of *Affria*, or not long after (why not rather after? for

for so it had been more likely) *Belsus* usurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threecore and eight years; at the least, threecore and eight years did pass before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baldus*, are assigned six and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardochempadus*: four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabonassar* the father of *Nebuchodonosor*; who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Belsus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Tornilius* would have conceived two different waies by which *Phul* might have gotten *Assyria* (for how *Belsus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He addresses to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on a sudden King of *Assyria*, or to give him to noble a Province, as would, of it self, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his defects (whereof we find no mention) were proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul* being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this division it self, and the civil wars that caused it, were never heard of? Questionless, the intervening of some treasures by *Belsus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre less note. Therefore I do not see, how one of the two inconveniencies can this way be avoided; but that either we must confesse the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withal, to have been frangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Belsus*, against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recover such strength in four years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion; for *Belsus* it was needfull to consider, confiding, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over great-favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his own Government, to do what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the Catalogue of these Kings, not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their own times) but speaking of their order and time in general. If it be to us unlawful to think, that some of *Annus* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict not acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Assyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annus*. It is true that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them took it from *Annus*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annus* his forgery (as questionless he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, he be not believed for his own sake; though for our own sakes we make use of his boldness, taking his

words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing after a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annus*, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathabalar* and *Salmassar* did reach, by *Annus* his measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; *Tornilius* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation: using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, gave out good *Metaphors*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Arladadus*, *Tornilius* gives the same length of reign, which is found in *Metaphors*; I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Tornilius*; and yet I could wish that he had forbore to condemn the followers of *Annus* in this business, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he used in the measuring the reigns of the *Chaldeans*, filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threecore and eight years of *Belsus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belsus* might have begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threecore and eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of this age abated by shortning his reign, facing his life eacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years have been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been a little less at such time as he joynted with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deserve that note (which *Tornilius* adroitly gives) that if his reign extended not so far, then the reign of such as came after him, exceeding the middle time, unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldness of *Tornilius*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Severus Celsus*, in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the land of *Pigmies*, *Rocks* of *Load-one*, with *Head lands*, *Bays*, *great Rivers*, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith.

Neque ferocibus
Pars inclusa calathibus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque Sole Nives,
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida calidi
Vincent æquora Navis,

S E C T. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFTER the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, follows the institution of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the same King *Uzzias* and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus* in the first of *Jubas*: yet is not that opinion to general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, should not be too careful of drawing the Authors, to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs, it is enough, that setting in good order these beginnings of accounts, we joynt them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his own foot: by which *Pythagoras* found out the state and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They took name not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Piza*, near unto *Elis*: where also *Jupiter's* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year complete, in the Plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus*, by advice of the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, till *Cergus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cadrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accepted the *Grecian* times and their stories to be certain: but reckoned all before, either doubtful or fabulous: and yet *Plinius* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth Olympiad, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cassius*, *Polibius*, and others, hath gathered, in whose time the seven wife *Cressus* flourished. For *Salon* had speech with *Cressus*, and *Cressus* was overthrowen and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of the *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first account, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian*, and *Dydimus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osar*, or *Azarias*.

Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundredth and sixtieth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzzias*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Erasmus placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* is also of opinion.

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow
The Subjects Regions can Kneel,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The fabble Shipmen want to find,
Storm never fo the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, do serve only to mislead such discoverers as rashly believe them, drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curies or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot serve always. To which purpose I remember a pretty jolt of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy Spanish Gentleman, who had been employed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Straights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some questions about an Island in those Straights, which, me-thought, might have done either benefit or disservice to his enterprise, he told me merrily that it was to be called the *Painters wives Island*, saying, That whilst the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired him, to put in one Country for her that she in imagination might have an Island of her own. But in filling up the blanks of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time shall run backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if some good copy of any ancient Author, could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while, *Annus* or *Tornilius*, than to have believed nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit which we gave to *Annus*, may chance otherwise to be given to some of those Authors whose names he pretends. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornilius*, than *Annus*, yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjectures, as in this point it seems to me: it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, to have once gotten the credit of being general, to do as *Pausanias* in *Capsa* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He locked the Senators up within the Statehouse, and offered their lives to the peoples mercystaining thus much, that none of them should perish, until the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him dye: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or sufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered, to be rejected: so that finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

nascent, Diodorus Siculus, Solinus, and many others

The distance between the destruction of *Troy* and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were four score years; thence to the *Trojan* expedition, three score years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eighty years. In this account the first year of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were to seek the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbering the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of date far more uncertain. Let it suffice that by knowing the inauguration of these games to have been in the four hundred and eighth year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, setting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* must needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use we have the ensuing years unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the fame *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundred four score and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lysander*, seven and twenty; to the battle of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole sum arithmetically to 453 years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the moſt.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzias*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reign, and the death of *Alexander*, as also upon the Astronomical calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sun; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years: they who give him but twenty nine years of reign (following *Hieronymus* rather than *Tully*, *Justin*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to our reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* fixed by all good Writers in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexander's* death serveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads* wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as King, (or taking the word Monarch to signify a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundred and twentieth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years complete: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find complete two hundred and seven years, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundred and fortieth year from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) fol-

lowed the last of the seventy years captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the land of *Israel*. Manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years, and one hundred and three score, and ten years more, the last which passed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this account, is the one and fiftieth of *Uzzias*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For example sake; that which was seen when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundred three score and seventh year of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the three score and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the three score and ten years, unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards through the reigns of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzias*.

Thus much may suffice concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece*, they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say, that all bodily exercises, or the moſt of them, were therein practised as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kind of Exercises, that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make trial of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the Victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having plaid the best part.

The *Eleans* were Presidents of those Games, whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the Rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm or Olive, without any other commodity following than the Reputation. Indeed these needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diogenes* had seen his three sons crowned for their several Victories in those Games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere Diogenes, non enim in Calum ascensusus es, that is, Die, Diogenes, for thou shalt not climb up to Heaven*; as if there could be no greater happiness on earth, than what already had befallen him.

In like fence *Horace* speaks of these Victories, calling them,

*Quos Elea domum reducis
Palma Celsiter.*

Such as like heavenly lights do come
With an *Elean* Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had won those *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthy their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks* *Tully*, in that have esteemed it almost as great an honour to have won the Victory at Running or Wrestling in those Games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous Victory or conquest of a Province.

That these *Olympian* Games were celebrated at the full of the Moon; and upon the fifteenth day of the Month *Hecatombion*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Month begin

*Horat.
Carm. l. 4
Ode. 2.*

Orat. p. 11.

with it

with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Perſian* quarters draw the Body of the Hither, into the Coasts of *Asia* and *Hellespont*.

SECT. VI.

Of Jotham and his Contemporaries.

Jotham the son of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of three score cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides divers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forreit, Towers and Palaces: He enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver, an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly, two thousand measures. He reigned six and twenty years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimony. *Ejufmodi vero Princeps huius, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideret: ut qui Deum adeo pie coleretur, hominibus adeo iuste praesentibus, utrum isam tanta sibi curae esse possit, ut & laudare, et curare, et gubernare regnumque sibiis quidem minimè contentum, sed etiam, dumvisit autem ejus incolis ante ejus saltem, sanctum, et fortissimum sua virtute efficeret. This was such a Prince, a man could find no kind of virtue wanting in him: He worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the City and did so greatly amplify it, that by his virtue and proofs he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his Enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens profectum and happy.*

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things as he himself was devout and virtuous.

Anachorites about this time succeeded *Phelisteus* in *Corinth*: after whom the *Corinthusians* erected Magistrates which Governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cysyllus*, who drove them out.

Teglabaphazar, or *Teglabaphazar*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Affirians*, that was of this new Race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his Master *Pekachias*) was King thereof. In which expedition he took moſt of the Cities of *Negebah* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and carried the Inhabitants captive. This *Tiglab*, reigned twenty five years according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krenschman* finds, that with his son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer; which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the *Era* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglab* *Phulassar* himself, who therewith reigned 27 years.

Ashbelys, the son of *Agamemnon*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled twenty five years.

Alcamenes governed *Sparta*, after whom the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*: But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken; for *Diadore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others witness the contrary.

Pausanias affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent virtues, succeeded his Father, and reigned sixty years, and out-lived the *Metasthenes* King of *Asia*.

which was ended by *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicander*, his Royal companion.

At this time lived *Nabum* the Prophet, who foretold the destruction of the *Affirian* Empire, and of the City of *Babylon*, which succeeded, (saith *Josephus*) a hundred and fifteen years after.

The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time; while in *Media*, *Sardanapalus* and *Midas* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

SECT. VII.

Of Achaz and his Contemporaries.

Achaz or *Achaz*, he succeeded to *Jotham* in the seventeenth year of *Pekah*, the son of *Remaliah*: the time being also the last of his Fathers reign, who began in the second of the fame *Pekah*, and reigned sixteen, but not complete years. This *Achaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his Son for sacrifice before the Idol *Moloch*, or *Satan*, which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Calf, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gelboim* or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for Hell. The Children offered, were included within the Carcases of this Idol, and as the fire increased, so the Sacrificers, filled the air to the end, the pitiful cries of the Children might not be heard: Which unnatural, cruel and diabolical Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *S. Hierom* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible fire was ancient. In the twelfth of *Duteronomy*, it is called an Abomination which God hateth.

That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judea*, divers Authors witness, as *Virgil* in the second *Aeneid*,

Sanguine Placitis, &c.

And *Silvius*, *Plutarch* and *Deur*.

Satan is said to have brought this Custom into *Italy*; being the casting of many souls into the River of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned.

The Devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of murder, inasmuch that when their City was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them believe that because they had spared their own Children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Satan* had stirred up and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently

called two hundred of the noblest youths of their City to be slain, and offered to *Satan*, or *Satan*, as *Eusebius* saith, appease him: who, besides these fire-named Nations, had instructed the *Rhodiens*, the People of *Cyrie*, and *Chios*, of *Massina*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets* and others, in these his services. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the souls of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa* (as *Aeschylus* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other People of *America*, were brought by the Devil under this fearful servitude, in which he also holdeth the *Floridians* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickedness of this King *Achaz*, God stirred up *Keezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Judea*, and belated *Jerusalem*, but entered it not.

The King of Syria, *Rezin*, revolted himself of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and call the *Jews* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Judeans*, of the abilit of the Kingdom, at which time *Masfiah*, the Son of *Achaz*, was also slain by *Ziebr*, with *Azrikam* the Governour of his house, and *Eleanah* the second person unto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* lead away to *Samaria*: but by the counsel of the Prophet *Osai*, they were returned and delivered back to *Samaria*.

As *Isfrel* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North, so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who were attended the ruin of *Judea*, entered upon them from the South, and took *Bethsames*, *Ajalun*, *Gaderah*, *Shobos*, *Timnah*, and *Gemoz*, slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himself environed on all sides, and that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he sent to the *Affrian* *Tiglab-Pileser*, to desire some aid from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the Silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings house.

Tiglab-Pileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the trouble that befell *Parolissia*. His father having lately made himself from a Provincial Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Affria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judea*, invyred by *Menabem*, King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himself, he was content to assign some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I have said before) he was not firmly settled at home, and the Syrian Kings lay directly in his way, who were now, with the treasures of *Jerusalem*, prepared his Army, first invaded the Territory of *Damascus*, won the City, and killed *Rezin* the last of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *David*, and ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglab*, and taking thence a pattern of the Altar, sent it to *Jerusalem* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Jerusalem*, whereon at his return he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the Syrians. In the mean while *Tiglab* pillaged all *Bajan*, and the rest beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Ruben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the River, he battered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his Vassals. And notwithstanding that he was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoil of *Israel*, he possessed himself of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it seemeth, enforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the second of Kings, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechias*, that he revolted from *Affur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Senacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and born these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. With *Achaz* lived *Medián*, the third Prince in

Medea, who governed 40. years, faith *Ensebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesius* find *Antiochus* instead of this *Medián*, to have been *Sofarnus* his successor, to whom they give 50. years.

Tiglab-Pileser held the Kingdom of *Affria*, all the reign of *Achaz*: yet so, that *Salmassar* his Son may seem to have reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Achaz* did send unto the Kings of *Athor* to help him. The *Grecus* note says, that these Kings of *Affur*, were *Tiglab-Pileser*, and those Kings that were under his Dominion, But that he or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might give him the Lordship over other Kings, I do neither find any History, nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I think that these Kings of *Affur*, were *Tiglab*, and *Salmassar* his Son, who reigned with his father, as hath been said before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had been hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedemon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Ensebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth Olympiad. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, being then joyned Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen every year, were controllers, as well of their Senators, as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent. For (faith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls.

In the time of *Achaz* died *Aeschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, *Alcamenon* the thirtieth of the *Madonide*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Aeschylus*, and was the last of their Governours: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governours for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgho-Master* or Governour of their City for ten years.

This alteration, *Pausanias* in his fourth Book begins in the first year of the eighth Olympiad, *Ensebius* and *Halicanassus* in the first of the seventh Olympiad: at which time indeed, *Carop* the first of these, began his ten years rule.

The Kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred year by the *Sylvii*, of the race of *Aeneas*, took end in the same *Achaz*'s time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the same King, *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*. *Eusebius* in the eighth as I think he should; others somewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*, *Cicero*, *Eufrapius*, *Orsius*, and others square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

But *Halicanassus*, *Solinus*, *Antiochus*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, and *Ensebius* to the first year of the seventh: who seem not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best account,

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquity of Italy, and the Foundation of Rome in the time of *Achaz*.

SECT. I.

Of the Inhabitants, and the Name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more Ancient Names of Italy, and what Nations posessed it before the arrival of *Aeneas*, the place may seem to invite us; the rather, because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder Plantations.

Italy, before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers Names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*; the one name arising of the Seat, the other of the *Ausones*, a People inhabiting part of it: One ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotrii*, whom *Halicanassus* thinks to have been the first that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. After it was called *Italy* of *Italus*; concerning which changes of Names, *Virgil* speaks thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii culvere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem.*

This is a Land which *Greek* *Hesperia* names Ancient, and strong, of much fertility: *Oenotrii* held it, but we hear by fame, That by late ages of Posterity,

*Is from a Captains name call'd Italy.

Who this Captain or King may have been, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first Planters of this noble Country, *Rymerus* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture.

And first of all, he grounds upon that of *Halicanassus*, who speaks of a Colony which the *Eleans* did lead in Italy, before the name of Italy was given unto it.

Secondly, Upon that of *Justin*, who faith, that *Brundisium* was a Colony of the *Aetolians*.

Thirdly, Upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temps*, or *Tempsa*, a City of the *Bractii* in Italy.

Lastly, Upon the authority of *Pliny*, who shows that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the Name was derived over all.

Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians* who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the Name of Italy. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Atolia*, save that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common; and the letter (*e*) is changed into (*a*)

which change is found in the name of *Aetholia*, an Island near Italy, peopled by the *Aetolians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Aetolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Aetolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius*, *Halicanassus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greek* colonies of the *Latines*. All the common Original of the *Greek* and *Latine* from *Javan*; and the fable of *Javan*, whose image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italy*, and was stamped on Coins, with a Ship on the other side, all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latines*; who (saying over the *Ionian* Sea, that lies between *Aetolia* and the Western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reinecius* thinks, that the names of *Atalus* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Bersar*, who called *Seibim*, *Italus*; though it may seem strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode at *Italy* with *Eletra*, the daughter of *Atalus*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For when they make mention of *Atalus*, place him before the time of *Mesa*: and if *Atalus* were *Ceibim*, or *Kitim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and Nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*, which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Country, not long before the War of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atalus*, and of *Dardanus*, his marriage with *Eletra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in Italy, but calleth *Eletra* and her sister *Mais* (poetically) the daughters of the Mountain in *Africa*, naming *Idus* among the Kings of the *Aberigenes*; which he would not have done, had *Atalus* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authority of *Bersar* in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that *Reinecius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Antius* hath filled *Bersar*, holds it but a figure.

That the name of Italy began long after *Atalus*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not have said,

—Nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, Ducis de nomine, gentem,

had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Country. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the War of *Troy*, had left it

Italy

Italy a Colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Hieronymus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began : and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italy* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldness to say, that *Italy* was a Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any such Greek as was named *Italy*, yet the name of *Atolus* written in Greek *Atolus*, was very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italy* from *Atolus*, than *Italia* from *Æolia*. So may *Virgil's* authority stand well with the collections of *Reyneccius* ; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captain, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

SECT. II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Heurians* were most famous ; the *Heurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection, and the *Latines* by the virtue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italy*, and in a few ages whatsoever was known in *Europe* ; together with all the Western parts of *Asia*, and North of *Affrick*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Haliscarnassus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) think to have been *Aræadians* ; and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they possessed ; while the *Aræadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moon ; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* informed to forsake their seats to sit as other *Greeks* were, who did dwell without that half Island, neither had the *Aræadians* to insure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because the Country was less fruitful in land, mountains, and hard of access, and they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Aræadian* manner, till themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Aræadians*, who dwelt somewhat far from the Sea, and are always noted as unpep to prove good Mariners, should have been Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easy to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforced the superstitious company to seek another feat, and that some expeditions of the *Aræadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelagi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece*, and their antiquities are long since dead, for lack of good records. Neither was their glory fixt in *Italy*, as could long sustain the name of their own Tribe ; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Asynians*,

Aræadi, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following, disturb the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some civility ; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne*, *S. Augustine* calleth *Stercus* or *Stercutius*, others term him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturne*, because he did *latere*, that is, he hiddden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, is questionable, a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another ; so in the truth of History, it is well known, that no king reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Country or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit : And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did mainly and darkly express (for so they signified a passage over a River in Hell) because death is a passage to another life, and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painful, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of hate ; *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron*, of pain : so also because men are stonie hearted ; and because the *Greek* *Λαοί*, people, and *Λαῖς*, stones, are near in sound, therefore they feigned in the time of *Dionysius*, stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones : in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturnus* hiding himself, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Alti* : whence also *Eloj* of the true God says, *129.46.*

Deus abscondit. For it cannot be in vain, that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very significacion, if it be derived (as some think) from the *Hebrew* *Satur*, which is to hide : Howbeit I deny not but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought else where.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cetibus*, the son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans*, are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo*, interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crown of *Troy*. *Hecupion* *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia* : viz. in *agro Elaitico*, in the *Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City, which the *Ætolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elas* or *Elais*, *Pausanias* makes mention : *Stephanus* calls it *Cydemia*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamia*, which name last retained, hath a very near found to *Cebim*, *Citim*, or *Cibim*, the *Greek* Letter (*D*) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*T*) differing only in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many English words, written with the same letters. Wherefore that the *Ceteans*, the son of *Javan*, descended of *Cetibus*, *Citim*, or *Kitim*, the son of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *E-laites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Aræadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Elaians*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountain *Eleus*, the Haven *Elas*, the people *Elaites*, the City *Elasus*, *Elais*, and *Elaitis*, of which last, it were somewhat harsh in the *Latine* tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name than *Elaitis*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetei* and *Aræadians* had their original from *Cetibus*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might

nevertheless differ in found and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (ceiving the *Sabinus* from him) give the name of *Sabinus* : in the like manner he whom the *Aræadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the City *Elaitis*) be named of the *Ceteans* *Latius*. *Reyneccius*, pursuing this likelihood, thinks that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Ange*, the daughter of *Ateneus King of Arcadia*) was slain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War : then did *Telephus* brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what evil might befall themselves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* should go ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Aræadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinks, that *Telephus*, being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian* *Aræadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Ange*, an *Aræadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Aræadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elaitius*, and then *Latius*. That this name of *Elatus* may have been taken or imposed by the *Aræadians*, it is the more easy to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Iphidius*, the other of *Elatus*, who were sons of *Aræus King of Arcadia*, which gave name unto the Country : and between these two families the succession in that Kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* War it fell into the hand of *Hippobolus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posterity it continued until the last. Again the name of *Latius*, having a derivative found, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproof, considering that it is not easy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

SECT. VI.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines until *Æneas* his coming.

THE Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus Picus*, *Faunus*, & *Latius*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturnus* of the *Greeks* called by them *Κρόνος*, or some other, killed *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have been the same : but the names of *Stereus*, and *Stercutinus* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the foil which they laid on their grounds had that appellation from him) do rather make him seem some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said that he was a good horse-man. The fable of this being changed into a Bird, which we call a *Pye*, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in fowling, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father : He gave to *Evander* the *Aræadian* (who ha-

ving slain by mischance his father *Echeneus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatus*, the sister of *Faunus*, who was also his wife, as all Historians agree, the was held a Prophetess and highly commended for her clarity, which praise in her must needs have been much blestified by her marriage, it self being merely ineffable.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus*, had by his sister any child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, save that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latius* as his son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, save only that her abode was about the River *Liris* near *Monturone*.

Of the name *Latius*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four : one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetei* were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latius* having obtained the succession in the Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heir *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the Son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata*, *Latius* his Wife.

But when *Æneas* arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be embarked, according to the rate which *Trojan* did allow to the Vessels then used, about one thousand and two hundred men : then *Latius* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Trojans*, and moved with the great reputation of *Æneas*, which himself had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus* : who incensed herewith, fought to avenge himself by war : which was soon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the wife of *Latius*, it is very certain, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Æneas* : unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the father, than to his Son, who served in the last year of the *Trojan* War. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinks withall, that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Haliscarnassus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seem by *Varro*, who calleth her *Palatinus* : which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Παλας*, *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he took to serve as a Nun of *Vesta* : wherefore it is the more easy to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lavinia, the Daughter of *Latius*, being given in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Country, was established in that race : wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatness of the *Romans*.

SECT. IV.

Of Aeneas, and of the Kings and Governors of Alba.

AENEAS himself being of the Royal blood of Troy, was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the Trojans. By his Wife Creusa, the Daughter of Priamus, he had a Son called *Ascanius*, whose surname was *Julus*, having before the ruin of Troy (as *Virgil* notes) been furnished *Ilius*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his Wife *Lavinia*, the Daughter of *Latinus*, being gifted with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a Son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and furnished *Posthumus*, because he was born after his Father's Funeral. This light of *Lavinia* was so evil taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queen, did foster her young Son, his half brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards whether to avoid all occasions of disgracement, or enlightened with the situation of the place, *Ascanius* leaving to his Mother in law the City *Lavinium*, which *Aeneas* had built and called after his new Wife's name, founded the City *Alba Longa* and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty years: *Virgil* gives him thirty, others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose a contention between *Sylvius*, the son of *Aeneas*, and *Julus* the son of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdom: but the people inclining to the Son of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the Alban Kings, with the continuance of each mans reign, I find thus set down:

1	<i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> .	29
2	<i>Sylvius Aeneas</i> .	31
3	<i>Sylvius Latinus</i> .	50
4	<i>Sylvius Alba</i> .	39
5	<i>Sylvius Atus</i> .	26
6	<i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	28
7	<i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	13
8	<i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i> .	8
9	<i>Sylvius Ascapia</i> .	48
10	<i>Sylvius Aladus</i> .	39
11	<i>Sylvius Aventinus</i> .	17
12	<i>Sylvius Procas</i> .	23
13	<i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	44
	<i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	
	<i>Alia</i> , called also <i>Rhea</i> and <i>Sylvia</i> .	
	<i>Romulus Remus</i> .	

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus, founded many Towns in the borders of *Latio*: one standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prose Latinia*. Of *Tiberinus* some think, that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albia*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tiberis*: before the coming of *Aeneas* into Italy. The Mountain *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the Alban, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julus* the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Ensebius* as father

of another *Julus*, and grandfather of *Julus Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Remus* in *Rome*: *Numerius*, the elder Son of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother *Amulius*, by whom also his Son *Agellus* was slain, and *Alia* his daughter made a Nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numerius* might be cut off. But the conceived two Sons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some think, or by *Mars*, as the Poets kings, or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick according to the law, which so ordained, when the Vestal Virgins brake their chastity. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreaty of *Amulius*, the Daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein do vary) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserved, who afterwards revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numerius* their Grandfather to the Kingdom: where in how long he reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly material to know: for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latinum* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*: upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of Italy) is dependant. After the death of *Numerius*, the Kingdom of *Alba* ceased; for *Numerius* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to live in *Rome*, and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albani* were governed by Magistrates: of whom only two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Cainus Clivilius*, who in the days of *Tullius Hostilius*, King of the *Romans*, making War upon *Rome*, dyed in the Camp; and *Metius Sufferius*, the successor of *Clivilius*, who surrendered the Estate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazard of both Seigniories to the success of three men of each side, who decided the quarrel by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed against the *Curatii*, Champions of the *Albani*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullius Hostilius* with the *Albani* forces against the *Vestres* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battle, hoping thereby to leave the *Romans* to such an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albani* to deal with; *Tullius*, who notwithstanding this falsehood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruel death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torn in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Caesar* being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royal, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industry, valour, and judgment, obtained the Sovereignty of the *Roman* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himself and his posterity; whereby the name of *Aeneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus his Birth and Death.

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here tell thee the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the Grand-child of *Numerius*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering people, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, having been the work of many ages: whereof I now do handle only the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Catto*, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius*, and others, seek to derive the *Romans* from *Tanus*: but *Herodotus*, *Merops*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Grecians* for their Ancestors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Book, *Cælius rerum Romanarum Scriptor*, ex argumento colligit, *Romanæ* *Grecis esse conditam*, quod *Romani* *Greci* *ritu*, antiquo instituto, *Herculi* *rem* *sacram* *faciunt*: *matrem* *quique* *Evandri* *venerantur* *Romani*: *Cælius* (saith he) a *Roman* *Historiographer*, doth by this argument gather, that *Rome* was built by the *Greeks*, because the *Romans*, after *Greekish* fashion, by ancient ordinance, do sacrifice to *Hercules*, the *Romans* also worship the Mother of *Evander*.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembereth many Founders of that City: as *Numa* the Son of *Tanus*: *Diomedes* (not that from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latinians*, who drove the *Trojans* out of that Country, built it. *Sabinus* follows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, saying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Grecians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the Mother of *Mars*; witness *S. Augustine* in his third Book de *Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his comfort, *Tullius* as a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their original, answered in these Verses:

Atamen *tu* *longe* *repetas* *longeque* *revolvos*,
Majorum *quisquis* *primus* *fuit* *ille* *tuorum*,
Aut *pater* *fuit*, *aut* *illud* *quod* *diceret* *no*.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree for far:
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or else, that I'll forbear.
meaning, either a Shepherd or a Thief.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father: that he was nursed by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Faustula*, a Shepherds Wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therefore it is seemeth to me that he might have two purposes: the one to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdom: the other, to satiate his appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For the

being made a Nun of the goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the law, to break her chastity. I also find in *Ensebius* his *Antiquities* of *Gauls*, that *Meretrix*, the King of the *Franks*, was begotten by a Monkish of the *Isle*: but *Faustus* saith, *Let them believe it that list*. *Il le crerra qui vaudra*: *Allo of Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: But to answer these imaginations in general, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the mind, or as there were of vices and virtues, then did many women greatly born, cover flesh slips as they made, by prostituting to be forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* consents to *Paris*, that she had been ravished by *Apollon*, And *Anchises* boasted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by some man of War, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battle, according to the fate of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollon*. The Mother of *Meretrix* might fancy a Sea-Captain, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Isachos* fancied, according to *Herodotus*, *Aeneas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some fair Harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*. And was therefore the Child of Lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nursed by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curfews in those days were called *Wolfs*, *Que nunc* (saith *Halicarnassensis*) *honestior* *vocabulo* *esse* *applicatur*, *quod* *nunc* *per* *unum* *nomine* *habet* *frons*.

It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world, by his father *Mars*, in a great storm of thunder and lightning: so it was said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the River *Nimicus*: but thereof *Livie* speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion that the storm was the fury of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his birth, and at his death; and that he might be slain by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor *Augustus* was slain with lightning: so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slain with a thunderbolt: so *Carus* the Emperor (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tybris*, was there slain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of War, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the *Roman* Emperors) it appeareth by *Turquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh King after him: who when he had murdered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himself died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassensis* end this dispute; whose words are these:

They (saith he) *who dream* *nearst* *to* *the* *truth*, *say* *that* *he* *was* *slain* *by* *his* *own* *Citizens*; *and* *that* *his* *crucities* *in* *punishment* *of* *offenders*, *together* *with* *his* *arrogance*, *were* *the* *cause* *of* *his* *slaunder*. *For* *it* *is* *reported*, *that* *both* *when* *his* *mother* *was* *ravished*, *whether* *by* *some* *man*, *or* *by* *a* *god*, *the* *whole* *body* *of* *the* *Sun* *was* *eclipsed*, *and* *all* *the* *earth* *covered* *with* *darkness* *like* *unto* *night*, *and* *that* *the* *same* *did* *happen* *at* *his* *death*.

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historieth by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles, which had soon been forgotten, if the *Roman* greatness built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even

unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdom, that he himself might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37 years, first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time, the Sovereignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King: like wherein *Rome* it self in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long been

sole Governours, till *Constance* shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greek Emperours was crushed by foreign enemies, and the *Latines* dispossessed of Imperial power, she fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defensive arms, and therein having been unfortunate, at length betakes herself again to the Crozier staff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occasion of the story of the times of King *Abaz*, during whose reign in *Jury*, the foundations of this famous City were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of EZECHIA, and his Contemporaries.

SECT. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolomy, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the History of the Bible.

AS the first year of *Abaz* his reign was consounded with the last of his father *Jaham*, so was the latter end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of Ezechias, his son.

This appears by the Reign of *Hofia*, over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Abaz*, and therefore, the third thereof was concurrent with *Abaz*, his fourteenth. But the third of *Hofia*, was the first of Ezechias: so it follows, that Ezechias began to reign in his Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hofia*, the same being the fourteenth of *Abaz*, was almost spent when Ezechias began, and so the fifteenth year of *Abaz* may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of Ezechias.

By supposing that *Hofia* began his Kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Abaz* was almost compleat, some would find the means how to dis-join the first of Ezechias from the thirteenth of *Abaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Abaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of Ezechias may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the first year.

In the fourteenth year of Ezechias, *Senacherib*, invaded *Juda* and the Countries adjoining, lost his Army by a miraculous stroke from Heaven, fled home, and was slain.

The year following it was that God added sixteen years to the life of Ezechias, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty, and the time year was that miracle seen of the Suns going back: of which wonder (as I hear) one *Bartholomew Scutiger*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered to the twenty fifth of April, in the Julian year, being then Thursday. I have not seen any works of *Scutiger*, but surely find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some Record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of Ezechias agreed

upon: and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is used in like cases, that *Abaz* slept with his fathers, and Ezechias his son reigned in his stead, it doth no more prove that Ezechias reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth infer the like at the death of *Jehoshaphat*, and succession of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign whilst his Father lived, we have already said enough.

Of this godly King Ezechias, we find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeal. For whether it were so, that his unfortunate and ungracious Father (who had outworn his reputation) lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) the first year and first month of his reign, wherein Ezechias opened the doors of the Temple, were to be understood as the beginning of his sole government; we plainly find it to have been his first work, that he opened the doors of the house of the Lord, which *Abaz* had shut up, cleansed the City and Kingdom of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had been for many years neglected, and brake down the brazen serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, and he called it *Nebuchadnezar*, which signifies a lump of brass. He did also celebrate the pass-over with great magnificence, inviting thereto the *Israelites* of other Tribes. Many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came up to Jerusalem, to this feast: But the general multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of Ezechias to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memorial of their deliverance out of the Egyptian servitude, fell into a new servitude; out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of Ezechias his reign, *Salmannassar* the Son of *Tiglat*, the Son of *Belachus*, hearing that *Hofia* King of *Israel* had practised with *So* King of *Egypt*, against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaritis*, and in the third year

(after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias* and his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineve*: in whose seats and places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Awa*, *Hamah*, and *Seperanath*, besides *Babylonians*; whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

The latter *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Perfians*, which followed them, are the first of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred books. These therefore serve aptly to join the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better known, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Perfians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phid* and *Salmannassar*, with other *Assyrians*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversities of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures do speak of *Salmannassar*, King of *Assyria*, who reigned in the time of *Abaz* and Ezechias, Kings of *Juda*, and of *Hofia* King of *Israel*, whom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmannassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the same whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient proof from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that between *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seven hundred forty and six years: at which distance of time the reign of *Salmannassar* was. One great proof hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* allegeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomy*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Meredach*, who sent Embassadors to Ezechias King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time between *Meredach* and *Salmannassar*, we shall find it the same which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Fundinus* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaritis*, to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three years: the self same distance of time is found in *Ptolomy*, between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For whereas *Ptolomy* is to suffer from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we are to understand that he took *Samaritis* in the eighth year of his reign: so that the seven foregoing years added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the account of the Scriptures to fall even with that of *Ptolomy*. *Ptolomy's* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed a hundred twenty seven years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty seven, the thirteen ensuing of *Nebuchadnezzar's* years, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we have the sum of one hundred and forty years. To plain a case more proofless are needless, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolomy* placeeth the first of *Nabopolassar*, one

hundred twenty and two years after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the content of all Mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt; whereas Historians and Mathematical observations do so thoroughly concur.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scutiger* doth not seem unanswer'd, whereby he proved *Badadan* the Father of *Meredach*, to have been the *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second year of whose reign is, according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seven years, seventeen days, and eleven hours: the account from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the Egyptian Month *Thoth*, then answering to the twenty sixth of February; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Month, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of February: so that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the Egyptian years. But how doth this prove that *Mardocempadus* or *Meredach*, was the Son of *Nabonassar*? yes, how doth it prove, that he was his next successor, or any way of his lineage? it was enough to falsifie me, in this argument, that *Scutiger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew than the Son of *Badadan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countryman *Lydius* hath reprehended *Scutiger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornelius*, who follows *Scutiger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, to hold up the same assertion, confounding *Badadan* with *Nabonassar*, I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two. Yet cannot I find in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scutiger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the succession of *Meredach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near succession of *William the Conqueror*, declares him, to have been *Son*, or Grand-child to *Edward the Confessor*. This considered, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him from *Salmannassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Assyria*, in those very times which by *Diadorus* and *Ptolomy* are assigned to *Belsus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good History naming any others that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbered from them.

SECT. IV.

Of the Kings that were in Media during the Reign of Ezechia: of the difference found between sundry Authors in rehearsing the Median Kings. Other Contemporaries of Ezechia. Of Candaules, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercules.

IN the time of Ezechia, Medius, and after him Cardicus, reigned in Media. Whether it were so, that variety of Names, by which these Kings were called in several Histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were; or whether the Sons reigning with the Fathers, have caused not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time wherein they governed Media, to exceed the due proportion, or whether the Copies themselves of *Crisis* and *Annius* with *Metasthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is over-highly commended of trustfulness; so it is that the names, number, and length of reign are all very diversly reported of these Median Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon *Medius* and *Cardicus* as Contemporaries with Ezechia. For to reconcile to great a difference, as is found in those Writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the Roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as sundry Authors have delivered it. *Annius* his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reigns thus.

<i>Arbaces</i>	28
<i>Mandanes</i>	50
<i>Sofarmon</i>	50
<i>Arbaces</i>	50
<i>Arbaces</i>	22
<i>Arbaces</i>	22
<i>Arbaces</i>	22
<i>Arbaces</i> , with his son <i>Apanda</i>	20
<i>Apanda</i> alone	30
<i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus</i>	36

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made him his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodorus*, with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus

<i>Arbaces</i>	28
<i>Mandanes</i>	50
<i>Sofarmon</i>	50
<i>Arbaces</i>	50
<i>Arbaces</i>	22
<i>Arbaces</i>	22
<i>Arbaces</i>	22
<i>Arbaces</i>	20
<i>Arbaces</i>	30
<i>Arbaces</i>	36

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Eusebius*, who lived in an age better furnished than ours, with Books of this Argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with Ezechia) *Medius* and *Cardi-*

cus, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardicus* were *Diodorus* his *Arbaces*, I will not fail to search. The Kings of Media, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces</i>	28
<i>Sofarmon</i>	30
<i>Medius</i>	40
<i>Cardicus</i>	15
<i>Deices</i>	54
<i>Phraortes</i>	24
<i>Cyaxares</i>	22
<i>Alyages</i>	38

These names, and this course of Succession I retain, but add unto these, *Cyaxares*, the son of *Alyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it, of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezechia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen Governors of *Achur* for ten years, that is, of *Charpi*, *Asmedes*, *Eldicus*, and *Hippocres*. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first year; of which perhaps himself did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the Names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be locked up with an Horse, giving to neither of them any food: so the Horse, constrained by hunger devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the first King, and Founder of that City was *Romulus*, he reigned both before and somewhat after *Ezechias*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the last King ruled in the same age.

This Region was first called *Meonia*. *Lydius*, the son of *Atrus* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe such authority as we find.

This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle conferred upon *Argos*, who came of *Aleus* the son of *Hercules* by *Jardana* a bond-woman.

The race of these *Heiracidae* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the Son continually succeeding the Father. *Candaules* the son of *Myrsus* was the last of his race, who doated too much upon the beauty of his own Wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the son of *Dasytus* to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might feel her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth and understanding the matter, took it to such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treason. So *Gyges* being brought again into the same Chamber by the Queen, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the last of *Ezechias*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his son *Ardys*, reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyates* twelve; *Halyarnas*, fifty seven; and finally *Cresus* the son of *Athyarnas* fourteen years: who lost the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perfia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings whom *Ctesias* his Progenitor disposeth, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there

there sprang many other Kings, which governed several Countries very long; as in *Asia*, the *Myrsians*, in *Greece*, the *Lacedaemonians*, *Messenians*, *Rodians*, *Corinthians* and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracensians*: besides many great and famous, though pri-

vate families. But of the *Heraclidae* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled myself to take notice of the time of their several reigns: for little is found of them besides the bare names, and the folly of this last King *Candaules*.



CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reign of Ezechia in Juda when Egypt and Juda made a League against the Assyrians.

SECT. I.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in History, are like to have belonged only to Fictions. An Example proving this out of William of Tyre his History of the Holy War.

THE emulation and quarrels arising in these times between the mighty Kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria, do require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in Egypt, and setting down briefly the state of that Country, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Assyria for the Maltrey.

Of *Cham* the son of *Noah*, who first planted that Country, and of *Osiris*, *Orus* and other ancient Kings that reigned there, until the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath been said already than I can stand too: Though I hold it no shame to fall in such Conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynasties, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to have reigned in Egypt, were none other than Vice-roys or Stewards, such as *Josaph* was, and such as were the Souldans in later ages. Therefore I will not only forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of Egyptian Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their Names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumstances proving them to have been Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before hand to lay an imaginary ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amiss, to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of History doth afford: First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, to magnify their Antiquities. For we know that from *Abraham*, our Saviour Christ was removed only forty two descents; which makes it evident, that in far shorter time, namely before the *Perfian* Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in Egypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, having reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the Egyptian Kings in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the rest whose names

we find scattered here and there; any man that will take the pains to read the 19th Book of the Holy War, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily persuade himself, that it is not hard to find names enough, of such as might be thought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroys. Yet will I here insert as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Eladab* the Caliph ruled in Egypt, one *Dargan* a powerful and a subtle man, made himself Souldan, by force and cunning, chasing away *Samar* an Arabian, who was Souldan before and after him. This *Dargan* ministered matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* King of *Jerusalem*, and sustained, with little loss, an invasion, which *Amalrick* made upon Egypt. Whereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Samar* the former Souldan hoped to make his party good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter Egypt. Briefly, *Samar* such to *Nuradun*, King of *Damascus*, for aye, who sends an Army of his Turks, under the command of *Ysaac*, against the Souldan *Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Samar* met, and fought: The Victory was *Dargan*'s; but he enjoyed it not: For in few days after he was slain by treason, whereby *Samar* did recover his dignity: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he he could find in the great City of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the Caliph *Eladab* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the Kingdom, whilst he might have the profit of it and his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do nearly touch the Caliph himself. *Saracen* with his Turks, whom *Samar* had gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be in treated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortify, and there attend the arrival of more company from *Damascus* for the conquest of all Egypt. The Souldan perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expell them, much less to expell the Turkish Army that was likely to second them: He therefore sends Messengers to King *Amalrick* of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises

he gets to bring him ayde, and so drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble the great Caliph hears nothings; or not so much as should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief arieth, concerning the Caliph *Elbadach* particularly in his own Title. *Syracusa* Captain of the Turks that had been in Egypt, goes to the Caliph of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet* that false Prophet, the Sovereignty over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tells him the weakness of the Egyptian, with his own ability of doing service in those parts; offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismatical Caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Arms and *Syracusa*, with a mighty power, descends into Egypt. The noise of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almarick*, that with all his forces he halts into Egypt, well knowing how nearly it concerned him and his Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to keep the *Saracens* from joining all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiving the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and betters himself in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him; for by their admirable valour, he finally drove the enemies out of the Country. But this victory was not so soon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the Caliph, as yet, seems to know nothing. May we not think that he has been King in Title only, who meddled so little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Christians (without whose help all was lost) could not well stay so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to King *Almarick*, upon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tithe (which *William* of Tyre calls it a Tribute) the *Saracens* perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of Egypt, for this behovely assistance. But the Christians understanding that the Soldan (how much sower he took upon him) was subject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the Caliph himself. Hereupon *Hugh* the Earl of *Caesarea*, and a Knight of the Temple, are sent up to *Elbadach* to ratify the covenants. Now shall we leave the greatness of the Caliph and his estate.

These Embassadours were conveyed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great Troops of Soldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopian*, which with all diligence did reverence to the Soldan as he passed along. Through these frightful Wardens led them into goodly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embassadours, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with Embroid Work, curious Pavements, Fountains of Marble with clear Waters, and many sorts of strange Birds, unknown in those parts of the World, as coming perhaps from the East Indies, which then was undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was their magnificence; for the Caliph his Eunuchs conveyed them into other Courts within these, as far exceeding the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It was tedious perhaps to rehearse how the further they entered, the

more high state they found, and cause of marvel; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vain Author. Finally they were brought into the Caliph's own lodgings, which were yet more stately and better guarded; where entering the Presence, the Soldan having twice proffered himself, did the third time cast off his sword, that he wore about his neck, and throw himself on the ground before the Curtain, behind which the Caliph sat. Presently the traveller wrought with Gold and Pearls was opened, and the Caliph himself discovered, sitting with great Majesty on a Throne of Gold, having few of his most inward Servants and Eunuchs about him. When the Soldan had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger wherein the Land stood, and the offers that he made unto King *Almarick*, desiring the Caliph himself to ratify them in the presence of the Embassadours. The Caliph answered, That he would thoroughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadours: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the Egyptian that stood by thought an impudent request. Yet his greatness condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Caesarea* saw that the Caliph gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told them roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seeks no holes to hide; it tells Princes that will hold Covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and sincerely: Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much ado there was about this: for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yield so far. But when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheer (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchsafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants word by word, as the Earl spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadours with such rewards as testified his greatness.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him which terrify the neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the mean season, using all Royall power, making War and Peace, entertaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea, making the Land of Egypt tributary to a foreign Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and all thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have fed thee over all the Land of Egypt.*

I do not commend this form of government; neither can I approve the conjuncture of mine Author, where he thinks that the Egyptians, ever since *Joseph's* time, have felt the burden of that servitude which he brought upon them. When he thought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find no judgment good: that he affirms this manner of the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs prescribed by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolemies* (excepting *Ptolemæus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, Founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them wholly, to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, Eunuchs, and other Ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous

ous life, and the awful regard wherein the Egyptian held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers with so ample commision. But of this matter, I will not stand any longer to dispute. It is enough to have thieved, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroy governing Egypt, is let down by *Moser*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William* of Tyre, who lived in the same age, was in few years after Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earl of *Caesarea* touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians have honoured with that title; but rest content with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it follows that we should make inquiry.

SECT. II.

Of *Acherres*; whether he were Uchoreus that was the eighth from *Osymandyas*. Of *Osymandyas* and his Tomb.

IN this business I hold it vain to be too curious. For I who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodore* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Amius* would do good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore follow my self content with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities removed so far out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Israel* out of Egypt, it shall suffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodore*, and *Eusebius* have not been silent, and that *Reynecius* hath taken pains to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of *Israel* out of Egypt, unto the reign of *Thoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greek call *Protesus*) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set down the fame which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of reign.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chacres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to *Reynecius* to be the same whom *Diodore* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But where as mention is found in *Diodore* of a great King named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timarus* (as *Reynecius* conjectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight generations.

Mercator judgeth *Osymandyas* to have been the husband of *Acherres*, *Orus* the second daughter; thinking that *Mansuet* (cited by *J. Josephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his Wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his Wives right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdoas*, not

to signify in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word elf doth) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name, belonging also to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the unprofitable use of this, and the like inextinguishable doubt.

All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument, the most thereof in figures, which I think the Egyptians did fabulously expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the siege of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of *Babylonia* made by that King; which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, differing therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many statues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgment seat, the receiving of tribute, the offering sacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of cattle and food: all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the several Offices of a Governor. On the Tomb of *Osymandyas* was this Inscription.

I am Osymandyas King of Kings; if any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my work.

Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *O where I lie*, it should seem, that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully suspect that he was *Joseph*, whose bodie was preserved among the *Hebrews*, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this on my monument might King *Orus*, who outlived him, erect in honour of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose the plenty of cattle and all manner of Viands, had good reference. The name of *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Joseph* had one new name given him by *Pharaoh*, for the expounding the dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another to his increase of honour. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more then *Beglerbeg*, as the Turkish *Bajazar*, are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Joseph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Joseph* was) yet will I thereby seek, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching *Joseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Uchoreus*: For it might well be that *Memphis* was built by some such King as *Joseph* was *Gebor*, Lieutenant unto the Caliph *Eleazar* (see l. i. who having to his Masters self conquered Egypt, and 18. many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great City of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *El Cabira*, that is, an enforcing or an imperious Mistress, though he himself were a *Dalmatian* slave.

SECT. III.

Of Cherres, Armeus, Rameffes, and Ameno-
phis. Of Myris, and the Lake that bears
his name.

When *Archerus* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* succeeded and held the Kingdom fifteen years; then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameffes* three score and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameffes* that History understood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*: that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fifty sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the first night: that only *Hippomele*, one of his daughters, did save her husband *Linceus*, and suffered him to escape finally, that for this fact, all the bloody sisters, when they died, were enjoying this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking vessel with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Rameffes*, *Egyptus*, is more than *Reynaeus* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can easily believe, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of such quality as the Souldan *Samar*, of whom we spake before, I do not find how in so short a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finished, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monument therein whereof his own sepulchre and his wives being one part, it is manifest that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whose age is uncertain, and of whose reigns we have no assurance, I may truly say, that their great works are not enough to prove them like those of *Japheth*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Ghorar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Samar*, who made the Country Tributary: were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reigns whom we find to have followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fifty furlongs deep. It served to relieve the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow being too great, was harmful to the Country: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the River did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; but the lake it self decayed that only seeing the tribute imposed upon him taken therein, was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy sweet ornaments and other Ornaments for her body. In the middle of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramid that was a turlough, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I find not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report

of Historians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Menathon* divided, by inferring one *Armeus* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should have reigned one year and odd months of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameffes*, his son *Amoneph* held the Kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: wherof I have already spoken in the first Book.

SECT. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynastie of the
Larthes.

Sethus, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amoneph*, fifty five years. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesoftris*. But the state of the world was not such at these times, that to great an expedition as the old *Sesoftris* made, could have been either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now been performed: as any man will perceive, if he look upon my Chronological Table, and consider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynastie of the *Larthes*; which *Reynaeus* conjectures to have had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being lifted out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have signified as much as *Imperators*, or *Generals*. The Wars in which these Kings were Generals, I take to have been against the *Aethiopians*, for sure I am, that they troubled not the Country of *Palestina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the desert sands, on the other hand, to seek matter of conquest, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But these Generals (if the *Larthes* were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these took it perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* Emperors were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonii*, till the most unsuitable conditions of *Heligabalus*, made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings also did administer the government themselves, and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing too much unto the Viceroys. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Larthes*, depends wholly upon conjecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroys, might be great enough, though some few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For so we find in *John Leo*, that the Souldan of *Egypt* (after such time as the Souldan *Saladin*, murdering the Caliph, got the sovereignty to himself) had under him a Viceroy, titled *Eddaguardare*, who had authority to place, or displace any Magistrates or Officers; and that this same Family was almost as great as the Souldans own. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord General of the Souldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the Souldans treasure. So might the office of the Viceroys continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of the second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawn: whether from their Country, as those of the *Thebans* and *Delphians* or

or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seventeenth Dynastie was called of the Shepherds, because *Japheth* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Larthes* or Generals.

The next is *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes*, or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sefac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we now left.

Rameffes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethus*, three score and six years: his title is mistaken for that second *Sesoftris*, of whom I have spoken in the first Book. I find nothing worth rehearsing of this *Rameffes*, or of *Amoneph* and *Amoneus*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Thorus, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned only seven years, yet he is thought to have been that *Proetus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*.

I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thorus* his reign lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helena* to her restitution.

This *Proetus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thou*, and others mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-Officers: for such only are like to have had their residence about *Pharus*, and the Sea-coast where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proetus* who detained *Helena*, it is said that he could force things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes: whereby is signified his crafty head. For which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets figured him a Sea-god, and keeper of *Nepune's* Seal-fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Rempher the son of *Proetus* is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Raminthus*, and tells a long tale fit to please children, of his covetousness, and how his Treasure-house was robbed by a cunning Thief, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his Father did reign at all.

SECT. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings, whose names are found
scattered in Jewish Authors, their times be-
ing not recorded. The Kings of Egypt,
according to Cedrenus. Of Vaphres and
Sefac.

Many other names of Egyptian Kings are found scattered here and there: as *Tompesphis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title: *Senenares*, or *Senepes*, mentioned in *Macrobious*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Seyes*, or *Esenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that lived under him: *Bambiris*, recorded by the same *Suidas* for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave Name to the Isle

of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iceland*, and that he combated with the Devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be so mighty as himself. The Answer or confession of the Devil was remarkable, which I find Englished in the translation of *Plinius*, in his Works, *Of the truths of the Christian Religion*. The *Greek* Verbs are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First God, and next The Word, and then The Spirit,
Which Three be One, and joy in One all
Three:
Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail
Wight,
The man of Life unknown, excellent thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* used, and that clause of his, giving name to the Island: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giving to this King such profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that Book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: But the freely stuff that he sheds without of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout and of good judgement, in matters that fell within his compass.

I will here set down a list of old Egyptian Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of *Egypt*, that he sets down, is *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*. After him, he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus. *Nimrod* the son of *Chur*, was also called *Orus*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to Wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Lineage and by her, three Sons; *Picus*, named *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*.

Picus chasing his Father out of *Affrica* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to *Juno* his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdom, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy* to visit his old Father *Saturn*, *Saturn* forthwith reigned the Kingdom unto him. *Picus* *Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* three score and two years, had three score and ten Wives or Concubines, and about as many Children: finally died, and lies buried in the Isle of *Crete*.

The Principal of *Jupiter's* Sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*.

Enuus was called by the name of the Planet *Mercury*: He reigned in *Italy* after his Father, five and thirty years, and then (finding that all his Brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure, where, after the death of *Mizraim*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years.

After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt* four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half.

There followed in order *Sofis*, *Ofiris*, *Orus* and *Thulis*, of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down.

After *Thales*, was the great *Sisijris* King, twenty years.

His Successor was *Pharab*, called *Narcho*, that held the Crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharab*, to a very long posterity.

The reports of *Codrenus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in Egypt, without any certain note when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Solomon* and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, led us again into fair way, but not far.

The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clement Alexandrian* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in the times of *Darius* and of *Solomon*. He came into *Palatium* with an Army, took *Gexar* from the *Cananites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Solomon's* Wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did favour the Enemies of *Solomon*, who kept so many Wives and Concubines, besides his Egyptian Princesses.

In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written, that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that *Smendes*, with whom, *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth Dynasty.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reign, and of others that followed him, unless therewithal we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, with which the reign have dependence; this course I take.

From the fourth year of *Jehojakim* King of *Juda*, in which *Pharab* *Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Neco*, and of his Predecessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account, the first year of *Sesac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Solomon's* reign, and the twenty sixth of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*, wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacrilege no longer than *Jas* the *Israelite*, and *Cassius* the *Roman* did; who after him spoiled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those Kings that I find in the Greek Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King.

Henceunto I may add, that the Succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Ethiopian*, which got the Kingdom often and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Ezra*, that the Countess of *Pharab* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, inasmuch that they said of *Pharab*, *I am the son of the Wife, I am the son of the Ancient King*.

But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josaf* and *Neco* next by his computation, yet this indeed mars all, the reign of *Josaf* being misplaced. This error

grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion *Joram* King of *Israel* is made to reign three years after *Ahasia* of *Juda*: *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Ezechia* was King; and in a word, all, or most of the Kings have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collaterals, than the Scriptures have determined.

SECT. VI.

Of Chemnis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other Kings recited by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, which reigned between the times of Rehoboam and Ezechia.

Following therefore the Greek Historians, I place *Chemnis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemis*, first in the rank of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the three Pyramids, which was accounted one of the three Worlds Wonders. The Pyramid hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemnis* being four-square, had a Base of seven Acres every way, and was about six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand years, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reign of *Chemnis*, unto the age of *Augustus Caesar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thousand years; which do give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemnis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramids, late Writers do tellify, that they have seen them yet standing.

After *Chemnis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother, but doubtfully, and inclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabrenes* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabrenes*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been long to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years: *Cephrenes* fifty six. These were, as *Chemnis* had been, builders of Pyramids, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had overlaboured themselves in erecting the first. These Pyramids were ordained to be Tombs for those that raised them; but the malice of the Egyptians is said to have called out their bodies, and to have called their Monuments by the name of an Herdman, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of the honour, and the calling out of their bodies, or otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger Brother or son, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against *Cheops* his Daughters, that her Father wanting money, did prostitute her, and that the getting of every man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramid, that stood in the midst of the other three. Be-like he was an infolent Lady and made them follow their drudgery for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument with the superfluity of her Fathers provisions.

Myserinus the son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father

ther six years. He would have built as his fore-goes did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did not open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatened him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion: For (said the Oracle) Egypt should have been afflicted an hundred and fifty years, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six years. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his piety; or that they should decree to make a Country impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or that they having so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King to alter them, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were Egyptian gods. The true God was doubtless more offended with the institution of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows whether *Chemnis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem* in the last year of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his Egyptian superstition? Most sure it is that in his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes*, were more long and more happy than that of *Myserinus*, who to delude the Oracle, revolved away both days and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Devil, than the restitution of Idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reyneccius*, fifty years assigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been some error of the print; though I find it not corrected among other such over-sights: For I know no Author that gives him so many years, and *Reyneccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Myserinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchoris is placed next unto *Myserinus*; by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in it. He is spoken of by divers Authors as one that loved luxury; and may be taken for that *Banchis*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. years of his reign.

After *Bocchoris*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian*, follows in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bocchoris*, hath *Aphidius*, who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Aphidius* made a Pyramid of brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Aphidius*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages which the Egyptians, to magnify their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchoris* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Funtilius*, so long doth *Reyneccius* hold, that these two Kings between them both did govern. Many man would lengthen this time, hold it improbable that the reigns of two Kings should have been so soon spent; he may do it by taking some years from *Sethon* or *Psammis*, and adding them to either of these. To add unto these, without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reign, must have been in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharab* *Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part I like it better to allow six years only to

these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Senacherib's* war, at which time *Sethon* was King of Egypt. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto the years, three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Senacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his Egyptian Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy to leave both *Aphidius* and *Anysis* out of the roll, which were easily done by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if abridgement shall be required of *Psammis* his reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fifty years: He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Country.

Zonaras calls this King *Sus*; the Scriptures call him *So*.

Hefsa, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, uncle to his god: for the Egyptian was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Affyrin* grew terrible to Egypt about these times: the victories of *Tiglat-Pileassar* and *Salmanassar* having eaten so far into Syria, in the reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his reign began in the fourth of *Manabon*) that *Psad* himself did make the first entrance into *Palatium*. This caused *So* to animate the half-subdued people against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Senacherib's* Embassage compared the Egyptian succour to a broken staff or Reed. Such indeed had *Hefsa* found it, and such *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staff of him, that ruleth all thing with a rod of iron.

It appeareth by the words of *Rabshake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the Egyptian forces, for *Charis* and *Hofe-man*, with this power, whatsoever it was, grew necessary, within a little while, for the defence of Egypt it self, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign.

Herodotus and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from relation of Egyptian Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired unto *Ethiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he flew all the Priests in Egypt; which rather than to do, he reformed his Kingdom. Surely, the Egyptian gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the Egyptians (as their like-wise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them.

Yet to what end the Priests should have signified this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device of the fearful old man, who seeing his Realm in danger of an Invasion, sought an honest

1 Km. 14.
56.
2 Km. 12.
7. 2.

honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into *Ethiopia*, where he had been bred in his youth. What if I should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Aethi*, when of *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Army against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt* within two or three years after? But I will not trouble my self with much enquiry. This I hold, that *Sis*, or *Sabacum* was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Ezay*, who mentions the antiquity of *Pharaoh's* house) but only so furnished for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Affyr*, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his government, his holding the Kingdom so long without an Army, and many other circumstances argue no less. But whether really he betook to a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of *Seton* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Plinius*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his having been King.

SECT VII.

Of *Seton* who reigned with *Ezechia*, and sided with him against *Sennacherib*.

THE first year of *Seton's* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fifth of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger: the two great Kingdoms of *Affyr* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a War, the issue whereof was to determine whether of them should rule or serve. The *Affyr* had the better men of War; the *Egyptians* better provision of necessities: the *Affyr* more Subjects; the *Egyptians* more Friends; and among the new conquered, half Subjects of *Affyr*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Affyr* in outward show.

Of this last sort, were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharaoh* to protect them against his own great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference between *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his special confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; the multitude of *Judeas* looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was life, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries which they had suffered by the *Affyr*, and to become forgetful of God, taking comfort, but not of him. The Prophet *Ezay* complaining much of this presumption, giving the people of *Juda* to understand, That the *Egyptians* were men, and not Gods, and their Horse flesh, and not spirits; that God himself should defend *Juda* upon repentance, and that *Assur* should fall by the sword, but not of man. *Ezay* 30. 7. As for the *Egyptians* (said the Prophet) they are vanity, and they shall help in vain, their strength is to fit still.

According to the Prophets words, it came to pass. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was

given to the *Jews* by *Seton*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horles and Chariots, that they did not seek (as *Ezay* saith) unto the holy *Ezay* 31. 1. One of Israel, nor look unto the Lord. But he yet is swift.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, and wakened them out of these dreams: for *Seton* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being unready when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed rather to make *Pelesetia*, than *Egypt* the Stage, whereon this great War should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Affyr* and *Jews*, weakening one another, should yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he sent Horles and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Ezay* 14. 30. 6. calls *A People that cannot profit*.

These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; (for besides that it seems by the same place of *Ezay*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the Enemies hands, before any help appeared from *Tirhaka*) all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Lilba*, *Lachin* and *Jerusalem* it fell, till the Sword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Affyr*, who did go, far, far, to his Tower, that is, he fled to *Ninive*, where he was *Ezay* 31. 9. slain.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of War, being offended with *Seton* their Kings, who had taken away their allowance, refused to bear Arms in defence of him and their Country; that *Seton* being *Vulcan's* Priest, benombed himself to his god, who by dream promised to send him helpers, that hereupon *Seton*, with such as would follow him (which were craftsmen, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelesetia*, and that a great multitude of Field-Mice entering the Camp of *Sennacherib* by night, did so gnaw the Bows, Quivers, and straps of his men's Armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haste finding themselves disarmed.

In memory hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the Statue of this King is set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this Inscription,

Let him that holds me, Serve God.

Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how far they swerved from the truth, being desirous to magnify their own King, it may easily be perceived. It seems that this Image of *Seton* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this History agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth: That *Sennacherib* King of the *Affyr* and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calls him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borders upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his Priest, happy it was (if *Seton* were a Priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood: For within three or four years before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should have been slain, if the merciful King had not spared their lives, as we have seen against the gods will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Egyptians*

to piety, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did represent *Sennacherib* himself, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expressing things) the shameful issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Army, by means, which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the Emblem, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief Temple in that Town where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Devil helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour.

Yet that we may not belie the Devil, I hold it very likely, that *Seton* finding himself in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most devotion. But to had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as were most given to Idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed in the Chariots of *Egypt*, because they were many, and in show terrible, because they were very strong; had it been told them, that *Seton*, instead of sending those Horlemen and Chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan* to send him and them good luck; or else (for the call was *Egyptian* gods) addressing their prayers to some Ouyon or Cat.

However it was, doubtless the Prophecy of *Ezay* took effect, which said, They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproach. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdom, when resting secure upon provision which it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Seton* to have been set down by *Eusebius* under the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Seton*.

These have well observed that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrey, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the War last spoken of; the *Ethiopian* (as they are Englished) over which he reigned, being indeed *Cushites* or *Arabians*.

Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka* is placed in the room of *Seton*, and therefore give to *Seton* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his account, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the first year of *Manasse's* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Seton*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Seton* reigned; *Functus* peremptorily citing no Author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him down thirty three years: many omit him quite; and they that name him are not careful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that Rule which I propounded unto my self at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* Kings.

The years which passed from the fifth of *Rehobam*, unto the fourth of *Jehojakim*, I do divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author, in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reign is uncertain: that is, upon this *Seton*.

By this account I find the thirty three years that are set down by *Functus*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Seton's* reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year less.

The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammetichus*, whereupon it hath much dependence, and whereunto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the *Egyptian* list is growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of MANASSES, and his Contemporaries.

SECT. I.

The wickedness of Manasses. His Imprisonment, Repentance, and Death.

MANASSAH the Son of Ezechias, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned and furnished all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Host of Heaven, as Gods, and worshipped them, and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his Sons to a Sacrifice to the Devil Moloch or Moloch, in the Valley of Hinnon, or Benhinnon: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devil.

He also gave himself to all kind of Witch-craft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as Jerusalem was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reproached by that aged and revered Prophet Isay (who was also of the Kings race, and as the Jews affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet near unto the Fountain of Siloe, to be fawn in sunder with a wooden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by Epiphanius, Isidore, Eusebius, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Host of the Kings of Ashur, which took Manasse, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel: Where, after he had lived twenty years as a captive, and dispossessed of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continual prayer, the God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the Assyrian heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that Merodach, because he loved his father Ezechias, was the easier persuaded to restore Manasse to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was again established, remembering the miseries which followed his wickedness, and Gods great mercies towards him, he changed form, dejected his former foolishness and devilish Idolatry, erected down the Idols of his own erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reign of fifty five years. Chysos and Suidas report, that Manasse was held in a Cage of Iron by the Assyrians: and therein fed with bread of barley and water, which men may believe as it shall please their fancies.

SECT. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Setchon. The reign of Psammiticus.

THAT the wickedness of King Manasses was the cause of the evil which fell upon his Kingdom and person, any Christian must needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the World such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite Merodach, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, upon his Empire) to make attempt upon Juda. For the Kingdom of Egypt, which was become the pillar wherein the state of Juda leaned, about these times was miserably distressed with civil dissension, and after two years ill amended by a division of the government between twelve Princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute King of all.

This Inter-regnum, or meer Anarchy that was in Egypt, with the division of the Kingdom following it, is placed by Diadore who omitteth Setchon, between the reign of Sabacus and Psammiticus: but Herodotus doth set the Aristocracy, or twelve Governors immediately before Psammiticus, who was one of them, and after Setchon. The occasion of this dissension seems to have been the uncertainty of Title to that Kingdom (for that the Crown of Egypt passed by succession of blood, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not settled until one had obtained the Sovereignty.

These twelve Rulers governed fifteen years in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made a strict covenant and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, nothing him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in Vulcan's Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilst this unity lasted, they joined together in raising a Monument of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of Meris, a work so admirable, that (as Herodotus, who be- holding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation answerable to the stateliness of the work itself. I will not here set down that imperfect description which Herodotus maketh of it, but think enough to say that he prefers it very far before the Pyramids, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, or

or any of the fairest works in Greece. Diadore reports this Labyrinth to have been the work of Merus or Menides, a King which lived five generations before Psotus, this is before the War of Troy, and from this Labyrinth (Lith he) Dadalus took the pattern of that which he made for Minus in Crete. Who this Merus, or Menides was, I cannot tell. Reynecius takes him to have been Anemetus, which reigned immediately before Thurius. But this agrees not with Diadore, for Dadalus and Minus were both dead long before Anemetus was King. Belike Reynecius, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of Manethon, Cherenon and others; that are found in Josephus, touching Anemophilus and his children, to the story of Menides and Adisanes the Ethiopian mentioned by Diadore, held it consequent, after he had conjectured Manethon's Anemophilus to be Diadore's his Anasis; that Setchon should be Adisanes, and that Anemetus should be Merus. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are those about which Reynecius hath erred in making search. Anasis was Anasis, Adisanes was Sabacus; and Merus was one of these twelve Princes to whom Herodotus gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For Adisanes the Ethiopian, deposed Anasis; Sabacus the Ethiopian, deposed Anasis; Adisanes governed well, and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was Sabacus; Merus the next King after Adisanes, built this Labyrinth; and the next (giving Setchon, whom Diadore omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after Sabacus, performed the same work, according to Herodotus, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein Diadore believed the Priests, might be a part of the Egyptian vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by Herodotus, in speaking of this building, do help to prove that it was the work of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemn feast in Vulcan's Temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himself, brought forth no more than eleven Cups, Heretupon, Psammiticus, who standing last, had not a Cup, took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him a Traytor, yet, when they found that it was done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marshy Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event is held by Diadore as a fable, which I believe to have been none other: In the rest, Herodotus and Diadore agree, saying that Psammiticus hired Soldiers out of Caria and Lydia, by whose aid he vanquished his Companions, and made himself sole King.

The years of his reign, according to Herodotus, were fifty four; according to Eusebius, forty four; Mercator, to reconcile these two, gives forty four years to his single reign, and ten to his ruling jointly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow) is to be thought to have lived unto extrem age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threecore and nine years. I therefore yield rather to Eusebius, but will not adventure to cut five years

from the Aethiopia: though peradventure Psammiticus was not as first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next in blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another trouble there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the Egyptians, as we find them set down, are more by one, than serve to fill up the time between the fifth of Nebuchodon and the fourth of Josaphat. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from Sethon's reign, that was of uncertain length, or else (which I had rather do, because Fautinus may have followed better authority than I know, or than himself altogether, in giving to Sethon a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last year of one reign with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set down in Chronologies, tables, reigned precisely for many years as are ascribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think that the surplussage of one mans time supplied the defect of another. Wherefore I confound the last year of those fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of Psammiticus; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himself Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in Egypt who entertained any stratagem with the Greeks; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of Caria, Ionia, and Arabia, and that he greatly offended his Egyptian Soldiers, by allowing them in the left wing of his Army, whilst his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made in Syria. Upon this disgrace it is said, that his Soldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their natural Country of Egypt, and went into Ethiopia, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Messages, nor by the King himself, who overtook them on the way; but when he told them of their Country, their Wives and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Country, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is also reported of him. That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such sort, as they might not hear any word spoken; by which means, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was most ancient; so far as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speak that Language which men spoke at the first. The issue hereof was that the children cryed, Brevor, Brevor, which word being found to signifie Bread in the Phrygian tongue, served greatly to magnifie the Phrygian antiquity. Gorgias Becinus makes no small matter of this for the honour of his Low-Dutch, in which the word Becker signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turn over any part of Gorgias his works, may find enough of this kind, to persuade a willing man, that Adam and all the Patriarchs used none other language than the Low-Dutch, before the confusion of Languages at Babel, the name it self Babel being also Dutch, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not what.

But I will not insist upon all that is written of Psammiticus. The most remarkable of his acts was the siege of Asorus in Palestine, about which he spent nine and twenty years. Never have we

heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any City endured so long a siege as this; yet *Manassés* carried it at the last. This Town of *dester* had been won by *Tartan* a Captain of *Sennacherib's*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieved, but in vain, by the *Babylonians*, which made it hold out so well.

SECT. III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of *Manassés*. In what part of his reign *Manassés* was taken prisoner.

WERE it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manassés* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think we should find these Egyptian troubles to have been no small occasion both of his captivity and enlargement: God fo disposing of humane actions, that even they who intended only their own business, fulfilled only his high pleasure. For either the civil Wars of Egypt that followed upon the death of *Setbon*, or the reuniting of the Kingdom, as it were into twelve pieces, or the War between *Psammetichus* and his Colleague, or the expedition of *Psammetichus* into Syria, and the siege of *dester*, might minister unto the *Babylonians*, either such cause of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or such necessity of sending an Army into those parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make sure work with the King of *Juda*. The same occasion sufficed also to procure the delivery of *Manassés*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Josephus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Country, but only wait it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming *Amazias*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain upon such another accident: and the *Babylonians* (to whom the Egyptian matters presented more weighty argument of hope and fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reason to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement when by quitting his present advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the faster into Egypt.

Now concerning the year of *Manassés* his reign, wherein he was taken prisoner, or concerning his captivity it self, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and *Josephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Tornilius* three opinions: the one of *Bellarmino*, who thinks that *Manassés* was taken in the fiftieth year of his reign; the other of the greater *Hebrew Chronology*, who affirms, that it was in his twenty seventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimki* upon *Ezechiel*, who saith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The first of their conjectures is upheld by *Tornilius*, who rejects the second, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleged by *Tornilius* in defence of the first, and refutation of the opinion, are such as may rather prove him to favour the Cardinal as far as he may, (for where need requires, he doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmino*, the one, that *Amnon* the Son of *Manassés*,

is said by *Josephus* to have followed the works of his fathers youth; the other, that *Manassés* grown old in his sins, it is like that he should have continued as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sins of *Manassés* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them works of his youth, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second; howsoever it be a fearful thing, to cast off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again, yet I scarce it a terrible heaving. That the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two and fifty years, shall be punished with final impenitency. But against these two collections of *Tornilius*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, that *Manassés* continued longer in his wickedness than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the second book of Kings, the evil which *Manassés* did, is remembered at large, and his repentance utterly omitted: so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his life. The story of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Contemner* ^{2 Kings 21. 47.} *the rest of the Acts of Manassés, and all that he did, and the sin that he sinned, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda?* The other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the same Book, where, in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Jehoiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manassés*, it is said; *Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon Juda, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of Manassés, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who fo considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manassés* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seven years old, he repented, and becoming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civil dissensions in Egypt, fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdom was weakened by partition of the Sovereignty: the War of *Psammetichus* against his Associates; and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azenon* continued, being all within the time of *Manassés*, did leave no part of his reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonians*, whose men of war had continual occasions of visiting his Country. All which I will add hereto, is this: that the fiftieth of *Manassés* was the last year of *Setbon* in Egypt, and the one and thirtieth of *Meredach* his reign, or (accounting from the death of *Alshadad*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manassés* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Meredach*: his fortieth was the twenty third of *Psammetichus*, and the fifth of *Nabulassar*, the son of *Meredach*, in *Babylon*: but which of these was the year of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to give mine opinion, least I should thereby seem to draw all matters over violently to mine own computation.

This was the first great matter that the *Babylonians*

nians had of the Kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmansar*, yet *Ezechias* never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacherib's* enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which covered the doors and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manassés* being pressed with great necessity, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonians* would impose upon him; among which it seems that this was one, (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of War all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammetichus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonians*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controverſie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Jofias* made afterwards to *Phrao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all reason or policy, if it had not been his duty by covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

SECT. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian Wars, which were in the reigns of Ezechias and Manassés, Kings of *Juda*.

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the World, about these times of *Manassés*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian Wars*; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, between the *Trojan* and *Perſian Wars*, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Messenian War* began and ended in the days of *Ezechias*; the second in the reign of *Manassés*: but to avoid the trouble of interrupting our History, I have thought it best to rehearse them both in this place. Other Introduction is needless, than to say, that the posterity of *Heracles*, driving the issue of *Pelops*, and the *Achaens* out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdoms of *Lacedemon*, *Argos*, *Messenia* and *Corinth*: all which agreeing well together awhile, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and fought one another with bloody wars; whereof these *Messenian Wars* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian War* are scarce worth remembrance, they were fo slight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherewith the *Lacedemonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desire. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polycharas* a *Messenian* had slain many *Lacedemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polycharas*, for what he was grown frantic, through injuries received from *Eugamenes* a *Lacedemonian*. This *Eugamenes* had bargained to give pasture to the Cattle of *Polycharas*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the Cattel, and slaves that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lie was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedemonian* being thus de-

prehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; to which to receive, he carried the son of *Polycharas* home with him, but having him at home, he villainously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* having refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Thief and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things which he did in that madness, whereto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or stand unto the judgement of the *Ampſicynets*, who were as the general Council of Greece, or to any other fair course. But the *Lacedemonians*, who had a great desire to occupy the fair Country of *Messenia*, that lay close by them, were not content with false allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and fo without sending any challenge, secretly took an oath to hold War with *Messenia* till they had mattered it: which done, they sailed upon *Ampſia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious Battel was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain Victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; the *Lacedemonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home.

This War began in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourteenth Olympiad, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy Nations tried the matter for a while, with their proper forces, the *Lacedemonians* waiting the in-land parts of *Messenia*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere Wars on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians* took part with *Messenia*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Greece*. So a second, third, and fourth battel were fought, with as great obstinacy as the first; saving that in the fourth battel the *Lacedemonians* were enticed to turn their backs; in the other fights, the Victory was still uncertain, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphrates* their King, in whose dead they chose *Argistodemus*.

Many years were spent ere all this blood was shed; for pellucid Diseases, and want of money to entertain Souldiers, caused the War to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians* forsake all their in-land Towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But as the Authors tell us, the *Lacedemonians* were so obstinate in this War, because of their Vow, that having alienated themselves ten years from *Sparta*, the Wives felt them word, that their City would grow unpopulated, by reason that no children had been born in them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their abject young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got fo many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*.

Didorus refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time.

But in process of this *Messenian War*, when the Devil in an Oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of * *Egyptus*, that fo they might be victorious against the *Lacedemonians*; the fo talling upon the Daughter of one *Lysicles*, *Epiborus* the Priest, willing to save her, said, she was only a fostered child, and not born of the wife of *Lysicles*; so god,

which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lycesias* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Arifdemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, laid openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had deflowered her, and got her with child; whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly to disprove the Lovers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitious, into dispair of prevailing against the *Lacedæmonians*, he flew himself to the great hurt of his Country, which he loved most dearly. For after his death, the *Meſſenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with most rigorous conditions. All the yearly fruits of their Lands they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make solemn lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworn to live in true conjunction to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was given unto the *Aſines*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this War.

This peace being made upon so uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Meſſenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then broke out into a new and more furious War than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those *Meſſenians* whom the former War had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equal to the *Lacedæmonians*; and therefore scorned to serve such Masters as had against all right oppressed their Fathers.

The chief of these was *Ariftemus*, a Noble Gentleman of the house of *Egyptus*; who perceiving the uniform defects of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argives* and the *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began upon War upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth Olympiad, when the *Lacedæmonians* halted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a bloody battle was fought between them and a doubtfully true that the *Meſſenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords to think them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Ariftemus* appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their General.

Within one year another battle was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to help; the *Meſſenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloody fight; but *Ariftemus* did himself brave himself, that finally he made the Enemies run for their lives. Of such importance was this victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement. But one *Tyrinus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, rebuked their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Ariftemus* took away by surprise a Town in *Læonia*,

and vanquished in fight *Antaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set upon him in hope to have recovered the booty.

But all those victories of *Ariftemus* perished, in the loss of one battle, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or fairly the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treason of *Ariftrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Meſſenians* exposed to cruel butchery. The loss was so great, that together with *Andania* their principal City, all the Towns of *Meſſene*, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed into a place of safety. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it self was a strong place, *Ariftemus* with three hundred stout Soldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. He seized all the fields of *Meſſene*, that were in the enemies power, and broke into *Læonia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all Provisions, necessary for his own People, the Slaves and household stuff he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Meſſene*, nor the adjoining parts of their own Country, should be killed or husbanded; which had a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrinus* appealed this upore with pleasing Songs. But *Ariftemus* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, surprised, and sacked *Amyle*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other services, three *Ariftemus* was taken prisoner, yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembered, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseless, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* used to cast head-long such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Ariftemus* and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poor men dyed with their falls; *Ariftemus* (howsoever it came to pass) took no harm.

Yet was it hard enough to be imprisoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead Carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some faint glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himself, that this beast must needs know some way to enter the place, and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whether it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, until the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Fox being loose, ran through a hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Ariftemus* deliver so long with his nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Meſſene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Ariftemus* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was revived. But when

when the *Corinthian* forces that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains finding their Camp taken, yet then it easily believed, that *Ariftemus* was alive indeed.

Ten eleven years passed whilst the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Ariftemus* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lowliness the wife of a *Meſſenian*, and was entertained by her, when her Husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainy-winter night, that the Husband came home unlooked for, whilst the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune he was returned so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had made all his fellows leave their stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Ariftemus*, he was wounded of late in fight and could not look abroad, neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stir in such a dark rainy night as this was. This slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Camp with this news. There he found *Emperamus* his Master commanding in the Kings absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Alarm was presently taken; and the extreme darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fights; one part being incited by meer hope ending a long work, the other enraged by meer desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompensed partly by the assistance which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continual toyl; their enemies fought in confusion, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then returning supplied the place of their weary fellows with fresh Companions. *Ariftemus* therefore, perceiving that his men for want of relief were no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days and three nights vexed with all manner of labours, watching, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed about with armed men, and so attempted to break out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this; and to further their departure, caused his Soldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate mad men. So they issued forth and arrived safe in *Aradia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Ariftrates* their false hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Ariftemus* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste into *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoil of *Meſſene*. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own. By sedition of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three

hundred *Arcadians* that offered to join with him; but *Ariftrates* murred all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof to *Antaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Errand which *Antaxander* sent back to *Ariftrates* was intercepted by some that mistook him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting *Era* his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, That the Perjuror cannot deceive God.

Of *Ariftemus* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people, to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient Governors, who should plant them in some new fair abroad, he resolved himself to make abroad in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* weak at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them, *Demagene*, who reigned in the life of *Rhodes*, took to wife being willed by an Oracle, to marry the Daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally *Ariftemus* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, when he purposed to have travelled unto *Arady* the Son of *Cyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Pharantes* King of *Media*; but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* were invited by *Anaxila* (whose great Grandfather was a *Meſſenian*, and went into Italy after the former War) being Lord of the *Rhegium* in Italy, to take his part against the *Zancleans* in *Sicily*, on the other side of the Strait. They did so; and winning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Meſſenian* War ended in the first year of the twenty eighth Olympiad. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home served the *Lacedæmonians*, found means to rebel; but were soon vanquished, and being driven to forsake *Poloponnesus*, they went into *Acarnania*, whence likewise, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and thence followed their ancient Country-men into Italy and *Sicily*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourscore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customs, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken Country; with a desire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and second Olympiad, the great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Meſſenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Poloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair City; which by the name of the Province, was called *Meſſene*, and was held by them ever after, in despite of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

SECT. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manasses reigned. Whether Deceos the Mede, were that Arphaxad which is mentioned in the Book of Judith. Of the History of Judith.

Ardy King of Lydia, and *Pharantes* of the Medes, are spoken of by *Paulus*, as reigning shortly after the *Meſſenian* war, *Arady* succeeding unto his father,

father *Oger*, began his reign of nine and forty years, in the second of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the steps of his Father, who encroached upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardis* was *Prinus*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but won the City of *Sardis*; though the *Callie* or *Citadel* thereof was defended against them and held till for King *Ardis* whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great form, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was six years after the *Median* war ended; the same being the last years of *Manasses* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fifty of these five and fifty years, in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict form, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessors had done.

For this, following the example of *Arbaers*, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to desire the whellom freeness of a more Lordly King. Herin *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he took unto him a Guard; for the defence of his person; he seldom gave presence; which also when he did, it was with such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awful regard; and highly upheld the Majesty which his Predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royal office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that was done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others, but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the story of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Holofernes* sent to work wonders upon *Phul* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last year of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*: though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath been much labour spent with ill success. The reigns of *Cambyses*, *Darius*, *Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been sought into, but afford no great matter of likelihood; and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as I mean) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the story of *Judith* is found standing and dedicated. The

other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, apply fitting this History; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose judgment the authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Persian* Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Joaquin* High Priest; and a long peace of three or ten years, or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jews*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* related to assist; one, that sought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all Temples, of such as were accounted Gods, to be destroyed; one, whose Viceroy or Captain General knew not the *Jewish* Nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Joaquin*, with a return from captivity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward; the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivity of the *Jews*, and destruction of the City. Wherefore the decision of this controversy is, That the Book of *Judith* is not Canonical. Yet hath *Tornilius* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one, (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling; and that *Nabuchodonosor*, having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself Lord of all, by the Army, which he sent forth unto *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adding to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in their times, the affairs of *Jery* King were agreeable to the History of *Judith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough beignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away belief from this conjecture; and the supposition it self is very hard, that a Rebel, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand men, should presume so far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand Archers on horse-back, as to think that he might do what he list, yet that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easy to find enough that might be said against this device of *Tornilius*; yet if there were any necessity of holding the book of *Judith* to be Canonical, I would

would rather chuse to lay aside all regard of probability, and build more defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text it self. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by *Tornilius*) hath proved by many arguments. That the lived not in the Reign of *Manasses*, *Tornilius* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were to break through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time, that the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Tornilius*, are the children of meer fable; it is plain that it needs no proof at all.

Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this History, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) have chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him in his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely, to find out the borders of *Japheth*, which were towards the South, and over against Arabia: to see the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble *Chronographers*, as the former question hath done *Geographers*. But I will not trouble my self here-with; having already so far directed, in shewing who lived not with *Manasses*; that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what Others I find to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

SECT. VI.

Of other Princes and Actions that were in these times.

THE first year of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one year the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius*, a Sabine chosen, a peaceable man, and seeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to some good civility, and more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with Superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him many Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were in his own judgement, no matter then meer delusions, that served only as rudiments to bring the savage multitude of thieves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some form of milder discipline, than their boyish and wild natures were otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His Grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greek and Latine letters, which said, that *Numa Pompilius*, the Son of *Pompilius*, King of the *Romans* lay there. In the one coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his Books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own constitutions seven, and

other seven of Philosophy. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretor of the City desiring to have a sight of these Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn Oath that they were against the Religion then in use. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himself unto wiser Ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so foolish as to believe the *Doctrines* wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poison wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he fate in his Throne, had not left working, when he mislaid the Antidote out of his Grave. Had these books not come to light until the days of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better diffused: likely it is, that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they served as a consultation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fortieth of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirty years, buifed, for the most part, in war. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field, but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Tuscanes*, caused them to be think themselves of a cowardly whereby without effusion of too much blood, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins, born at one birth (*Dionysius* says that they were Cousin Germans) of equal years and strength, who were appointed to fight for their several Counties. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Companions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them first lost their lives. The three *Curiatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such a distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight, man after man, ere they could join together and set upon him once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first, one of the *Horatii* was slain, then, one of the *Curiatii*, then, a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curiatii*, whom the third *Horatius*, did cunningly sever the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* History, both in regard of the action it self, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wager, against *Alba*; and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become subject unto her own Colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their Governor, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome* where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latians*, wherof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not subject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in; which additions, that were final, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the work of sundry ages, and

and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as the fourth Empire, that is now in the Infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this History.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athenes* was current with the fifth of *Manasse*. About the three last Governors for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the fame Kings time. Of these I find only names *Locrates*, *Alxander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Governors for ten years were also of the race of *Medon* and *Cadmus*, but their time of rule was shortened, and from term of life reduced unto ten years, it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times: but hath noted always the years of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the fifth year of the seventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the fame was the first year of *Charops*'s government of *Athenes*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who first the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the reign of *Manasse* it was that *Midus*, whom the Poets feigned to have had Atlas ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were devised of him: especially that he should touch might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been starved (if meat and drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from that miserable faculty, by causing him to walk himself in the River *Pactolus*, the stream whereof hath ever since, forthwith, abounded in that precious metall. Finally,

it is said he dyed by drinking Bulls blood: being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who fifth *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus* observed the Moons Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milvians*, or, (as *Enschius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Macerin* a City on the East of *Egypt*. *Plamiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athenes* were of power sufficient to plant a Colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* and his companion *Plot*, *Stellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracuse* in *Sicily*. A City in after times exceeding famous.

The City of *Nicomachus*, sometime * *Alacus*, * Whence it was enlarged and beautified in this age, by *Zipartes*, a native of *Thrace*. * *Syllis* of *Samos*, according to *Pausanias*, lived much about this time.

About these times also was *Criton* founded upon part of the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age, and banished *Lacedemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*; where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Jysius* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified. And about the same time, *Manasse* yet living, the City *Phasolis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Cela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbria*, now *Orbin* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcidon* in *Asia*, over against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*, who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manasse*: that which already hath been told is enough, the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Times from the death of MANASSES, to the Destruction of Jerusalem.

SECT. I.

OF AMMON and JOSIAS.

AMMON the Son of *Manasse*, a man no less wicked than was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which God hardened the hearts of his own servants against him, who slew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Enschius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the Septuagint.

Josias succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8 years old, he began to seek after the God of *David* his Father's: and in his twelfth year he purged *Juda*, and *Jerusalem* from the high places, and the groves,

and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his fight the Altars of Baalim: He caused all the Images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stamped to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them: and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also flew those that sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* was prophesied in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calt at *Bethel*: that a child should be born unto the house of *David*, *Josias* by name, and upon

thence

thence (said the Prophet, speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee: a prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he re-built and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest, found the Book of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandments therein written, the prosperity promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counsel of the Prophets *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book: who answered the messengers in these words: Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the Book, which they have read before the King of *Juda*, because they have forsaken me, and have not kept my Commandments. Only for the King himself, because he was a lover of God and his laws, it was promised that this evil should not fall on *Juda* and *Jerusalem* in his days, but that he himself should inherit his grave in peace.

Josias assembled the Elders, caused the Book to be read unto them, made a Covenant with the Lords, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promising thereby to observe the Laws and Commandments in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and Bones of the false Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries, that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Josias* in war got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight and death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Assurhaddon*, did use the advantage which the faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwife also it is not improbable that the *Babylonians* finding himself unable to deal with *Psammetichus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manasse*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by causing a bone between them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the *Jews*, which had been lost by injuries done in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasse* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, put Captains of War in all the strong Cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* it self more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonians*, did fortifie himself against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provision only for his minds sake. The earnestness of *Josias* in the taking of *Bethel*, doth argue, that the composition wth *Manasse* had made with that King, or his Ancestor, was upon friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observance but a thankful requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold

himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of *Egypt* pulled along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The last year of *Josias* his reign it was, when as *Necho* the Son of *Psammetichus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to pass that way, being the nearest towards *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River about *Carchemish*, or *Circassium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Dionysius* is said by *Ammianus* ^{1 Chron. 31} *Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade ²⁰ *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the travail of *Psammetichus* was not been idly consumed about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters that had formerly belonged unto the *Addees* Kings of *Damascus*.

Neither was the industry of *Necho* less than his Fathers had been, in pursuing their War against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptians*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it self could afford; and the danger wherein *Affir* stood, by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it self better, and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the war: as in a place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of *Egypt* into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*: whither *Pharao Necho* descended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the world, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory left in the mid way between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Necho* himself desired, by his Embassadors, leave to pass along by *Judea*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Affir* only, without all harmful purpose against *Josias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had assistance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he felt the dependance of the *Affir*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sons* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Affir* for rooted up and rare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechias*, whilst that good King and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasse*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours though they were) were always unready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek to have the *Jews* renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pasture between him and the *Affir*. This was an easy title to grant: seeing the countenance of such an Army, as did soon after this, our face *Nabulassar* upon

his own borders, left unto the Jews, a lawful excuse of fear, that they forbore to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe that this religious and virtuous Prince *Josias*, was not stirred up only by politic respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himself bound in Faith and Honour, to do his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown: whereunto his Kingdom was obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasse*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think that this Action of *Josias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet: which I do not find in the Prophecy of *Jeremy*, nor can find reason to believe. Others hold opinion that he forgot to ask the Council of God: and this is very likely; seeing he might believe that an enterprise grounded upon fidelity and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel* could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of *Josias* in reclaiming the Land could not pluck up) was questionable far from hearkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Josias* levying all the strength he could make, near unto *Megidda*, in the last tribe of *Manasse*, encountered *Neco*: and there he received the stroke of death, which lingering about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His loss was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremy* the Prophet, who inferred a sorrowful remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

SECT. II.

Of Pharaoh Neco that fought with Josias:
Of Jehoahaz and Jehoakim Kings of IC
rael.

OF these Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might pass out of *Nileus* into the Red Sea. It should have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the midst of the work, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desert when half was done. There were consumed in this toylsome business twelve hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a loss great enough to make the King forsake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition, he used the service as well of his Navy, as of his Land forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, save only this victory: a-

gainst *Josias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Megidolus*, and the Jews *Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Juda* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Megidolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the battle place (though diversely named) in which this battle was fought. After this, *Neco* took the City of *Cadish*, which was perhaps *Charchemish*, by *Espharates*, and made himself Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Josaphat* witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the *Phenicians* one of the most powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting sail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the coast, whereto they both landed, as need required, and sowed Corn for their sustenance in that long voyage, which lasted three years. This was the first Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama* the *Portingalese* found it out, following a contrary course to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they beginning in the East, ran the way of the Sun, South, and then Westward, after which they returned homely by the pillars and freights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the freights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africa* still on the right hand; but the *Portingalese*, beginning their voyage not far from the same freights, leave *Africa* on the Larboard, and bend their Course unto the East. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is on the North side of them, is a matter of necessity truth; and the observation then made is so, makes me the better to believe, that such a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his state. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were busy at *Charchemish*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the room of his Father *Josiah*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; allying perhaps to the short reign of *Shallum* King of the ten tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one month; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest Son of *Josias*: Wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptians*, as appears by the sequel. For when *Neco* later he was, and thrived accordingly. For when *Neco* had dispatched his business in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Juda*. This Country was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himself came from *Riblah* in the Land of *Hamath*, where the matter went to ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner unto *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of *Riblah*, in after times called *Amnicolia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be observed in divers examples. Yet here *Jehoakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom; an ill gift, since he could no better use it. But however *Jehoakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdom Tributary, without any stroke of sword; which three months before was to stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to wait his forces upon *Juda*: but now the reputation of his good success at *Megidda*, and *Charchemish*, together with the diffidence of the Princes *Josias* his Sons (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have flourished

at the prement of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the Land, perhaps upon the same reason, which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the Jews had suffered much in the *Egyptian* quarrel, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of necessity to forsake that party, and to join with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them: seeing they were such a people as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: so good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless, he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of Silver, and one Talent of Gold; that so he might both reap at present some fruits of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document in the future, of greater punishment than verbal anger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Jehoahaz*, who died in his Captivity.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last year; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jehoakim* his Successor did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven years, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather call the three months of this short reign, unto the first year of his brother, than into the Fathers last, the same arguments that shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthy of dispute; and so I leave it.

Jehoakim in impiety was like his Brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedness of these last Kings being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by general words with reference to all the evil their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poison wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasse* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodness of *Josias*, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people. *Yes, unto the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royal authority was much abused by the dangers wherein the Country stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed, neither would the Kings forbear to profess, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehoakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptians* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Urias* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes do appear to have been Infligators. This holy man denounced Gods judgments against the City and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did it in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had to *Jehoakim*, that *Urias* was delivered unto his Embassador, and sent back to the death: contrary to the custom used, both in those days, and since among all civil Nations, of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane crimes, as for the general good of mankind should be exempted from all privilege.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment possible to *Jehoakim*; for the *Affirrian* Lion, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times

to roar so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nileus*, threatening to make himself Lord of all the Forfeit. The quies that hitherto had withheld from the house of *Merodach* from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Charchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of *Egyptus* is to fall.

SECT. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to pass that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their business in Syria; which caused them to lose that Province.

Merodach the Son of *Baladan*, who taking the Advantage that *Sennacherib*'s misadventure and death, together with the diffidence between his children, presented, made himself King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy, *Asharaddon* the Son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Affirians* in Nineve; from whom whilst he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezechias* some part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asharaddon* did not only let him free, but gave unto him some part of *Affiria*, if not (as is commonly, but less probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was the liking of the *Affirians*, I will not here stand to enquire; his long reign following, and his little intermeddling with the matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending, or establishing that which he had gotten. *Josaphat* gives him the honour of having won Nineve itself which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times long following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Pharao* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation; and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings, being of the *Chaldean* race preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Affirrian* King, whose Captains took *Manasse* prisoner, but I rather believe those that held the contrary, for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the Jews were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that malign'd the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Ptolemy*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his Sons.

Ber Merodach the Son and successor of his King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years; for so much remaneth of the time that passed between the beginning of his Fathers and Nephews reign (which is a known sum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his Son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that *Manasse* prisoner, and released him. He spent all in *Syria*, where *Jeremias*, by the virtue of his mercenary Greek, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he released *Manasse*, and did put into his hands

some part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alleged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater business in his own Kingdom, than would 'ermit him to look abroad: inasmuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or oversight of *Psammetichus* or *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond *Emphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Affria*, and besieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of the *Scythians*, who in treacheries did overflow those parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could master with strong hand. Of these *Scythians*, and the Lordship they held in *Asia*, it is convenient that I speak in this places shewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, upon whom they first fell, were buffed in the same times with hopes of conquering *Affria*.

Phraortes, the son of *Deioeces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a fair possibility of making himself Lord of *Nineve*.

Herod. 1. That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Sovereign Lady was not forsaken of all her dependants, yet remained in such case, that she felt the war was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoever *Merodach* had gotten possession of this Imperial seat, and made it (subject) as was the rest of the Country, yet it found the means to let it self at liberty: as after this again it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of sudden violence, use to dismay any State or Country, not insured to the like: but custom of danger hardeneth even those that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and refilled, all the fury, wherewith either Domestical Tumults between the Sons of *Sen-nachib*, or foreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the less wonderful, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: wherof I find no particular circumstances (perhaps they undervalued their forces, and brought a less power than was needful.) It is enough, that herein we may believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the Son of *Phraortes*, a braver man of War than his Father, was as much of *Asia* the Iels, as lay Eastward, from the River of *Halys*: he fought revenge upon the *Affrians* for the death of his Father, and besieged *Nineve* in self, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe *Eusebius*, that he took the City, and he fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than *Herodotus*, that the Scythian Army came upon him while he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuse him of greater providence than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good Soldier. But to suppose that he was fain to leave the Town, when a War so dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such business as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Affrian* affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there set down as happening about these times; of which Book who-soever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the story of those ages, and hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecy of *Nabum*, though it be not limited unto any certain terms, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the final destruction of *Nineve* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, wherof we will speak in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the reformed Churches yield, to the Book of *Tobit*, are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to affirm that about these times, *Nineve* was taken: but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needless conjecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach* did seize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such time as the Country of *Affria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Ninevites* were calmed, and their malice to *Babylon* so much abated, that it might be thought a great favour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them in protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this unthankful people and their King rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonosor*.

SECT. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, wherof led in Asia eight and twenty years.

II.

The time of this Expedition.

NOW that I have shewed what impediment was given by the *Affrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled to perform any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*: it is time that I speak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians* with the Countries adjacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themselves.

Of the *Scythian* people in general, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse; but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this Expedition he tells many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needless to rectify them; for they are far enough distant from the business in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seem very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise, I should either seem to make my self too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or else to be too forgetful of my self, in bringing to light upon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years, he saith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Country from them. Yet he reports a War

War

War between *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Nineve*; the siege of *Nineve* being ere the *Scythians* came.

And further he tells how the *Scythians* having vanquished the *Medes*, did pass into *Syria*, and were encountered in *Palatina* by *Psammetichus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and intreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of us, be true; though not in such order of time, as he hath marshalled them. For *Psammetichus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had spent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*, so that he could not after those *Lydian* Wars, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammetichus* the son of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Psammetichus*: a needless King *Pammetichus* may, by some strained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*: for he lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himself refers all that business of the *Scythian* irruption into *Palatina* to *Psammetichus* the Father of *Neco*, whom he leaves dead before the reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise than to believe him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I find of this Expedition scattered in divers places: a work necessary, that the greatness of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in general History; yet not easy, the consent of those that have written thereof, being nothing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardis* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* over-ran that Kingdom, and were not expelled, until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardis* got the upper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardis*, *Sardiates*, and *Hal-lites*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Asia*. Now so far as *Psammetichus* the *Egyptian* had some dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last years into this their Dominion: But the beginning of *Halyattes* his reign in *Lydia*, being twice and twenty years complete after the death of *Psammetichus*, leaves the space very scant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, necessarily supposed before they could meet the *Egyptians* in *Syria*, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away.

To encrease this difficulty, the victorious reign of *Nabuchodonosor* in *Babylon*, is of no small moment. For now may we think it possible, that he should have adventured the strength of the Kingdom against the *Egyptians* and *Trois*, had he stood in daily fear of looting his own more mighty Nation, that lay upon his neck? To speak simply as it appears to me, the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Army, but were the defeaters of some troops that invetted their several Kingdoms: other Princes, and among these *Nabulassar* having the like success, when the pleasures of *Asia* had mollified the courages of these hardy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythian* rule, to as many almost the half of *Nabulassar*'s Reign, in compass wherof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein *Asia* suffered the violence of their oppressors.

II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia with the cause of their Journey.

TouChing the expedition it self, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them. I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, so (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; the *Scythians*, as mischievous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Country-men, great flandersers of those, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionis*, more than once, grievously ranfack. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is so well known, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is insufficient to stain them with the note of Cowards: These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Western World; and whose religion did overwhelm no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age wherof we do now treat. He that would more largely inform himself of their original and actions may peruse *Gorgopius Becanus* his *Amazonica*, of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Orellius* is said to have spoken of all *Gorgopius* his works, that it is easy to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There where it proved, by large arguments and authorities as are not lightly regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Lineage and Nation; howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps Dialect of speech. *Homér* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whose Country whether he places in the West, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with eternal darkness, certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to *Hell*: for he had the same quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them seem a kind of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to infect into his Works the names of such as lived in his own time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himself deserved. And for this reason it is proved by *Eusebius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Country. Perhaps that invasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, wherof *Homér* puts a remembrance into *Primus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very fame, which *Eusebius* noeth to have happened somewhat before the age of *Homér*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Asia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Asia*; which though it be not in expresse terms written, that they did with joint forces, yet seeing they invaded the self-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the streights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who

who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them all this. The same Author, before his entry into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himself acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no less War-like than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is said to have slain the great *Perſus* *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them in the wars; and how desperate the courage was of those Women's terrible descent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leisure to speak of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers Historians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Sorapheus* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were near allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the landing forth a Colony of them into *Asia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them in purchasing a new seat and establishing the Plantation. The *Sarmatians* also were compaſſious in this journey. For the City of *Novograd* in *Russia* (which Country is the same that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was up in Arms; and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they issued from the parts about the Lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most like report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Army above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children's they wandered over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have settled themselves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more easy passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battles by the *Roman* Consuls. Meer necessity enforced these poor Nations to trouble the World, in following fruitfull of men by far than of succulence, and that shup on the North side with intollerable cold, which denied issue that way to their overwelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker but more civil, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardships, gave them great advantage over such as were accustomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevailed very far, their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be rid of them: others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents: it was the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, & the more comfortable people.

§. III.

Of the Cimmerians War in Lydia.

The first Company of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the

Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucasus*. Thence having passed through the Land of *Cholchis*, that now is called *Mengrellis*, *Paphlagonia*, fortified the *Promontory*, whereon *Synop*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was afterwards built. Here it seems that they bestowed the weakest and most unserviceable of their train, together with the heaviest of their carriages, under some good guard; as drawing near to those Regions in conquest, whereof they were to try the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spake even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where *Antwerp* now stands, which in place of strength, where *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From *Synop*, the way unto *Phrygia*, *Lydia* and *Ionis*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any lag of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all to flay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* they had already passed.

What battles were fought with these Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable success the one or other part wan and lost, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find that in the time of *Arſes*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardis*, the capital City of *Lydia*; only the Castle holding out against them. Further observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Cyges* and *Arſes* Kings of *Lydia*, before this invasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Cresus* in the times following, all that *Arſes* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, save burning the *Mileſians* Corn fields, that was done in his hands full of this business, that he could turn them to nothing else is quite omitted: whereby it may seem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those Wars, but were glad enough that they did not lose all.

Certainly the miseries of War are never so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or a great part of it, forsaking their own fairs, labour to root out the established Possessors of another Land; making room for themselves, their Wives and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with judgments; which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword brought. But in these migrations, the assailants bring to little with them, that they need all which their defendants have; their Lands and Cattel, their houses and their goods, even to the Cradles of the sucking Infants. The mercileſs terms of this controversy, arm both sides with desperate resolution: seeing one part must either win, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the Counties in *Europe* have felt examples thereof; as the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by such invasions. But our Isle of *Britain* can bear witness the diversity of Conquests; having by the happy Victory of *Canutus*, gotten the knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; where as the issue of the *Saxons* and *Danish* Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the Dominion only, but the entire possession of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but Race, and defending all memorials of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Cimmerian* blood) found such end of their enterprise, as it may seem that

that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battles the *Danes* won, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerors: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred such acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both their people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced in one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it of many thousands, that were lent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River of *Halys* should divide their Territories. For *Halyattes* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eastern side of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians*, and other *Scythian* people: whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel ensuing between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Medes*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Medians* thought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutual slaughters, should have joined in a league of mutual defence for their common safety: though otherwise (it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Medians* to extend his Kingdom far Westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the War between these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little weight, and less probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chafed out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*, who committed unto them certain Boys, to be instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of *Archery*. Now it is felt out (saith he) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless other-whiles miss of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being forward and choleric, bitterly reviled them, and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that lasted five years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding the fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themselves to either of these Kings unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in his massacring of their Country-men that were in his

Kingdom, of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

SECT. IV.

The War of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

As the *Cimmerians* held their course Westward, along the shores of the *Euxine* sea, to the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* Sea on their left hand, passed between it and *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colchis*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountered them in Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, which *Plutarch* saith *Plutarch* reigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the sixth year of *Nabuchodonosor* King over *Babylon* (supposing him to have reigned five and thirty otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of *Syria*, which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lull to a second trial of the sword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the Countries pleasant and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be persuaded that a little more travel would add a great deal more to their content. For they relied so much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance, and being the bravest men, they thought it real that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* persuaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think, *Babylon* was near enough; whether if he could find these Locusts to graze, then should his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What thick *Nabuchodonosor* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middle between *Media* and *Egypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watched their Horles in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender. Yet *Plutarch* saith, that these *Scythians* (like the Jewish husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*, lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or persuasion that he could use would find them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his Army that should keep them back: *Egypt* was rich and half the riches had not been ill spent in favouring all. Yet *Plutarch* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent compulsion. For he lay close upon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southernmost border of *Palestina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*, but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could bear upon them. When they were come as far as *Aſcalon*, the

the next City to Gaza, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heat of a Climate so far different from their own. *Pannimeas* had at his back a vast wilderness, over the forchings Lands whereof, the *Syrians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill have endured to pursue him through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed, especially the Kingdom of Egypt being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be entreated, and taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The Egyptian King (besides that he preferred his own Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hiring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coast well ruyed in the proceeds of his War in Syria, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves with their oppressors. For the *Syrians*, resolving now to seek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to lay in dictation upon the Country, taking what they listed from the owners; and many times (as it were to save the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher Asia, that is over the Country lying between the *Caspian* and *Red Seas*: and between *India* and *Asia* the less. Happy it was for the poor people that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for their covetousness, otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private men, to whose wealth any *Syrian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seems that the heaviest burthen lay upon *Medias* for it was a fruitful Country, not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies, there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyzaxer King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Syrians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by stratagem. The managing of the business in this delivered in brief: That he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Syrians*, made them drunk, and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another laughter was committed upon the *Peasants* in England; but it was revenged by the Country men, with greater cruelty than ever they had practised before. That the *Syrians* which escaped this bloody feast made any stir in *Media*, I do not find: neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invasion from *Syria* in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of *Media*, was very strong, and encountered with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports) no less than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyzaxer* to free his Country, took good effect, with less bloodshed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtless in eight and twenty years had so well ferled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might

be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the business, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might go joyn with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or seek their fortunes in other Provinces among their own Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to have been with *Nebuchadnezzar*, it may be understood, that a great part of the *Syrians*, upon hope of gain, or desire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto *Nabulassar*'s men: love of their wealth being most effectual, in turning the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. It is certain, that *Jer. 39. 38. Nebuchadnezzar*, as ever after, so in his first beginning of war, did beat the Egyptians, who in ages going, had been accustomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another fashion: and this new success of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane means, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the *Syrian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new feat, and civilising their plantation. For these had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Syrian* women, to comfort themselves in their husband's absence, became bed-fellows to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the children of slaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tells us, that the *Syrians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very boys, or else that the Women did very little while he continue capt. Wherefore I rather beliee a tale as it is told by the *Russians* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of *Historians*, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down as I find it in *Mallet Rus. Com. mon-wealth*. They understood by the way, that their *Choro-lepsy*, or Bond-slaves, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Towns, lands, houses, wives, and all. At which news being somewhat amazed, and yet disdainful the Villany of their servants, they made the more hast home, and so not far from Novograd met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other flow of weapons but with their horse-whips (which as their manner is, every man ride with all) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrify them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing altogether with their whips in their hands, they did the office, which seemed so terrible in the ears of their Villains, and strook such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Driver. In memory of this victory, the Novogradians ever since have stamped their Coins (which they call *Dingoes* Novogradsky, curiously through all Russia) with the figure of a horse-man shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seem, that all the women of that Country have feared the word ever since, in regard of the universal fault: For such a Padkey or whip, as terrified those slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the first present that the Muscovite wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of submission, being well assured to feel it often on her own joints. But this was a Document unto the *Syrians*, or rather

Sarmatians

Sarmatians (for *Novograd* stands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of abating themselves any more so long from their wives; which alter this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the *Syrian* expedition; not only because it is the most memorable, as performed abroad by that Nation, famous in *Histories*, & terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, & about *Judea*, which continues yet a while the center of our discourse.

SECT. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in those Ages.

Having thus far digressed from the matters of *Judea*, to avoid all further occasion of doing like the, I will here insert a note of such kings, & men of mark, as were between the death of *Manasser*, and the ruine of *Jerusalem*. Of the Egyptians, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, & *Lydians*, I have spoken as much as I thought needful. In Rome, *Tullius Hostilius* held the Kingdom until the one & twentieth year of *Judas*; at which time *Ancus Marcius* succeeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new come stranger, but very rich, prevailed so far by his graciuness unto the people that he got the Kingdom to himself, disappointing the sons of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekias*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedaemonians* bethinking them how to be avenged of the *Arcadians*, who gave succour to the *Messians* against them in the former war, entered their Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phidalia*, from whence their Garrisons were soon after beaten off. *Cyprius* expelling the race of the *Bacidae*, made himself Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for successor his son *Feriarer*, one of the seven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women stark naked, burnt their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that the wisdom of the *Greeks* was not excellent in those days, when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus* and *Draco*, famous law-givers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The laws of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every final offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the laws of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbade any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, unless it were when she was drunk, or to go forth of the Town by night, unless it were to recover sweet-hearts led a-courts her self up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant Ordinances he effected his desire, for none would flume, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own Son had committed Adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not therefore need so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The *Chaldeans* will soon fall under the Per-

suas were long, encounter with the *Greeks*; the *Greeks*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively practise themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we find little matter, wherein the History of *Israel* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very nearest borders. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in these many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewise many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearsal, had they not been dispensed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the convenience, may pardon the necessity.

SECT VI.

The oppression of *Judea*, and destruction of *Jerusalem* by the Chaldeans.

Now to return to the Jewish Story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of *Jehojakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet living, entered *Judea* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehojakim* his vassal in despite of *Nebos*, that had established him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Azarias*, *Misach*, and *Aznarus*. Also he took a part of the *Temple*'s treasures; but stayed not to search them thoroughly; for *Nebos* hastened to the succour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judea*; wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himself and his Army, it being a Country of an evil affliction towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Sethian* horse-men in his Army, it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him a just occasion to return home, and take possession of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him so far, and to bid him battle, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Nebos*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the North-side) attending the arrival of *Nebos*. There, after a resolved contention for victory, *Nebos* was slain, and his Army remaining forced to save its self, which full it did, by a violent retreat. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the Egyptian held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The Egyptian being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehojakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the Egyptians, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldeans* the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborn to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reverendness of *Jehojakim*, was on both sides taken in ill part. The Egyptian King *Pannimek*, who succeeded unto *Nebos*, began to think upon restoring *Jehozabab*, taken prisoner by his Father, and setting him up as a Domestical Enemy against his ungrateful brother. Against all such accidents, the

B b b

Judeans

9. *Jehoiakim* had prepared the usual remedy practised by his forerunners; for he made his son *Jehonias* King with him long before, in the second year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoiakim's* return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: *He shall not return thither, but shall die in the place whither they had led him captive, and shall see this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having left all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemish* had not remaining such proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Pamissus* *Aperis*, who reigning after *Pamissus*, did once adventure to show his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battle. Wherefore this deceiving Nation ought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men that mean to do nothing, use, of their glorious adventures, passed, against *Jehoiakim* and *Jehoshaphat*. In this case it was easy for *Jehoiakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jehoiakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereto such fearful threats, as made the poor *Judeans* afraid all thoughts of *Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time the Prophet cried out against the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but because they had flouted their ears against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that he should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. The same calamity he threatened to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the rest, foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his fury which they had forsaken; and after the twenty years expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves would taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes*, and the *Judeans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the peoples and afterwards unto the Princes, who offered them to the King; but hearing the Kings fury, they had first let *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Jehoiakim, when he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado, but did cut the Book in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* could be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehoiakim* should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and his feet to sit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehoiakim* rested secure of all dangers, Tributary to the *Babylonians*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptians*, the mighty City of *Tyre* opposed it self against the *Chaldean* forces, and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the term of seventy years was prescribed unto the defolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jerusalem*, and other Towns and Countries it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, have sure au-

thority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seventh of his Reign, as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief notice, concerning the several beginnings of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much defolation. The third year of *Jehoiakim* was the last of *Nabulphar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince, his Son, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Danile* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same Year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, was the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expresse words, and from *Jer. 1. 11.* which we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*, and then began to reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdoms, that should rule the Earth before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations; but return unto the siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seventh of his Reign.

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channel of the Sea. The *Chaldeans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men: the *Tyrans*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to use them, excelled all other Nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the judgments of God denounced against it by *Ezra*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel* had threatened the destruction, and the oblation of *Nabuchodonosor* had fully determined to perform it. This high minded King, impatient of excellence, undertook a vast piece of work, even to fill up the Sea that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old *Tyre* that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the Mountain of *Libanus* neerer adjoining, that laden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with Materials. Thirteen years were spent in this laborious, and almost hopeless business. Which need not seem strange for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosor's* Fleet, and being withal assisted with a strong Fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a shell, with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume, the work of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; striving as it were to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only flop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have furthered this accomplishment of his own threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to use either Miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleases him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the *Chaldeans*. Every hand was made bold, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was master of the Town.

When he was entered upon this desperate service, whether

whether it were so, that some loss received some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely, and so *Josephus* reports it) some glorious rumour of the *Egyptians*, gave courage to his evil willers; *Jehoiakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to do much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having let him as it were, in a dream) that he entered *Jerusalem*, and laid hands on *Jehoiakim*, whom he first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsel, he caused him to be slain in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of an Affliction, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his Place *Jehoiakim's* son *Jehonias* his son; whom after three months and ten days *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardocheus*, and *Zedechias*, the high Priest. The mother of *Jehonias*, together with his servants Eunuchs, and all the able men, and best Artificers of the land, were also carried away Captives. This *Jehonias*, following the counsel of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance; but he submitted himself to the Kings will; wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evil that befall him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This only particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Father's faults, if not an Instigator, to be the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in general word, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his third *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mabuthas* his Uncle in the Kingdom of *Judea*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as the justice of God. For like as *Necho* King of *Egypt* had formerly displaced *Jehoiakim*, after his Father *Jehoiakim* was slain, and set up *Jehoiakim*, the son of another mother, so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehoiakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his son *Jehonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoiakim*, whom *Necho* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithful obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witnesses in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

In the fifth year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those *Judeans* that were carried away captive, the other those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evil that should fall upon *Babylon*, which book or scroll he gave to *Sheraiah*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor's* killing him first to read it to the Captive *Jews*, and then to bind it to a flag, and call it into remembrance, pronouncing these words: Thus shall *Babel* be drowned, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. This journey of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been in a way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think, that he had some fate there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* detested both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent to the five Kings,

of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Judea* abode in the obedience of *Babylon* they should then possess and enjoy their own Countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire and pestilence.

He also for told them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travel after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Amnias*, the false Prophet, took off the wooden Chain, which *Jeremy* wore in sign of the captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it, vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke that he laid on all Nations; restore *Jehonias* and all the *Jews*, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, instead of his wooden yoke, wore a Collar of iron; and in sign that *Amnias* had given a deceitful and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this old Prophet, which fell upon him in the second Month. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Falshood, in the eighth year of his reign, he perished more ferociously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Syrizans*, and others that were promised great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose assistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of the winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himself: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perswaded by his Counsellors and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the Kingdom of *Judea* should be extirpate, until the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Isaiah*: he despised the words of *Jeremy*, and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King, that the City should be taken and burnt: that the King should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and be brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his natural death.

Jerusalem being the following year surrounded by *Nabuchodonosor's* Army; the King of *Egypt*, *Phraos* *Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Hirodus* calleth him *Aphris*) entered the border of *Judea* with his Army to succour *Zedechias*, of whose revolt he had been the principal Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithful counsel, willing them not to have trust in the succour of *Egypt*: for he assured them that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, the false vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people of *Jerusalem* to their destined miseries.

In the mean while the *Jews*, who in their first extremity had manumitted their Hebrew Bond-men (as God law required at the year of *Jubilee*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* Army, repent them of their Charity; and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the state of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedechias* to render himself unto them, assuring him of his own will, and the safety of the City, if he would do so. But his obdurate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his inidelity and perjury, had provided for.

Three and twenty months (as some do reckon it) *Jer.* 39.

or, according to *Iosaphus* eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army laid before *Jerusalem* and held it exceeding straitly besieged. For they built *Forts* against it round about, or (as *Martyr* hath it *extraneum contra eam turrim lignum per circuitum*) They surrounded the city with wooden Towers. So as the besieged could neither fall out, nor receive into the City any supply of men or victuals. *Iosaphus* reports, that they overtopped the walls with high Towers raised upon Mounts; from which they did beat upon the wall with their Engines, 'till at the *Chaldeans* were compelled to forsake their Stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like unto these, yet the great King, of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens castigons, and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded by the walls of *Jerusalem* interposed, and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did treat themselves, as Lords of the Town, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hopes at once, and shifted himself together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principal servants, out of the City, by a way under ground, leaving his amazed and giddy people to the merciless swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet persuaded him to render himself, despised both the counsel of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, used now that remedy, which *Volupius* truly termeth, *Triste, turpe, & infelix*: *Wofull, shameful, and unfortunate*.

By this secret subterranean vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Desarts of *Jericho*; but by reason of the train that followed him and his, (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great forever the company was that attended on him, yet as *Iosaphus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shewed themselves into the Desarts, as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* was made Prisoner, with his Children and Princes: he was conveyed to *Babel* or *Rebels* a City (as some think) of *Nephtulim* where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* & *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falsehood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head and to carry him in a slow manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was performed. *Adducam eum in Babiloniam & ipsam uis uidebis: I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor* the *Chaldean* entered the City by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the next year following, *Nabuzaradan* General of the Army burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*; and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the Ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet fatigued with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of war, five of his household servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judea*; and leaving the poor labouring souls, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground over whom he left *Governour*, *Godoliah* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Isaiah* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Iosaphus* highly commended. This man a Jew by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth in the beginning of the war: and by *Jeremias* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*, which was to submit himself altogether to the *Babylonians*; who being ordained by God to execute his justice, was therefore relentless. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remained obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Provincial Governour of his own Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Jerusalem* had kept himself out of the storm, with *Basai* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* treated them in *Mispha* or *Mispha*, the City of his residence, traiterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents he slew the most part of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered to *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a Governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsel of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determinations, and despising the Oracle of God, and contraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharo*, near unto *Taphne*, where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his own hardhearted and ungoverned Countrymen stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly revered him, buried near the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri Secundi.



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, to the Time of *PHILIP* of *MACEDON*.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time passing between the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the fall of the *Assyrian* Empire.

SECT. I.

Of the Connexion of Sacred and Profane History.



THE course of time, which in profane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of its way hitherto passed, in some outworn foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eastern Countries by the account from *Nabonassar*, left fair marks, and more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruin of *Jerusalem*, to discover the connexion of antiquity foretold, with the story of succeeding Ages. Manifest it is, that the original and progress of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first Creation: as likewise that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires after-

wards grown up, are not to be found among those that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore pursued the History of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse derived unto us: I hold it now convenient, briefly to shew, by what means and circumstances the History of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoined with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry metals discovered by God unto *Nabuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an ungoverned Nation.

Herein I do not hold it needful to insist upon those authorities which give, as it were by hear-say, a certain year of some old *Assyrian* King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Nova* his

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his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his Issue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such as were neither constant in affixing the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to rely upon. Let it therefore suffice, that the content and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true, that we find the names of all, or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by Prophane Historians; yet hereby could we only learn in what Age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Jehoiachin* and *Zedekias*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the Sacred and Prophane Histories. For under *Nebuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Judah*, which ended when seventy years were expired; and these seventy years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the Ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joined with the first year of the 55 Olympiads, where that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversy. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the insurrection of the Olympiad by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the World, *St. Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battle of *Issum*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity, are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the last years of the World through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the Seventy years during which it continued, even from *Nebuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

SECT. II.

A brief rehearsal of two Opinions touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an answer to the cavils of *Porphyrus*, inveighing against *St. Matthew* and *Daniel*, upon whom the latter of these Opinions is founded.

Many Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began, when *Jechonia* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, eleven years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth Chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and

utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, in these words; *In the five and twentieth year of our Exile, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year, after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was destroyed. *Berodad* is of opinion, that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Josiah*; which he endeavours to prove out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of *St. Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serve not to make good so much as *Berodad* would enforce. That place of *St. Matthew*, and the whole Book of *Daniel*, have ministered occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrius*, who not understanding how the Sons of King *Josiah* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what, in reckoning the Sons, or according to some Translations, the Sons, and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* also, the same *Porphyrius* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious Books written against the Christians affirming, that these Prophecies and Visions, remembered by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanius*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the Seventy Interpreters, who converted the Old Testament about an hundred years before *Epiphanius*, did all turn this Book out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrius*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanius*. For *Jaddus* the High Priest shewed that great Conqueror, when he first came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroyed it, this Book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only layed his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire, in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*.

It is true indeed, that the Jews themselves give less authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses* and the Prophets; accomplishing his Book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they lay *Esdra*, and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But first, that the Book of *Daniel* (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical; secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himself, and not by *Esdra* and the Seniors; we may assure our selves by testimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea*, held about the year of our Lord 368, after the death of *Jovianus* the Emperour; and after the *Niceus* Council three and forty years, this Book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Council it may be seen; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, the fourth Book, fifth and twentieth Chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Psalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may add *St. Hierom*, Gregory

Gregory Nazianzen, and others. For, the *Hagiographa*-Books, or holy Writings, the Jews and Rabbin reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esdra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdra*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Dan* 12. 2. *St. Paul* describeth *Antichrist*, out of *Daniel*; and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*'s Visions.

SECT. III.

That the seventy years of Captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of *Jerusalem*; not from the migration of *Jechonia*.

HAVING thus far digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument: it is now convenient that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these seventy years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which *Eusebius*, and some few nameless Authors, have founded; times held in this point, which is lately revived by *Berodad*; but will forthwith enter into consideration of that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda* were carried away Captives to *Babylon*: First, *Manasse*; then *Jehoiachin*; and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: Thirdly, *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: Lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these Captivities, the beginning of the seventy years is referred by none that I have read; to the second, by few, and with weak proof; to the third, by very many, and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, useth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After seventy years be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.*

But it stands indeed with little reason, that we should take the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumstances, when the Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth year of *Jehoiachin*, denounced the judgment of God against the Land, for the sins and impenitency of that obdurate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send, and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel, my servant: and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all the Nations round about; and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual*

desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride; the noise of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Babel seventy years. And when seventy years are expired, I will visit you, saith the Lord, the voice prescribed unto the Captivity the term of seventy years: which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehoiachin*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*: but with the utter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this Prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished; beginning the seventy years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Judah*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the House of God, and brake down the wall of *Jerusalem*, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: and they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were servants to him, and to his sons, until the Kingdom of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the Word of the Lord by the mouth of *Jeremiah*, until the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the days that the Lay desolate, he kept Sabbath, to fulfill seventy years. But in the first year of *Cyrus* King of *Persia* (when the Word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of *Jeremiah*, was fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of *Cyrus*. We seldom find one piece of Scripture, so precisely and plainly expounded by another as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise how either the Desolation could have been expiected more sensibly, than it was by the Prophet; or the event of the Prophecy have been more exactly set down, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in to evidence a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yields testimony sufficient unto this exposition of *Jeremiah*'s Prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lye waste seventy years. For in the first year of *Darius* the Mede, which was the last of the seventy, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised, by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by Books the number of the years whereof the Lord had spoken unto *Jeremiah* the Prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of *Jerusalem*. So that howsoever the time of *Daniel*'s own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehoiachin*, and that the people carried away with *Jechonia*, did accomplish, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of seventy years.**

This I will not further seek to prove, by the authority of *Tosephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfy any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

SECT. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the seventy years.

What Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seventy years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diadem, it is a matter of no great importance to know; forasmuch as neither their names were notable in the age wherein they lived; nor the length of their reigns any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon*, of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather some part of it) *Hircania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the Victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to eat, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty; where it may seem that he and his Heirs kept a great feast, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Soldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, did argue no less. For whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and indolent, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finished that hardy piece of work, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by joining into it the Continent, filling up the deep and broad channel of the Sea, dividing it from the Main with a mole or piece of Earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexander* works: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the Enemy than their Bows would carry; but were ready to turn their backs as soon as any, though inferior in numbers, adventuring within the distance, offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzar* Wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their several Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Judah*, ending with that Empire, lasted seventy years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three stoulish Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptian* servitude; resting satisfied in both, with the general affixed sum.

Yet forasmuch as many have travelled in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the seventy years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves; I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I think may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several reigns. The first (and as I take it) the surest is theirs, who merely follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. There name only three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evlmerodach*, and *Balthasar*; Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be

their warrant; but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely touching the very same. For God by the mouth of the Prophet; shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his own will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, faith thus: *And all Nations shall serve him, and his son, and his sons son, until the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. It indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to use herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire, to reconcile the Scriptures unto *Prophane* Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the content of all Histories were on the one side, and the letter of the Holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports, are so slender and insufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only left down by some Author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following *Josephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent, from Father to Son, through five *Jds*. I. *Great*, and giving to him 43 years; to *Evlmerodach* 18; to *Nightfar* the Son of *Evlmerodach* 40; to *Labofardach* the Son of *Nightfar* 9 months; and lastly, to *Balthasar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the Son of *Labofardach*) *St. Hieron* doth follow, alleging *Berosus*, and *Josephus* as a Scriptor of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Josephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us, that *Evlmerodach* the Son of *Nabuchodonosor* did reign but six years, for his wickedness and lust slain by his Sisters Husband *Nizzigilissor*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Labofardach*; who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidas*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years. The relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority; so that the names which they have inked, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evlmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who faith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate Successor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the *Schoolical* History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evlmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any *Hittory* Sacred or *Prophane*, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpicius Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have supposed, that *Evlmerodach* and *Balthasar* were

were brethren and sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (or of *Evlmerodach*) is not none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his Son. And so common grew this explication, that *St. Hieron* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the Son indeed, but the Grand-child of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* Languages, he was called the Son.

Amnius his *Metaphyses* his very rightly the seventy years of Captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* forty years, to *Evlmerodach* 30 years, and to the three Sons of *Evlmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor*, fourteen years; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest son, three years; to *Lab-Assar-Dach* the second son, six years; and to *Balthasar* the third Son, five.

To this account agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed; and not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason, than because the Author was of *Amnius* his edition. Yet could I not fash me well herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few of the Modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have contented with this *Metaphyses*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* War, I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I have found manifest proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar* by *Amnius* his *Metaphyses*, was far short of the truth; which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the seventy years he pleased among the rest. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a Vision, after which he was sick certain days; but when he rose up, he did the Kings business; from which business, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and live retired, so long, that he was forgotten in the Court; it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old Queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*? Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very strange conceit; which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole *Story* (thus related) a part of *Amnius* his Impostures.

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are raised, by conjectures of late Writers. For, the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needful to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evlmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joined unto the years following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him,

fashion the years of *Evlmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 years given to him by *Josephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbered 28 years; and the two years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evlmerodach*, should be written 23. In the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should have been added the figure of (3) to that of (2); this granted (to wit) that *Evlmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 23 added to the 23 which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 48, than 4 years of *Nightfar*, according to *Berosus*, seven months of *Labofardach* his son, and 17 years of *Nabonidas* or *Balthasar*, make up the number of seventy years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, save only the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have the place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authority?

SECT. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

Other suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Athenius*, I purposely forebear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evlmerodach* two, to *Bethazer* 5, and to *Nabonidas* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounted only 50 years; beginning (as many do) the Captivity 11 years sooner, from the transportation of *Jeconiah*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Chaldean* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquiry frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evlmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evlmerodach* in the first of his reigns, shewing all favour to *Jeconiah*, did among other things, take order for him at his Table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the King of *Babel*, *Jer*. 52: 33. every day certain, all the days of his life until he died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a far longer time than two years, wherein *Jeconiah* under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himself to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jeconiah* did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining days he did

eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely; for he was but 55 years when he was set at liberty, having been 17 years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the rate of 18 years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Sala thiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is said to have been but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages, threecore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Of *Belsazar*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laborusardach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughter's son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Berosus*, by shifiting in his *Niriglossor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughter, and Protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belsazar* alone, agreeing nearly with nine months assigned by *Berosus* to the son of *Niriglossor*. But *Jeremy* hath told us, that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to pass it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthazar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Berosus*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stock and race, a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the truth, but to shew a learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgment, that he was not so wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not saying that he won it by force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the Greek translation, which expressing no force of arms, doth only signify that *Darius* too: or received the Kingdom; I see no reason why we should thereupon infer, that the next King entered by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthazar*'s death, but only the swift accomplishment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said (if *Daniel* had cared to use the most expressive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did win the Kingdom; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his force, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his works printed at *Basile* in the year 1559, I find only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alphensius*; that *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with divine fury, he cried with a loud voice: *O Babylon, I forgive thee of a great calamity that shall come upon you, which neither Bell, nor any of the gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, half an*

Ass, that shall bring slavery upon you: and that this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, living that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breast. But that he won all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I do hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger*'s Copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells us, that *Nabuchodonosor* was both *African* and *Spanish*, I believe the fragment to much the less; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median*, the pride and confidence of the *Affrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his own vanishing away. Indeed that same title (of half an *Ass*) by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his Parentage was more noble on the Mothers side than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* upon *Mares*; And thus much in answer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it self, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meer fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one so judicious, industrious, and deeply learned as *Joseph Scaliger*, would overthrow himself in setting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own insufficiency, hath been little careful to satisfy men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Balthazar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*; either we must think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethink our selves what *Persian* it might be that shared the Kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthazar* lost his life and Kingdom, than that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject Provinces; inasmuch that the Greek Historians did commonly call those Wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, the Wars of the *Medes*. Yea, to clear this point, even *Daniel* himself resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ram with two horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joseph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus*, in his victories, and not a *Chaldean* King by him subdued. Neither was *Josephus* to be less regarded, for affirming that *Balthazar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*; though herein he varied from *Berosus* and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Josephus* had no reason to believe any mans faith or knowledge of those times half so well as *Daniel*'s, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawfully it was for him to allege all Authors that had any mention, though imperfect, of the same things that were contained in the Writing of the *Pentateuch*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *R-*

man world, where they were strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even to *Eusebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the testimonies of *Heathen Books* making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in general by the self-same *Ethnick* Philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as *Josephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaliger*'s opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his learning and judgment, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had then been very great.

SECT. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor his Successors.

I own weakness, who cannot find how the seventy years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Perrerus*, that we ought liberally to pardon, those whose feet have failed them in the slippery ways of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedless reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgment of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to have reigned over the *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he supposeth by *Niriglossor* and *Laborusardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scripture *Ezraimeroch* and *Balthazar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained); but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth year *Jerusalem* was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate.

Most of Writers have given to him 43 years of reign, following therein *Berosus*. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needless: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certain truth.

Manethot is it, that the 19 year of *Nebuchadnezzar* is joined with the 11 of *Zedechias*; as at *Jos. 51. 12* so that his eighty year was the fifth year of *Jeremy*. *2 Kings 24. 12* *Chania* his Captivity; the reign of *Zedechias* ended at the mean place, being of 11 years. *2 Kings 25. 1* is generally agreed upon, so that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his successor *Ezraimeroch*, it was in the seven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eighth year (which was the first of *Jechonia* his Bondage) reigned 35 whole years and peradventure a good part of the six and thirtieth, inasmuch as *Jechonia* was enlarged with so great a favour, not until the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of these four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign did well near oc-

cupy, those eighteen years of his which passed away before the Captivity of *Judah*, and ruin of the City, we have remaining fix and twenty years of the Seventy, that were almost wholly spent when his Son began to reign.

It is now to be considered, how the remainder of the seventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon*, until the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needful: the whole sum being certain, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothful Princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole seventy years; for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjectural; seeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath related to follow both unlikely and desperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoever shall discover my error, mult do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a safe more material) of making me to understand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of presumption, in giving seventeen years to *Ezraimeroch*, we find left in our hands to belong unto *Balthazar* six and twenty years. Of the year belonging unto *Darius* the *Mede*, I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthazar* did reign seventeen years, we have the authority of *Josephus* before cited in express words: We have also the general consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long, and *Balthazar* to have been one. But nothing moved me so much to believe this Tradition, as first those evident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third year of *Balthazar* he followed the Kings business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign (a proof sufficient of no few years passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniel*'s employments took end either that year or the next). Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his Wars against the *Affrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans Father, and being always prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I have already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reign of *Ezraimeroch* was not short, and that men of great judgment have found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that Books of such antiquity, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of Antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much less ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures have told us, that God gave

gave the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his Son, and to his Sons Son: How long each of them held it, we find not Express'd; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach us, provided always, that helping us in a particularity, he destroyed not thereby the general truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say that, which *Berosus*, or *Josaphus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of Scribes; and that it was as easy for those Scribes to err in writing two for six and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more easy. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character β , signifying 6, hath a nearer resemblance of β than stands for 2, than hath γ , which is used for 3. So that the Numerical notes β 5, expressing 26, were not far enough from being mistaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in standing for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in use, they were long after the time of *Josaphus* brought in by the *Astronomers*, and therefore do not appertain unto this business: unless we should guess that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the *Saracen* conquest, was little occupied in the Studies of Humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If to which will serve to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; If not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forsaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel*, when they seem to be his Opposites.

SECT. VII.

Of the Victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained between the destruction of Jerusalem, and conquest of Egypt.

With what actions this time of seventy years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was, and is yet, sought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their Being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothful age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the Prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their days in the restless travel of purchasing: Though indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in victorious arms, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty City of

Jerusalem, he enriched himself with abundance of Spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, he, until his three and twentieth year, laboured in the Conquest of those adjoining Regions, which God had exposed unto his Sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Mobabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sydanians*, and *Egyptians*; though some of these were already become his followers, and served under him, when *Jerusalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whose City was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-army, and whose Fleet was so strong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour-Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, employing all his power to their subversion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of *Jerusalem*, (which had held the same course that *Tyre* did), and endured all that might be in the same quarrel against the common enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrrus*; *Alas, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing the is desolate, I shall be replenished*. Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great work of his, wherewith we have already spoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

But those Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Isaiah*, which appoint unto this delatation of *Tyre* the same term of seventy years, that was prescribed unto the reign of the *Chaldeans*, do plainly shew that the followed *Jerusalem*, the same nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities which doubtless were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we find, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the life of *Cyprus*. Nevertheless, it seems that this evasion served only the principal men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort unto the enemies fury. For, not only such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the *Affrian* made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor* caused his Army to force a great *Sea*, *vice against Tyrrus*, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare; yet had he no wages, nor his Army; but was fain to rest contented with the honour of having destroyed that City, which in all mens judgments had been held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldeans* dreadful in the ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with less pain. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the mark at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough, to seek occasion of quarrel against it; and so far an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that had it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdued, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill have been established. Ver-

SECT. VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning, slain by Nabuchodonosor, contrary to the opinion of most Authors, who following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

When by a long course of Victory, *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wife, that no enemy to himself, nor friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the Conquest of *Egypt* himself, upon which those other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alleged out of these. Nevertheless, we find many Authors, who following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain their Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of having done some spoil in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a Chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they do prefer the Commentator before the Authors; and to uphold a sentence, giving testimony to one clause, do carelessly overthrow the History it self, which thereby they thought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt* which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former Book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unless we should understand that he was victorious in the War, which he is said to have made upon *Tyrrus* and *Sidon*) that he reigned five and twenty years; and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did set up *Amasis* as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great loss which they received in an Expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater security reign over such as stayed at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slain, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the Rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to trust unto his foreign Mercenaries, the *Isomians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readiness thirty thousand good Soldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thousand.

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vertheless it was needful, that before he entered into this business, the Countries adjacent should be reduced unto such terms, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the Decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of State. For the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adjoining Regions, whom God for their fins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* swords, were such as regarding only their own gain, had some of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldean* Army, to feed upon the carcasses that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*: all of them thinking, that when the *Affrian* had satisfied his fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession of them to that he could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philistines* had shewed much malice to the *Tyrrus* when their City was taken. What good service they had done to the *Chaldeans*, we find not: if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoice at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entered upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession; as if not the *Affrians*; but they had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baal* King of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the blood of *Judah*, to murder *Gedaliah*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captive unto the *Ammonites* Country the people that abode in *Manasse*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his own Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Mobabites* did exercise, whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God; and their diffimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their thievish wits. But *Nabuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their devices by sharp and sudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruin, as it were in one night; according to the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, threatening *Moab* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruin of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it, being spent in the *Egyptian* Expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Towns in these Regions were burnt, and the people slain, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over-hastily, much less to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*; but lived as miserable Out-laws, or at least oppressed wretches, until the end of seventy years; which God had prescribed unto the destruction of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Judah*.

land, which were all by birth and education, men of War. *Apries* himself being taken prisoner, was gently entreated by *Amasis* for a while, until the *Egyptians*, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable Burial. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Nebuchadrezzar* doth nearly agree; telling us, that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phoenicians* in battle at *Sea*, took by force and demolished *Sidon*, won the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonians*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compel our belief, than have the Traditions of *Egyptian* Priests (which the *Greek* Historians followed) and greater probabilities to persuade that look only into human reasons. For *Isaiah* prophesied long before of the shameful Captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Abyssinia*, would carry away naked, young and old, in such wile, that the *Jews*, who fled then for deliverance from the *Affrian*, should be ashamed of their own vain confidence in men to be able to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be given to *Nebuchadrezzar* as wages for the service which he had done at *Tyre*: *Alas* he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and be taken into Captivity; yea, that *Pharaoh* and all his Army should be slain by the sword. Wherefore it must needs be a violent expiation of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatenings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jew* in *Egypt* should be delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekiah* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the general opinion hath overlooked it; then was it vainly done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing he laboured by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very bones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his Pavilion spread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: Behold, I will cut the common people of *No*, and *Pharaoh* and *Egypt*, with their gods, and their Kings, even *Pharaoh*, and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of *Nebuchadrezzar*, King of *Babel*, and into the hands of his servants. The clearness of this Prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the *Greek* Historians, Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh* *Hephra* to be *Amasis* and his followers, I

found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coined upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their own disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the history of *Nebuchadrezzar* was better known to the *Jews*, whom it concerned, than to the *Greeks*, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meer strangers to this business, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of *Josephus*, and of the *Greek* Historians, as either of them might be verified of it self by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the *Hebrew* Prophets, or *Egyptian* Priests; methinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having been wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspicion; yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love and honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himself. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having won great Victories, did for one only loss fall into the hatred of all his people? or, which may serve to persuade us, that a King of *Egypt* would seek, or do demean himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that Army of thirty thousand Soldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt*, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: Doth it not argue that he was a foreigner, and one that armed himself against the *Egyptians*, wishing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their own, as the strength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to use all Arguments that might be alleged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamors of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who fought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some foreign Governor, not a natural Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to live his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yielded, though it had stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth it self cries out against it; but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonosor*, to be observed where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

SECT. IX.

How Egypt was subdued and held by Nebuchadrezzar.

IT is a great loss, that the general History of the World hath suffered by the spoil and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments that should have

have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Virtue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Wars he had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his thirty Chapter (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Plur* and *Lud*, with other Nations, that may seem to have reached out into *Mauritania*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these Wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easy and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to confer the places wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself most safe in *Egypt* by the well-ordered situation of his Country, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by confining all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For, as the labour of this business did more harden, than weary the *Chaldean* Army; so the confidence and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make through the *Arabian* deserts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nile* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the War, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the hearts of men, when those helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own virtue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the rule of the *Pharaohs* about a thousand five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness; yet so, that it was never deadlier unto others; God

having said of that people, I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations. For whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*, I am the son of the wife, I am the son of the ancient King: *Amasis* as he had boasted, The River is mine, and I have made it. The Princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the River failed them, the King himself was taken and slain, and that ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the fifth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth year of *Nebuchadrezzar*; at which time (saith *Josephus*) He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried Captives thence to *Babylon* the *Jews* whom he found in that Country. Now concerning the time which *Josephus* gives unto this business, and the business it self, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which intimate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, and carrying away those unto *Babel* who inhabited the ruinable ruins of that great City, which was in the same three and twentieth year of *Nebuchadrezzar*, is not improbably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Josephus* tells us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries*, by *Nebuchadrezzar*, we must understand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as some have mistaken it) think that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reign in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadrezzar*, were as well re-

pugnant unto the Prophecies before alleged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two successively bearing the name of *Amasis*; others that there were two *Apries*, the one slain by *Nebuchadrezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted, that the person mentioned in Scripture was deprived of Life and Kingdom by the *Affrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries* of whom the *Greek* Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadrezzar*, seeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, and made War (as they report) upon the *Phœnicians*, who were before the *Egyptians* become subject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadrezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had some *Chaldean* or *Affrian*, than *Egyptian* name, unless we should think that he had been a Traitor to his natural Prince, and to rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to dispute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute Conquest of *Egypt*; that he was not so foolish as to give it away, any man may guess; that he appointed one to rule the Country, it is consequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Josephus*; that his Governour (or some successor of his) was afterwards taken and slain by *Amasis*. I see probability enough to persuade me self; and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and believe what they list. As for the Army which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is supposed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*, I hold them to be no other than the *Garisons* of Mercenary Soldiers which were left by the *Affrian* for the guard of his Vice-roy, and custody of the new subdued Province: as likewise the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Bæce*, who together with the friends of such as were slain at that Expedition, remembered before out of the *Greek* Historians, deplored and slew *Apries*; I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is, that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified; *At Evg* 30. the end of forty years will I gather the *Egyptians* 30. 14. from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring again the captivity of *Egypt*, and will cause them to return into the land of *Pharos*, into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small Kingdom. If the *Egyptian* Priests alluded hereto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* obtaining the Kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deviated matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Country's disgrace, then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

SECT. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawn from sundry authors of Nebuchadrezzar, and of the destruction of Ninive by him; and the time of which action is uncertain.

THESE Victories brought the greatness of the *Affrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadrezzar*'s reign in sundry places of Scripture. To speak any more

of the questions arising about the supposition of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s times, might seem to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note, that whereas *David* was carried Captive in the third year of *Jehoiakim*'s reign (which run a long with some part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s first year) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; It could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, fore-shewing the success of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The fame or the like may be said of divers places which refer sundry matters unto their let years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he foretells, that *Egypt* should be given in reward for the service done before *Tyrus*, dating his Prophecy in the seven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year: for these years held no dependence upon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easy to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any War made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, I do not read, excepting that against *Nineve*, the destruction whereof was foretold by the Prophet *Nabum*. *Nineve* had long before been taken by *Mitradach* (as in due place hath been shewed) and together with the rest of *Affria* made subject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against the *Chaldean*, as *Jehoiakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Judah* had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Nineve* followed the Conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nabum* the Prophet made between this City that was to fall, and the City of *No* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to pass, it is (methinks) impossible to find out. For whereas it is found in an *Hebrew* Chronology, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign, the place of *Nabum* last cited, is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* Wars; the whole Prophecy of *Nabum*, which went between the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like unto the vain curiosity of *Tiberius Cæsar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*, or to the like idle pains which he should take, who would seek to learn what woman that *Hazzab* Queen of *Nineve* was, whose woful Captivity the same Prophet *Nabum* likewise did foretell.

SECT. XI.

Of the latter time of *Nebuchadnezzar*; his buildings, madnes, and death.

OF the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant, save those which we find among the Prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great works of *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased

himself so well, that he brake out into those glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have built, for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Majesty?* Surely it those things be true that are by *Josephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* an *Assyrian*, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall, that besides other stately works, he raised those huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains; which most sumptuous Frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Affrian*, and all the *Perfian* Empire, is said to have been reared, and finished in fifteen days.

But of all this and other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his over-valuing of his own greatness, abated him unto a condition inferior to the poorest of men. And not undeservingly fell these judgments of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many Victories, and much happiness in his own life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet; he nevertheless became so forgetful of God, whose wonderful power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set up and worshipped; ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is the King of Kings.

Hereof *St. Hierom* hath well noted; *Vexos obliuio variat, ut qui dudum servum Dei quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuum sibi fieri jubet, ut ipse quasi Deus in Statua adoraretur: A basily forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped (Daniel) the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, should now command a Statua to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God. From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those blessed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refusing to commit idolatry, were assisted by an Angel; preserved from all harm of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit unchangeable in his hasty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgment hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, advised him to break off his sin by righteousness, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his error. Hereby it seems that injustice and cruelty were the faults for which he was threatened: but this threatening sufficed not unto his information. For that so great a Monarch should be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation); yet compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eat grags as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans judgment, that easily it might be thought an idle dream; and much more easily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leisure to repent, was given to this haughty Prince: which respite of*

execu-

execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelve months, walking in the royal Palace of *Babel*, he was so overjoyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his own seeming happiness, that without all fear of Gods heavy judgment pronounced against him, he uttered those lofty words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Majestical works which he had reared, as well becoming his Majestical person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearsed over unto him the sentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very same hour.

That *Solomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were punished for rejoicing in works of this kind (though it is hard in joy or any passion of the mind, to keep a just measure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *David*: for other (and some very goodly) Kings have directed all their forces to the very last man; but few or none have been known to have been punished as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoice in those good things wherewith God hath blessed us; but a note of much unthankfulness to entertain them with a sullen and unfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reverence to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds hindering the influence of that blessed Light, which clarifies the soul of man, and predispoleth it unto the brightness of eternal felicity; so that insolent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, cloth above all other passions blunt our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our seeming inherent Greatness, forgetting the whilst him, to whom we are indebted for our very Being. Wherefore these *Mala mentis gaudia*, The evil joys of the mind were not unaptly, by the Prince of *Latin* Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed farther inward than sorrows, cares, and fears, not far from the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when these unreasonable flashes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a mind, that should have been humbled with a just repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deserving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and unexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seven years he lived, not only as a salvage man, but as a salvage beast; for a beast he thought himself, *secundum suam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same manner, and with the same food that beasts do. Not that he was changed in figure external, according to *Mediana*, inasmuch as he appeared a beast to other mens eyes, as *St. Hierom* in the life of *Hilarion* (how true God knows) speaks of a Woman that appeared to all other mens sight as a Cow, but to *Hilarion* only a Woman; neither was he changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a Hind; nor made a Monster, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to *St. Hierom*'s expolition of these words, *At the same time was my understanding removed unto him. Sec. Quando dicit (saith St. Hierom) sensum sibi reddidit, ostendit me formam se assumpsisse mentem; When he saith that his sense was re-*

moved unto him, he shewed that he had not left his humane shape, but his understanding. Seven years expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his understanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confiding his power, and elevating being; that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and wrought without reluctance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his ways righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely *St. Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthasianus*, and others. And for that place of *Isaiah* the 14, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the same to *Balthazar*; because *Isaiah* both in the 13 and 14 Chap. speaketh of the Kings, and the destruction of *Babylon* jointly.

SECT. XII. OF EVILMERODACH.

HAVING already spoken what I could of the succession and years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a War that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying, that he died in the third year of the threecore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fifth of *Cambyses* his reign, wherein he van *Egypt*; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Phammiticus*, the Son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two *Greek* Historians have been abused by *Egyptian* Priests in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say, either that the numbers were mis-written, and four and forty fell down instead of four and thirty; or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the *Affrians*, and not bear himself as absolute King of *Egypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became again a Kingdom) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Egyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes*, to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces, or whether (as I rather think) some foil received by the *Affrian* invading *Media*, emboldened the *Egyptians* to rebel against him; I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. Xenophon tells, *Xenoph. Cyrop.* that the first service of young *Cyrus* in War, was under *Astages* King of the *Medes*, his Grandfather, in a prosperous fight against the *Affrian* Prince,

Prince, who did live upon him; at which time, *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threecore and three years (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Ezimiradach* his reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the War began more early between these Nations, forasmuch as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder terms with the *Affrians*, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruin of the *Affrian* Monarchy. For the *Babylonians*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes*, and their Allies the *Perfians*, drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to overwhelm his enemies with a strong invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out with a lingering War.

This happened after the death of *Ahyager*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Ezimiradach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Affrians* having his hands already full of business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Egyptians* of new erecting their Kingdom, which by long distance of place, did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a King within it self, against the far more mighty *Perfians*.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Ezimiradach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those Prophecies, which many years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Isaiah* and *Jeremy*.

For the *Affrians* and their Confederates, who trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Perfians* under their thick showers of arrows and darts, were encountered with an Army of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battle, wherein *Ezimiradach* was slain. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and upheld, being shaken and grievously cracked under his unfortunate Son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy Nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

SECT. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author, serving to make good those things which are cited out of *Berosus*, concerning the Successors of *Ezimiradach*, without wrong to the truth. The quality, and death of *Balthasar*.

Though I have already (as it seems to me) sufficiently proved that *Balthasar* was the Son, and immediate Successor to *Ezimiradach*, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Niglissar*, or *Nirgissaroor*, and his Son *Labsassardach* between them;

as also that which I find in *Herodotus*, of *Nitocris* a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not superfluous herein in this place to shew by what means it was possible, that some error might have crept into the History of those times, and thereby have brought us to a needless trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* divides betwixt *Ezimiradach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nabuchodonosor* lived wild among brute beasts in the open field; Secondly, that the suddenness of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtless the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause which promised his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great Ones of the Kingdom, for settling the Government, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall find it most likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with condition to restore it unto his Father, when God should enable him to repossess it. In this his rule *Ezimiradach* being to supply the utter want of understanding in his Father, as Protectors do the unripe of it in young but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the intolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his Sister) was a Woman of high spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying, That she was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and useful works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Affrians*, and amongst them *Nitocris*. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to think, that such a Woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers mis-government, used practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Berosus* (as *Josephus* hath cited him) that *Niglissar* who got the Kingdom from *Ezimiradach*, was his Sisters Husband; which proves that this to have been the same Woman. As for *Labsassardach* the Son of *Niglissar*, if at the end of nine months reigned, he were for his leud conditions slain by the Nobility, as the same *Berosus* reporteth; it seems that God prepared hereby the way for *Nabuchodonosor*'s restitution (whose term of punishment was then expired) by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here use many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Ezimiradach*, telling us that he was slain by his Sisters Husband: For the plain words of the Scripture, naming the year wherein he got liberty to *Trebuchon*, do plainly testify that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded *Ezimiradach* in the Kingdom,

dom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his Son and Heir, we find that he had such conditions as God permitted to be in a King for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young man that should have married his Sister, only for spite and envy to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his javelin had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said, It were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as soon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all; fitting ill, and not once daring to give battle to them that daily took from him what from him. Yet carefully feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful Vision, which had shewed his ruin not in many hours before, even whilst he was drinking in that Wine, which the fowls of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reign of seventeen years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story, that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the Original and first greatness of the Persians.

SECT. I.

That the Medes were the chief actors in the subversion of the Babylonian Empire.

The Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Babylon*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Affria*, was joined first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Affria*, and of *Media* it self.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provincial Governours having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two years after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Babylon*; the Dominions as well of the Conquerors, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achamenes*; the Princes of which blood reigning in *Persia*, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Family of the *Achamenes*, and Line of the *Perfian* Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intrate.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madias* the third Son of *Japhet*. That they had Kings from after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembereth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hysdaspes*; and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven Sons, slain by the *Affrians* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of those who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Affrians*, I take the list and number from *Enschius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

<i>Arbaces</i>	28 years.
<i>Sorjanus</i>	30 years.
<i>Medius</i>	40 years.
<i>Cardaces</i>	13 years.
<i>Duets</i>	53 years.
<i>Phaortes</i>	24 years.
<i>Cyaxares</i>	32 years.
<i>Ahyages</i>	38 years.
<i>Darius Medus</i>	

And though the *Greeks* ascribe the Conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Perfians* his followers; but that the Army victorious over *Balthasar*, was his; as the *Affrians* and *Babylonian* Empire also was, during his own life. For we find in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdom, being threecore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdom. And so was it prophesied by *Isaiah* long before: Behold, I will sit up the *Medes* against them, &c. And by *Jeremy* 13. 25. 17. 51. 25. 1. 11. 25.

The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the King of the *Medes*: for his purpose is against *Babel* to destroy it; and 28. ver. Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the *Medes*, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. Their Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Cassius*, *Thalys*, and others, delivereth, that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subdued by the *Perfians*, so before that, both the *Perfians* and *Affrians* were marked by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Justin* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

SECT.

SECT. II.

By what means the Empire was translated
from the Medes to the Persians.

How the Kingdom of the Medes fell into the hands of Cyrus, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians; But rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the Conquest of Babel to the Persians only. For some there are who deny that *Ahyages* had any other Successor than *Cyrus*, his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesius* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Ahyages* (whom he called *Ahyas* or *Apasia*) but only that having vanquished him in battle, and confined him to *Babylonia*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesius* often cited, and seldom followed, and himself sometimes very justly reprov'd of wilful untruth.

Viginti, a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Ahyages* had no such Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more, he citeth *Diadore*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Socrates*, and before them, *Cassio*, *Thales*, and *Phelegon*; who do not find any such Successor. Neither do *Tacitus*, *Seneca*, *Alexander*, *Julius*, *Africanus*, *Clement*, *Alexandrinus*, *Justin*, *Morisy*, *Lactantius*, *Enchiridion*, *St. Hieron*, *St. Augustin*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Successor to *Ahyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument, *ab authoritate negativa*, doth never infer conclusion; we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleged notwithstanding) to affirm, that either *Ahyages* himself must have been *Darius* of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; or else to give him some other successor, according to *Josephus* and

Xenophon, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the Medes commanded in chief, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest; *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and subject to his authority; the strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being joyn'd together to compound it.

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and fore-named by God himself for this action; but for the delivery of his Church; a greater work not only in the eyes of God, than the subversion of any State or Monarchy by powerful force.

And it may well be thought, that the Soldiers employed in that service did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of war, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling upon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his virtue; which among prophane Historians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, and did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possessor of whatsoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the Greek Historians, they took all things from the relation of the Persians, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the fifth, sixth, and sixth Chapters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that himself not only lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*, which being the year of *Daniel's* death, could not have been distinguished from the reign of *Darius*; if they had begun together and reigned jointly. Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

SECT. III.

Xenophon's relation of the War which the Medes and Persians made with joint forces upon the Assyrians and others.

These Testimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these Wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Assyrian had enlarged his Empire with Victories, and was become Lord of all Syria, and many other Countries; he began to hope that if the Medes could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adjoining, able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field three-score thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse; to which the forces of Persia being joyn'd, made an exceeding strong Army.

The Assyrian considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Croesus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of Asia the less, to his assistance, alledging, that those Eastern Nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoined by leagues, and many alliances, that it would not be calie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great Presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an Army of Two hundred thousand Foot, and three-score thousand Horse; of which, ten thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot were led by *Croesus*, who had great cause of enmity with the Medes, in regard of the War made by them against his Father *Ahyages*: But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the Medes, and by *Cyrus* General of the Persian forces, utterly broken. Upon which defeat the Assyrian King being also slain, so many of the Assyrians revolted, as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great sums of Money out of Asia the less, Egypt, and elsewhere. Which new gathered force, were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, posselt himself of a great part of the lesser Asia; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Croesus* himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* called *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Sisters Son, prevailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set down.

Those Persians which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbered thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest

rest of the common foot were Archers, or such as used the Dart or Sling: So far *Xenophon*.

Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition: so it can not be denied but that the bulk and grofs of his Narration was founded upon meer Historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any like Writers, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion: but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the fame to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Politick discourses, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his undertaken subject, in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

SECT. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times foregoing this great War.

For it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achaemenes*, the Son of *Perfes*, being Governour of Persia, did associate himself with *Arbaces*, who commanded in Media, in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himself the Dominion of those Countries which he had formerly ruled for the Assyrians; as also that they conveyed over the same honour and power to their posterity: which in Media was not absolutely Regal, but with some restraint limited, until such time as *Deioctes* took upon him the full authority and majesty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deioctes*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years; in the last sixty whereof, there reigned in Assyria mighty Princes, namely, *Salmanassar* and his Successors; whole great achievements in Syria and elsewhere, witness, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their advantage to undertake any offensive War against those victorious Kings: it being also probable, that the league continued as yet between these the successors of *Beluchus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioctes* to the first of *Ahyages*, there past above ninety years; in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered Persia, and how he and other Kings of Media by many Victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of Asia, it had been but an unadvised enterprize of the Assyrians and *Babylonians*, to have waded themselves against the Syrians and Egyptians, leaving to able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the Medes had done nothing upon the South parts of Persia; and that the Persians themselves were not Masters of *Susiana* in *Nabuchodonosor's* time; it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonian* in *Susa*, or *Susan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the Medians, either under *Cyaxares*, or *Ahyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Croesus*, which after some few years dispute was compounded.

How the affairs of Persia stood in so many ages, I do not find any memory. It seemeth that the roughness of the mountainous Country which they then posselt, with the confederacy which they con-

tinued with the Medes, gave them more security than fame: For it their Kings, being the posterity of *Achaemenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatness which they afterwards obtained, would not have suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon's* reports, both of their Wars, and the state of those Countries, to be very convenient and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors; so it appears, that the race of *Achaemenes* held the Principality of Persia from Father to Son for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyses* the Father of *Cyrus*, was King of Persia; than to that that made him a mean man, and say, that *Ahyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in Marriage, to the end that her Son (whose nativity he feared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers ignobility.

For what cause of grief could it be to *Ahyages*, that the Son of his Daughter should become Lord of the best part of Asia? No, it was more likely, that upon such a Prophecy his love to his Grand-child should have increased, and his care to see the greater to have married her to some Prince of strength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Author, and as I think, the deviler of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his Grand-father, doth confess, That the line of the *Achaemenides* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperity, did thence derive himself, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or that they been the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the seventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himself:

<i>Achaemenes.</i>	<i>Tispenses.</i>	<i>Hystaspes.</i>
<i>Cambyses.</i>	<i>Arriaranes.</i>	<i>Darius.</i>
<i>Cyrus.</i>	<i>Aspases.</i>	<i>Xerxes.</i>

Of the *Achaemenides* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whole issue-male failed in his two Sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. This royal Family is thus set down by the learned *Reimscius*.

Achaemenes, the Son of *Perfes*, first King of Persia. *Darius*, the first of that name, had *Cambyses*, and *Aeschys*, who married to *Pharnaces*, King of Cappadocia, both *Artisfana* and other Daughters.

Cambyses had *Cyrus* the Great: *Cyrus* had *Cambyses*, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis*, slain by his Brother *Cambyses*.

Of the second, were those seven great Princes of Persia, who having overthrown the usurped Royalty of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, King.

This Kingdom of Persia was first known by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the Son of *Soma*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamites*; by *Elymus*, *Elyma*; by *Josephus*, *Elyma*. *Suidas* derives this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometimes from *Magos*, of whom they were called *Magusae*; which *Magusae*, according to *Eusebius*, *Eccl. lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1.* are not to be taken for the Nation in general, but for those that were afterward called the *Magi*, or *Magicians*.

Wise men. So do the Greeks, among many other their sayings of them, affirm, that the Persians were anciently written *Elam*, and that they called themselves *Ophians*. But that they were *Elamites*, Fff

6. 10. *Moses* and the Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, great riches thereof, twice attempted, in vain, and
 1. 11. 21. *Daniel*, and *Elisha*, in many places confirm: Which
 22. also *St. Hieron* upon *Jeremy* the five and twentieth,
 7. 25. 29. upon *Daniel* the eighth, and also in his *Hebrew*
 1. 1. 1. *under*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt
 2. 1. 1. questions, approveth, saying: *Elam a quo Elamite* it.
 3. 1. 1. *Principes Persidis*; *Elam*; of whom were the *Elamites* 'Princes of Persia'.
 4. 1. 1. And that City which the Author of the second
 5. 1. 1. Book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the
 6. 1. 1. Author of the first call'd *Elamitis*, but is now call'd
 7. 1. 1. *Sirus*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the

The first King of *Persia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors, interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Aurasef* or *Ninias*, and joined with him in the War against those *Arabians*, who was afterwards extinguished by the forces of *Arabam*.

CHAP. III. OF CYRUS.

SECT. I.

Of *Cyrus* his Name, and first Actions.

Strabo faith, That the same was taken from a River which watereth *Persia*, this great Prince having *Agradas* for his proper Name: But the great *Cyrus* was the first of that Name. *Herodotus*, otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a Father in the *Persian* Tongue, and therefore to intituled by the people.

It is true, that for his Justice and other excellent virtues, he was indeed called a Father: But that the Name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sun, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Isaiah*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that Name, Thus saith the Lord unto *Cyrus* his Anointed, &c.

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the Victories which *Cyrus* obtained, were many and great: among which the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of *Craesus* himself, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter achievements: whose opinion for his difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the *Medians* there is no mention in the last War against *Craesus*; and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eighth and fiftieth *Olympiad*; and the glorious Victory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have been used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Alteas* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The latter seems to have reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprise of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

SECT. II.

Of *Craesus* the King of *Lydia*, who made War upon *Cyrus*.

I Have in the last Book spoke somewhat of *Craesus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydius* the Son of *Ays*: which Family extinguished, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Agas*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty Generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by slaying his fair Wife naked to *Gyges* his Favourite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day slain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Ays* his Son, who was Father to *Sadyattes*, the Father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Craesus*. Which five Kings of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdom an hundred and seventy years. *Halyattes* the Father of *Craesus* was an undertaking Prince; and after he had continued a War against *Cyaxares* the *Medians*, a Prince very powerful, and maintained it six years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Astyages the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining *Argentea*, *Craesus* Sister, whom he married.

But *Craesus* so far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, the *Medians*, the *Babylonians*, the *Egyptians*, and the *Lydians*: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had joined *Phoenicia*, *Palaestina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thenceforward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Craesus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Adulis*, *Doris*, and *Ionis*, Provinces possit by the *Greeks* in *Asia* the less, adjoining to *Lydia*; gave Law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*,

Carians, *Asians*, *Phalagionians*, and other Nations. And that he also forc'd the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding their compass'd their City with *Diana's* Girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenus* out of *Berosus* (which also confirmeth) makes report of a signal Victory which *Craesus* obtained against the *Sacaans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they call'd *Sacaia*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perilous to himself, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo* (whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts) what success he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; *Craesus passing over the River Halys, shall dissolve a great Dominion*. For the Devil being doubtful of the success, payed him with merchandise of both sides alike, and might be inverted either way, to the ruin of *Persia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

SECT. III.

Craesus his Expedition against *Cyrus*.

Hereupon *Craesus* being resolved to stop the all course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could: despised all the arguments used by *Sandanes* to the contrary: who desired him to fore-think, That he contrary a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region; a people not covered with the soft silk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his loss appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid counsel, *Craesus* having prepared a powerful Army, he led the same toward *Media*: but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a City of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he fought by all means to surprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamp'd before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for out of doubt, *Craesus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; so was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they favoured a disturber and usurper of the Commonwealth against him who fought for the *Roman* liberty, That Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Craesus* prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes,

the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to join in grois troops: supplies from both Kings thrust on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day; so when the dark-vail of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Craesus* doubting what success the rising Sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retired; and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regal Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Soldiers, and kept the Troops of his hungry Nations to their own Province, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months; acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of War at the time appointed.

SECT. IV.

The Conquest of *Lydia* by *Cyrus*.

Cyrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them; yet not to hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Craesus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Craesus* had disposed his Army to their winning garisons; which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he furnished *Sardis* with his Army; wherein *Cyrus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and Ordinary Guards, after fourteen days siege the same was taken by assault, and all executed: that resisted. *Craesus* having new out any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Soldiers, and kept the Troops of his hungry Nations to their own Province, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months; acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of War at the time appointed.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, mortality, he commanded his Ministers of Justice to be summoned to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had persuaded him, or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his Territory, and to make him of a Friend an Enemy? To whom he thus answered: It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the *Grecians* call it) flattering therewithal my ambition) that were the inventors and conductors of *Craesus* War against me.

shall be broken through: whoever joineth himself, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their wives ravished. So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of Cyrus, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the fame to posterity after it happened, than *Isaiah* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

The greatness and magnificence of *Babylon*, were not by divers grave Authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of *St. Hieron*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politics*, the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three days after. This is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who finds the compass thereof at three hundred and threecore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof do to great a breadth, that six Chariots might pass in front thereof. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitarchus*, three hundred and threecore and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourcore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty miles and one Furlong, but finds the wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and to doth *Cyrus* measure their thickness but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large measure: though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourcore furlongs circle; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubit. For entrance, it had an hundred Gates of Brass, with Posts and Hooks to hang them on of the same metal: and therefore did the Prophet *Isaiah* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princes and Glory of Kingdoms.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he stript her of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave; dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Soldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers, to have lasted only seven years: in which time he made five such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royal power to themselves and their posterity.

SECT. VI.

The End of Cyrus.

THE last War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massageti*, a very warlike

Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen; and that in an encounter between the *Perians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spartapetes* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battle beat the *Perian* Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thy self.*

It should hereby seem, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was persuaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares* Father to *Alyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty years.

This War which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrisque*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Vigintius*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Spartilis*; though he deliver the success of that War otherwise than *Herodotus* doth. The rather (saith *Vigintius*, because *Strabo* in his cleventh Book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem, by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the Son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last War which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorbeus* King of the *Derbecians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three days after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his own City of *Pasagardet*, which himself had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicunque es, & indicande adventis, neque enim te adveniam ignoravi: Ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui, posui hoc terra quo meum regitur corpus mihi ne invideat; O thou man, whosoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest, for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire: do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Quintus Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him, (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain Ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zanarus*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And surely had *Cyrus* lost the Army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely that his Son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyses* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world,

he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tomyris* avowed; and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others of the immortality of the Soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, wherein he was expressly named, and of God (as of delivering the *Jews*) preordained. Which act of delivering the holy Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, used for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an instrument of Gods goodness, and a willing advocate of his Kingdom upon Earth; which must last for ever, though heaven and earth shall perish.

SECT. VII.

Of Cyrus his Decree for building the Temple of God in Jerusalem.

HAVING therefore spoken of his great Victories, mentioned by fabled Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his service done unto him that was Author of them and of all good deeds; I hold it meet at length to speak of the Decree made in the first of his Reign, being perhaps the first that ever he made after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jews* should return again into their own Territory, and re-build the House of God in *Jerusalem*, having now endured and finished the threecore and ten years Captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gave order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them five thousand four hundred threecore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, wherewith *Nabuchodonosor* the Grandfather of *Balthasar*, had formerly robbed the Temple. The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldea* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jecanias*, and *Jesuo* or *Josiah* the Son of *Josadac*, were about fifty thousand; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their own Law, and sacrificed thereunto themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no sooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoining, gave all the impediments they could. So did the Governors of those Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those, which were but Provincial Lieutenants, and other officers of less place, but *Cambyses* himself; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make

doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyses* did when himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: they may herein relieve themselves out of *Ezra*; That by the confusions of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* his life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of *John*, That the Temple was forty-six years in sitting up, having received 46 many hindrances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seek the natural and politic courses which moved *Cambyses* to withstand his Fathers Decree, and while he governed under him, as when himself became sole and Sovereign Monarch, we shall find them in that Epistle remembered by *Ezra*, written by *Isidorus*, *Malvidantes*, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phoenicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Emperors, who had formerly done in the times of other Kings. But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyses* having in his resolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jews* were defended of those Nations, because they issued thence under *Moses*, when they conquered *Judaas*, their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt* was the confidence of the house of *Israel*.

But it is to be understood, as *Codeman* and others have observed, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors and Governors of *Phoenicia* complained against the *Jews*, did not precede but succeed *Darius* *Hystaspes*, as in the sixth and seventh Chapters of *Ezra* it is made plain: and also that those Governors (whose Epistle hereunto is made) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and enclosing of the City, as by the reasons given in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is evident.

Also in the sixth of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as, *And they built and finished it (to wit, the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandment of Cyrus and Darius, and Artabshafte Kings of Persia*. Lastly, in the seventh of *Ezra* it is written, *Now after these things, in the reign of Artabshafte King of Persia*: which was as much as to say, after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Ezra* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. Which action, though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his turn and manner of Government are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldest son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tenaxares* his younger son to be *Satrapes*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Justin*) but thirty.

SECT. VIII.

Of Cyrus his Issue: and whether Atossa were his Daughter, or (as some think) were the same with Queen Hester.

Cyrus had issue two sons, Cambyfes and Smerdis, with three daughters, Atossa, Meroe, and Arystoma: Ctesius addeth to these, Amytis, Atossa, and Meroe their brother Cambyfes married; Arystoma, Darius Hyaspes obtained; so did he Atossa, Cambyfes being dead: who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her Husbands, Darius and Xerxes after him, to invade Greece, to be avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that Atossa (whom the old Translation calleth a Macedonian) had against the Jews: though the opinion of Josephus be more probable, who finds Atossa to be an Amalekite. But it is hard to be understood, how Atossa the daughter of Cyrus should have been Ephber, whose History seems rather to appertain to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than of Darius the son of Hyaspes, or of Xerxes. The desire of Atossa to have Greece brought under the

yoke of Persia, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby the thought her Husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, Corinthians, Abenians, and others of that Nation, to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of Codoman, who upon the near found of the two names, Atossa and Hadassia, (by the latter of which Ephber was also called) makes them to have been one person. For though it be true that Ephber concerning her Parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet Codoman's inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of Cyrus. Certain it is, that Ephber did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did to well know the Parentage of Atossa, that for her sake, as being daughter of Cyrus, her son Xerxes was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The Estate of things from the Death of Cyrus to the Reign of Darius.

SECT. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Persian Kings.

OF the Successors of Cyrus, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions. As that of Metasthenes, who hath numbered the Persian Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and Cyrus jointly	21
Cyrus alone	22
Priscus Artaxerxes	20
Darius Longimanus	37
Darius Nothus	19
Artaxerxes Mnemon	55
Artaxerxes Ochus	26
Arjes, or Arjanes	4
Darius, the last, conquered by Alexander	6

To which Phila agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue Metasthenes hath left out Cambyfes and Xerxes, and names Artaxerxes Assuerus, for the immediate successor of Cyrus; in place (saith Melanithon) of Darius the Son of Hyaspes: for Metasthenes, as Melanithon conjectureth, doth not account Cambyfes in the Catalogue, because his reign was confounded with that of Cyrus.

There is a second Opinion, though ridiculous, of Sedor Olom, who finds but four Persian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire. Genslerard, Schwert, and Beroaldus, have also a differing account from the Greeks; whom never-

theless Eusebius, and most of the Latins follow, and so doth Krentschin, who hath fully answered, ^{Chro. Rom. fol. 139.} and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors, varying from that account. For in this sort do the Greeks marshal the Persian Kings with the times of their reigns.

Cyrus in all	30	Melanithon gives Cyrus but 25.
Cambyfes with the Magi	8	
Darius Hyaspes	36	
Xerxes	21	Metasth. but 20.
Artaxerxes Longimanus	40	
Darius Nothus	19	
Artaxerxes Mnemon	43	Metasth. but 40.
Artaxerxes Ochus	23	Melanith. 26.
Arjanes	3	Melanith. 4.
Darius, the last	6	

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have said) the most Chronologers, and the best learned approve. These Persian Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as Pencer in his Historical Animadversions hath gathered the places; finding first Cyrus in the second of Chronicles, ch. 36. vers. 22, 23. Ezra 1. ch. 1. vers. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, Cambyfes in the eleventh of Daniel, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the

Marginal

Chap. IV.

of the History of the World.

Marginal Commentator upon the Genesis, understandeth that place; but under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that Darius Hyaspes was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great favour and liberality to the Jews being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, Darius Hyaspes is found in Ezra the first, c. 4. v. 5. who in the sixth verse is also named Assuerus.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of Daniel, verse the second, Xerxes is plainly foretold and described, and the great War which he should make against the Greeks, by Daniel remembered.

Fifthly, Artaxerxes Longimanus in Ezra the fourth, verse seven, who is also called Artaxasapha, c. 4. v. 1. Ezra v. 7. and chap. 7. v. 7.

Sixthly, Darius Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. v. 24. and cap. 5. v. 6. Nehem. cap. 12. v. 22.

Seventhly, Artaxerxes Mnemon in Nehem. cap. 2. v. 1. who was father to Artaxerxes Ochus, and Arjanes: for Darius the last, he was of another Family, the Line of Cyrus the Great ending in Ochus, who descended from Xerxes the son of Atossa, Cyrus his Daughter; and the issue male of Cyrus falling with his own Sons.

But to proceed, Eusebius with the Latins following the Greeks, apply the beginnings and ends of every Persian King, with their Acts, to some certain Olympiad; As the War of Alyattes (Cyrus his maternal Grandfather) and Alyattes (Cyrus his Father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of Cyrus reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of Sardis by Cyrus to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The Invasion of Egypt by Cambyfes to the third year of the three-score and third Olympiad, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between several forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this Historical demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomical computation of Ptolemy, who refers the death of Alexander the Great, who died the twelfth of November, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after Nabonassar. And the Ara of Nabonassar began on the fix and twentieth of February: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth month of the first year of the eighth Olympiad: So that whether we follow the accounts of the Olympiads, as do the Greeks, Historians, or that of Nabonassar with Ptolemy, we shall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For Ptolemy reckons the time answerable to two hundred and four and twenty Julian years, and an hundred and forty days from Nabonassar to the sixteenth of July, in the seventh year of Cambyfes.

The Greeks, and namely, Diodorus Siculus, place the taking of Egypt by Cambyfes in the second or third year of the three-score and third Olympiad, and the beginning of Cambyfes seventh year, in the first of the three-score and fourth Olympiad, which first of the three-score and fourth Olympiad, runs a long with part of the two and twentieth of Nabonassar. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of Cyrus.

Likewise the twentieth of Darius, who succeeded Cambyfes, is according to Ptolemy, the two hundred and fix and fortieth of Nabonassar, which (observing the differences of Nabonassars Ara and the Olympiad, viz. eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the three-score and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greeks. In this Josephus agrees with the Greek throughout, saving

that he joineeth Darius Medus, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, with Cyrus in the destruction of Babylon; which is true, and not contrary to the Greek computation, but may very well stand with it:

Lastly, The disagreement and confused accounts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian Kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the Greeks, which being constant in it self, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

SECT. II.

Of Cambyfes, and the conquering of Egypt by him.

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the Empire of Persia to Cambyfes, the Son of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire; whereof he was possess in his Father's time, while Cyrus made War in the North. Ctesius with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the Grecian account before received.

In the fifth year of his sole reign, and in the like. c. a. third year of the three-score and third Olympiad, according to Diodore and Eusebius, he invaded Egypt, and having overthrown the King thereof, Psammetichus, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his Children.

Herodotus and Ctesius give for cause of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambition of Cambyfes) that when he sent to Amasis King of Egypt, to have his Daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the Daughter of Apries his Predecessor, which Cambyfes dildained.

Howsoever it were, true it is, that Cambyfes gathered an Army fit for such an enterprize, and caused the same to march. But before they entered Egypt, Amasis died, and left Psammetichus, whom Ctesius called Amyrteus, his successor; who enjoyed Egypt after his Father (according to the best Copies of Herodotus) but six months, though other Chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the Crown, in one battle he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that Cambyfes following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the Government of Egypt; and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not to be exterminated, if we may believe Herodotus and Thucydides, but that he left a Son called Inarus, who caused the Egyptians to revolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Psammetichus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amasis the King of Egypt, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The Persians durst not consume them with fire, did it seem, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

After this time of Syla Dictator, who caused his own to

the Meroes, stating the Law called *Talio*, or like that of Pontif had unmov'd the carcass of *Antioch*, &c. *Herodotus* lib. 2. c. 107. & *Justin* lib. 8. p. 87, 88. *Herodotus* lib. 2. c. 107.

SECT. III.

The rest of Cambyfes his Affairs.

After this Victory obtained in Egypt, Cambyfes sent an Army into Cyprus, and constrained *Eubolus* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Island of the Egyptians.

While Cambyfes yet busied himself in Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipp'd, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into Lybia, to overturn the Temple of *Zepher* *Ammon*; but the Devil in defence of his Oracle, raised such a Tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of the Country is covered, as the Persians were therewith choked and over-wheled.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Serces* report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts; but that finding a beginning of those inconveniences, which his first troops had tried, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old English Proverb, *God saith the King's Ways, saith the Tide*.

After his return from the attempt of *Abisipis*, he caused *Nas* the Egyptian Bull, worshipp'd by that Nation as God, to be slain; a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in service of him that only is, and liveth. But soon afterwards, when in a dream it seem'd unto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the Royal Throne of Persia, (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his Favorite: *Praxaspes*, to murder *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Sisters, contrary to the Persian Laws, he committed a most heinous and most detestable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himself with child, because she bewail'd the death of her Brother *Smerdis*. I find it written in this *Cambyfes*. That because his Predecessors observed religiously the Ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Judges, and enquired of them, Whether there were any Law among the Persians that permit the Brother to marry his own Sister; it being his own interest so to do. The Judges (who had always either Laws or distinctions in store to fatisfie Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction; but they notwithstanding found it in their customs, that it was always left to the will of the Persian Kings to what best pleas'd themselves; and so as *Nauclerus* terms it, *invenient occasion*: that is as much to say, The Judges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet where it concerned not the Kings private satisfaction, he caused *Stannus* one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjust judgment given, and the same his hide to be hung up over the judgment-seat. After which, bestowing the Fathers Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the same partiality deferv'd the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the Son of his beloved *Praxaspes*, was very strange and ungrateful. For when he desired to be truly inform'd by him what the Persians thought of his conditions? *Praxaspes* answered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many observed, That he took more than usual delight in the taste of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he used this replication: And are the Persians double-tongued, who also tell me, that I have in all things excell'd my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witness, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the first thou I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I miss the mark, I am then pleas'd that the fame be accounted true, and my subjects believed. This being spoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the stroke, *Cambyfes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the Arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly rejoicing, shew'd it to the Father, with this saying instead of an Epitaph: *Non Praxaspes, thou mayest resolve thy self, that I have not lost my wits with wine, but the Persians themselves, who make false report*.

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *selon de Joy*. For when he was inform'd, that *Patizates* and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanis* and *Cimerius*) Ministers of his Domestical affairs, taking advantage of the great resemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, posselt themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards Persia; and in mounting hastily on horse back, his sword disheating, pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remediless repentance of the slaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he soon after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein those seven months, in which the *Magi* governed while he was absent.

In *Cambyfes* the Male-line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Herodotus* gives him a Daughter called *Zontene*, *Panrapetes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being ¹¹⁷ drowned in the River *Opheis* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward in memory of the Princes death called *Orontes*.

He built the City of *Babylon* in Egypt, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Sister *Meroe*.

SECT. IV.

Of the Inter-regnum between Cambyfes and Darius.

Cyrus and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeiter of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Sarrapates*, or Provincial Governours of the Empire, (to wit, *Orontes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyas*, *Alpatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achamenes* the first Persian King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joined their forces together, surpriz'd and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which

which action (*Justin* *Fulsius*) *Intaphernes* and *Apharnes* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the Election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governor, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be order'd from thence forth. *Otaurus* (one of the Seven) did not fancy any election of Kings; but that the Nobility and Cities should condescend, and by just Laws defend their Liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being as it seem'd, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyfes*. As first, that it was not fit to give all power to any one, being greedy self, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commonly tie the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the Laws of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgment.

Megabyas was of another Opinion, affirming, that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgment, run into business and affairs with precipitation, use raging and overbearing words.

He therefore thought it best to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most virtuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius the Son of Hystaspes.

SECT. I.

Of Darius his Lineage.

Darius was defended of the ancient Persian Kings, to wit, of the *Achamenes*, of which *Cyrus* the Great was the Lineal successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* delivers him as before;

Cyrus the first, who had

Telsinus, who begat

Artafernes, who was father of

Arspames, the father of

Hystaspes, the father of

Darius, surnam'd *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Cur. l. 4.

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great in the Wars against the *Scythians*: at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caus'd him to be sent into Persia; others say, to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the Persian *Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyfes* into Egypt; he then joined with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neighing of his horse, or as others affirm, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he more

Darius gave the third judgment, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among great ditinuity of concord is seldom found; and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforc'd the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far later to observe the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordain'd.

The other four Princes adher'd to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperial Government by God established and made prosperous. And to avoid partiality it was accorded, That the morning following, these seven Princes should mount on horse back, and on him the Kingdom should be conferr'd, whose Horse after the Sun-rising should first neigh, or bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was resolv'd, caus'd the same Horse whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six Princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Laws affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, wherof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven Governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

assured to himself by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neices for his wives.

Hystaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides * *Herodotus* these three Sons, who were great Commanders in the War which *Darius* made in Asia the less, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artaphernes*, and *Artabanus*, who disswaded *Xerxes* & 202. from the second *Gracian* War. *Hystaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobrias* the Father of *Marius*, *Herodotus* who commanded the Army of *Darius* in 180. *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Arspates* his Cousin-german.

Reinuccio gives to *Hystaspes* five Sons, *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyfes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Orontes*, and *Atarnes*, with two Daughters.

SECT. II.

Of Darius his Government, and suppressing the Rebellion of Babylon.

Darius devised equal Laws wherby his Subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promisd by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all

SECT. IV.

Of Darius his Scythian War.

his Subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threecore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The War which *Cambyses* made afar off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Persia* for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this sort dismembered and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after some small colourable overthrows given to the *Persians* upon sallies, he delivered the City into *Darius*'s hands, who had lyen before it twenty months.

SECT. III.

Of Darius his favour to the Jews in building the Temple.

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should go on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of those Provinces which are situate between *Euphrates* and the *Phanician*, and midland Sea (whom *Exra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindered the work in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gave commandment that they should not thenceforth come near unto *Jerusalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis; Withdraw your selves far from them*; In our *English*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

He also made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disburthened on the Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also in the same Decree maketh invocation to God, That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to destroy all Kings and people that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in *Jerusalem*, &c. In four years after which Decree the Jews being really furnished with money, and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*; and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

AFTER the recovery of *Babylon*, he invaded the *Scythians*; whose King *Jusfin* calleth *Lau*. *Darius* undertook this War against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convey his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the Isles) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Mitridates*, who persuaded the *Asian Grecians* to bestride down the bridge, to the end *Asian* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Hystaspes* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionis*, which *Darius* gave a Colony of the *Greeks*; *Diodorus* call. *Bidd. Lat.* *Eth* Traytors to their Country, because they joined themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great Army of *Darius* entering the desert Country called *Belsarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chim Tartars* their posterity, at this day all horsemen, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Ploughmen, but Grangers, driving their Herds from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but used for Houses the Waggon wherein they carried their Wives and Children. Their Waggon they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperor himself, called now the great *Chim*, any other City than such as *Agora* (as they name it) or Town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and waited his Provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither ways to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any things at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies; he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which it had brought him. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messengers to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battel: Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* used to demand as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hyperbolyical* answer; lending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and five Arrows: which dumb shew *Darius* interpreting by his own will, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withal into his hands. But *Gobryas* one of the seven Princes, who had slain the *Magi*, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; O ye *Persians*, get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows. And this interpretation was soon verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* Camp, drove the Horsemen into the Trenches, and vexed the Army

Army with continual Allarums day and night; were so fearfuls of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldness of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick and weak behind him, and to with all speed marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, persuaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* King should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hystaspes* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise fail to meet, when they returned from *Ister* to seek him out.

SECT. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian War.

Darius having thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the Invasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabastus*, who maltreated the *Paonians*, and transplanted them, and posset *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places being also soon after subdued, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Othanes*, the son of *Sisyambus*, whom *Cambyses* had excommunicated for false judgment. So were the Cities of * *Selyria*, and * *Cardia* likewise taken in from the *Persian*, who having now reduced under his obedience the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoining, demanding of him by the Earth and Water the Sovereignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemn and magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadors who were well filled with Wine, and premeditated upon their greatness, and many Victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings son, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdainful the *Persians* barbarous presumption, rebellowed his Father to withdraw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withal he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising them their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpire them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soon after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas* gave his sister *Oxyas* in marriage to *Babarius*, a principal Commander of *Darius*'s forces on that side, who persuading her Husband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the Invasion of *Asia* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that

tempest, which threatened to fall upon him very suddenly; the War of *Asia* the Isles, called *Jonick*, falling out at the same time.

SECT. VI.

The first occasion of the War which *Darius* made upon Greece, with a rehearsal of the Government in Athens, whence the quarrel grew.

NOW the better to understand the reason and motives of that great War, which followed soon after between the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which City endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Athens* invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable success. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those Wars, which never could be thoroughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Persian* Monarchy. *Persepolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athensian* Harlot consumed with a flame as dreadful as in the pride of their greatness the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore, as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece* were anciently governed, the same being already set down, though scattering, and in several times, among other the Contemporary occurrences of the Eastern Emperors, and the Kings of *India*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient Policy under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athensians*, in the former books remembered, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore to be honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchical, to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first; and of these there were twelve Generations besides *Medon*, to wit, *Aegleus*.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Jonis*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen, one hundred and forty.

Therippus.

Phonius.

Mezades.

Diogenes, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans*.

Phereas.

Ariphron.

Thespius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Beluchus* and *Araxes*.

Aegamemnor.

Æschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

Alcamenes, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athensians* elected Decennial Govern.

ours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that Governed for ten years, or

P. 256. pag. 159.
Diodor. l. 3.
P. 257. pag. 169.
Diodor. l. 3.
P. 258. pag. 170.

the first *Archon*, was
Charops, then
Hyficles,
Ephiclus,
Hippocritus,
Leocritus,
Aristocritus.

Erastus was the last *Archon* of the *Decemviri* Government, which from continuing thredecire and ten years, was then changed into annual Magistrates, Mayors, or Burg-masters, of which *Thestus* was the first according to *Paulanias*: others find *Leostatus*; and then

Antiofines,
Archimedes,
Mitrides,
Damifius,
Draco,
Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the less to be regarded by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinus Priscus*, and were in after-times derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decemviri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon* were in his own days violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the State of *Athena* was very soon changed into a Monarchy by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens divided into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contentions and infidelity to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in general. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been slain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men surmounting the State-house, or Citadell of *Athena*, he made himself Lord of the Town, *Hegemon* being then Governor. But the Citizens who in every change of Government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a Monarchy, could so ill brook this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lack of help to fly the Town, as soon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joining their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the dissention of the Citizens, was runned by their good agreement; so was it soon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of

intention perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired Soldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the Principality of *Athena*: after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athena* seventeen years, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, fifth *Ellianus*, but as *Tufin* hath it, and others accounting the time back as well before, as after the several expulsions, *Hierodotus* gives the Period of the Sonfix and thirty years; *Aristotle* of one and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Successors his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the next successors of a natural Prince, than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athena*, his Brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogues, intitled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lennia*: who because she would not reveal her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a trait amity with *Acanides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampfacus*, *Lyfion* whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, a City to whose Son *Hyficles* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his Brother, doubting I know not what the strong practice against himself, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himself had ever exercised during their usurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this dislike might rather increafe than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clisthenes*, one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practise their delivery: who, calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmaeonides*, together with an Army of the *Lacedaemonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by his composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athena*, and from thence imbarking himself, took Land at *Sigean*, whence he went to *Sigean*, a

Lycurgus in *Myfia* governed by *Acanides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of history of years before the battel of *Marathon*: all which time he continued partly with *Acanides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*; perfwading and practising the enterprize upon *Athena*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had resigned his estate. Thus far I have digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better the causes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athena* by the help of *Darius*, which made him solicit and perfwade the *Perfians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most urgent.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principal cause of the Wars ensuing between Greece and Persia.

Another and a strong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* War, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enjoyed their liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionick* migration to the time of *Croesus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Perfia*.

But as it is the custom of Nations half conquered (witness *Ireland*) to rebel again upon every advantage and opportunity: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Greeks*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seek by all means possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spur them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perfians* been given unto them for bribes to hold them in subjection. Every one of those Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the Government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Perfians*, by whose only might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutiful affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they used all means to deliver him and his Army (that otherwise had been lost) out of the *Sythyans* hands. Of this great piece of service *Hippias* the Tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*; when the rest, either perfwaded by the *Sythyans*, or carried away with their own desires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came so to pass, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Hippias* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Susa*, where he detained him with all kind usage of a friend, yet kept such good efpial upon him, as an enemy, he could not hurt away. *Hippias* had subtilty enough to discover the Kings purpose, and ill agreed with his own desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a small Territory, than to fit and feast at the great Kings Table, and hear the Counsels by which a large Empire was managed; being himself an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow upon himself.

Wherefore he bethought himself of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which, if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authority in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfy the King with excuses, or deal as occasion shall require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his Kinsman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, advising him to stir up some Rebellion. These directions came reasonably to *Aristagoras*, who having failed in an enterprize upon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Perfian* his Associate, stood in fear of disgrace, if not of some further ill that

might befall him, as one that had waited the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsel: and the better to draw the whole Country of *Ionio* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did let *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning won unto him the hearts of the *Milefians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom first he took and sold as slaves to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perfian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral in the enterprize of *Naxos*, he had surprized in his first breaking out, together with the principal Officers and Captains: so that now he thought himself able to deal with the great Kings forces lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be upon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, unless he were able to raise an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having stayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedaemonians*; he went thence to *Athena*, and with better success, won the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Ambassadors which had been sent to the *Perfian* Kings Lieutenant in the lower *Asia*, desiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, having found very churlish entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perfians*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their conglutination with the *Ionians*, and the perfwasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the *Athenians* furnished for this Voyage; to which the *Ertrians* furnished five more, in regard of the ancient Kindred, that had passed between the *Ionians* and them. With these and their own forces joined, the *Ionians* entered the River *Caifrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus*: by which advantage they surprized *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or suspected; infomuch as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Viceroy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himself into the Castle, which the *Greeks* could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Perfians* at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market-place, strengthened by the River *Pallus*, which ran thorough it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well advising themselves, made all the haste they could toward the Sea-side. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Greeks*, and found them near *Ephesus*; where letting rest solely upon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Army, the rest saving themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight, *Eucledes*, Captain of the *Ertrians* perished: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preferred. After this overthrow, the *Athenians* which were before sent unto *Aristagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perfwaded to make any second trial of their fortunes on that side the Sea.

Yet

Hier. l. 12.
 Ertria is the usual practice of the weaker side call in the others call Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Father became very powerful; yet so, that *Pisistratus* by his power was made Master both of them, and all the rest. But this agreement held not long, and *Ellian*, the *Alcmaeonides*, and especially *Megacles*, being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanor towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Soldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so far, that *Pisistratus* (upon the first discovery of their

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noise in the world, than the late good success which the *Persians* had in one or two skirmishes could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, won a great part of *Caria*; and kindling their Fleet into the *Hellepont*, got *Bisantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians* lately subdued by *Cambyses*, began hereupon to take heart; and entering into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by Sea, rebelled against the *Persians*.

These news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the indignation of those to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the War commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against *Athen*: To which the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembered, gave only some form and assistance: the business when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had perished, ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* against many of the Islanders, if not against the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Islanders moreover did help to furnish out a Navy of three hundred and sixty sail against him. These provocations did rather breed in him a desire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Persians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline; whereas in *Cyrene* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the life of *Cyrene*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper-hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victory of any use to them; the *Cyprians* in whose aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Persian* Army at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open War and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battles, and reclaimed that Nation, as also *Ionians* had recovered the Towns upon *Hellepont*, with some *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Archagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to eat himself in *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians* on whose Territory he-like he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the same time, *Histiæus*, the first mover of this insurrection, came down into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this *Evason* preferred him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, left the King (should pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it seems that he would have done, by the Burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death).

Histiæus had sought to put himself into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keep him out, and make shift for themselves without his help. The strength of their City

by Land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings; and their good Fleet, which promised unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the uttermost, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take care. But their Navy was broken as much by threatenings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the cruel flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the Town itself, being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slain, their Wives and Children made slaves, and their goods a booty to the *Persians*, whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

SECT. VIII.

The War which *Darius* made upon Greece, with the battel of Marathon, and *Darius* his death.

THIS War with good success finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* by the side with variable success; *Darius* obdurate in the enterprise and conquest of *Greece* (though at first he pretended to make the War but against the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, who jointly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Ambassadors, demand an acknowledgment from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Ægians*, and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquish the party and name of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in the cause of this War, and caused his companion King *Demetrius* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, and by the more confident of victory, by reason of their discords, alienations, and civil Wars among the *Greeks*. He therefore gave order to *Hipparchus* to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to transport his Army over the *Hellepont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athen* twenty years before, and by *Artaphernes* his Brother, Governor of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the left. Their Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-side, embarked themselves in six hundred Gallies and other Vessels, and first of all attempted the Islands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Asia* the left, and *Greece*. For (obtaining those places) the *Persians* had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might always both relieve themselves in the passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and outrage.

To this end, they first possessed themselves of *Samos*; secondly, they attempted *Naxos*: which Island the Inhabitants despairing of their own force, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to sack, but recalling the Inhabitants, he gave order to beautify the places and Altars of *Sacris* to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered these and other Islands, the *Persians* directed their

court for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that City (as already hath been shewed) had assisted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the *Persians* took ground, and besieged *Eretria* very straitly, and after six days assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Euphobus* and *Phidias*, they took it, sacked it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sails. From *Eubœa* the *Persians* past their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athen*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed towards *Athen*.

The *Athenians* finding the time arrived wherein they were to dispute with their own virtues against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withal sent away with speed to the *Lacedæmonians* for succour, employing in that Negotiation one *Philippides*; who passing through *Arctia* encountered in the way a familiar Devil, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the *Athenians* of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battel to assist them, and defend them by his power, against their enemies. *Philippides* at his return, seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promise of assistance from Heaven, which no doubt the device was somewhat likely to be his own, yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more stirred up with fond Prophecies, and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solid reason.

The *Athenians* being now left to themselves, with one thousand only of the *Plataians* (who having been formerly dejected by the *Athenians* against the *Thebans*), and in this extremity witness their thankfulness and grateful disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athen*, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand of the *Plataians*? In the end, and after great diversity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who persuaded the trial by battel, prevailed.

The *Armies* being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* disposed themselves into three troops: two wings or horns, they term them; and the body of a battel. The *Persians* when they perceived to small a troop advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather disposed off their understandings, than possessed with the resolution whereof they made show. So invincible and refulgent the *Persians* esteemed their own numbers to be, and that small troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withal: But in conclusion, the Victory (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his Father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in Justice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the loss received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of *Greece*. The diffention also among his Sons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by to great a mother

and of the *Grecians* an hundred fourscore and twelve. For howsoever it came to pass, either by strange Visions, which were afterward called *Panmixis*, or by some other fright, it seemeth that the invading Army after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Heracles* led down, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their but running away. As for *Justinus* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* Army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the periklador of the enterprise was slain, saith *Justin* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he escaped, and did most miserably in *Lemnos*.

The greatest honour of this Victory was cast upon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the trial by battel, and behaved himself therein unwisely to the counsel which he gave. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Grecians* of mark and commandment, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Sestius*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarkment, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left, of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This Encounter happened in the first year of the threecore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the War made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow *Romans*: *Alexander* the Son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phamippus* then Governor of *Athen*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hylbiades*, after *Halcarnassus*.

This great fray thus past, and the *Persians* returned back into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* sought and obtained an employment against the Islanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*; and passing over his Companies in threecore and ten Gallies, after six and twenty days assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, where-with himself being made unable, and his Companies discouraged, he returned to *Athen*, where those ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xanthippus* the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) cast him into prison, and let on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envy of the better sort to each other, with their private Factions, assisted by the unthankful and wideless people, brought them not many years after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subjection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one son called *Cymon* begotten on *Hege-sipia*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his Father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in Justice and good Government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the loss received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of *Greece*. The diffention also among his Sons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by to great a mother as *Atossa*, disdaining to give place to his elder brother,

ther, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, Death, who hath no respect of any mans affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joined him to the earth of his Ancestors, about a year after the bat-

tel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achamenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Masistes*, and *Artabignes*.

CHAP. VI.

OF XERXES.

SECT. I.

The Preparations of Xerxes against Greece.

Xerxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made against the *Egyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Gracians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Greece* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius* who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hyllaspes* for his Grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his Sister *Artaxogires*, persuaded by many arguments the *European* War. But *Artabanes*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late Invasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsel: The one in person upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his Enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far embark himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsel for conductor, though the success do not always answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variability of his own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power, can contrain.

But to obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanes*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this War (changing opinion and counsel) assisted the *Gracian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were consumed in despoiling and gathering an Army for this invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand Horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts of Carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number less by seven hundred thousand footmen.

The Commanders of the several Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise; for to these

were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobrias*, by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joined some others of *Xerxes* his nearest kindred, as Generals over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select *Persians*, called the Immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Darius*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200, and eight furnished by the *Phoenicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Aeolians*, and *Hellepontines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their own Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of *Persia*, as by *Artabignes* the Son of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand.

There were also certain Gallies furnished by *Artamesia*, the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Princes of *Halicarnassus*, and the Islands adjoining, which he himself commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himself was embarked.

SECT. II.

Xerxes Army entertained by Pythius: his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his Bridg of Boats over the Hellespont: and the discourse between him and Artabanes upon the view of the Army.

When this World of an Army was thoroughly furnished, he caulked all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their Rendezvous, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had assembled to the number of seventeen hundred thousand foot, as he entered the border of *Celestina* he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The least

ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting seven thousand of the *Persian Darius*; which make so many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treatise offered, but commanded that seven thousand *Darius* should be given him to make up his four Millions; of which to many thousands were wanting when he made the Present. But soon after, when *Pythius* brought him to spare one of his five sons from his attendance into *Greece* (because himself was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his own son), *Xerxes* most barbarously called the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his Carcass should be layed on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side: The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the same (with the half Island or Headland whereon it stood) to be an entire Island; sundring therefrom the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountain and the *Chersonesus*, or Neck of Land it self: a work of more ostentation than of use, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to pass in front. The Cities to be severed from the main, were *Dion*, *Olympus*, *Acrothion*, *Trojan*, and *Cleone*.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the *Hellespont* between *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth wanting an eighth part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torn asunder and disordered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slain that were masters of the work, and caused six hundred three-score and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the *Phoenicians*, was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boarded and railed, the whole Army of seventeen hundred thousand Foot, and four-score thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past over it into *Europe* in seven days and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cesar* afterward use. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperor, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Army brought near to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troops, assembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and seated on a place over-topping the Land round about to many Nations, and so powerful an Army and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there should not any one survive of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to *Artabanes* his Uncle, *Artabanes* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troop within that number of years by the King remembered, is; That the life it self which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few days given us in the world, there is no man among all these

or elsewhere, that ever found himself so accompanied with happiness, but that he oftentimes pleased himself better with the desire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrows whereto mankind is subject, being so many and inevitable; that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long, to avoid all which there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanes* not to over-cast those joys which they had now in pursuit, with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanes* utterly condemned the invasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of *Greece* could not be prosperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good success? *Artabanes*, notwithstanding that he assured himself of the Kings resolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpose it self, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the King should find, as he feared, to be most adverse, to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the World any Port capable of so great a Fleet; inasmuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continents of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any safety: and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremity men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other inconveniences, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the unsatiate desire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give resistance, yet the want of means to feed such an Army, and the famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, diminish and consume it.

By these Arguments *Artabanes* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he most feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it self both by Sea and Land, which soon after followed. These cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obstinacy had not misperceived them. For to invade by Sea upon a perilous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince pre-occupied on his fortune, than enriched with understanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second upon *England* in the year 1588, who had been like never heard of this Council of *Artabanes* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point; It is very likely that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it less than two millions of Souls, besides his beasts for service, and carriage, should after a few days suffer famine, and using *Machiavels* words, *Mourir sans souffrir: Die without a knife*. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous Country, to yield food (besides what served themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertain but with the sharpest points of their Weapons, destroying withal whatsoever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes* being reviewed at

Thermopylae, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Landforces, Harlots, and Horles; and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whoever should enterprize any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he should never pursue the fame farther than the dispute and constitation: which if his Predecessors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatness, or posselt so many Kingdoms and Nations as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprizes were never undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had inford him to that War. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerful prosperity of the *Perſians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was answerable to the plantation, and the success and end agreeable to the weak council whereto it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgment not sufficient (for he gathered in, marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus; & impenduntia potius sunt, quam auxilium: They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a baggage than an aid.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Army; so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Perſian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel* when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen Soldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks* both by Land and Sea; yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Thessaly*, and led by *Mardonius* who periwaded the enterprize, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

SECT. III.

Of the fights at *Thermopylae* and *Artemisium*.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army over the *Isthmus*, and landed in *Thrace* (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the River of *Lisus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the Lake near to

Plissym by his cattle, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*); I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shameful and incredible overthrows which he received. As first at *Thermopylae*, a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which did divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedaemonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeatae* and *Mantineans*, one thousand *Aradians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole days together against that huge Army of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handful of those men whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second days attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and so might have continued, had not a runaway *Grecian* caught him a secret way, by which part of his Army might assault the ledges of mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Perſian* Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas* King of the *Lacedaemonians*, with his three hundred and seven hundred *Thespians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good; and with admirable courage not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes* having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Soldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the virtue of such a had not been present at these battles, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deal. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great fear, whose manhood had appeared singular in this trial, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dionysius* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Perſian* Arrows was so thick as would hide the Sun; he answered thus: It is very good news, for then shall we fight in the cool shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in words, caused the *Perſians* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedaemonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked council of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had always well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces should be brought together to defend the *Isthmus*, that streight neck of ground which joineth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned, should be sent

sent unto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoil the Country, and to hold the *Lacedaemonians* and their neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised, That the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the Island then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a fit place of Rendezvous upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endangering the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedaemonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Isle drowned in the Sea, than stand so inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counsel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not easy to guess. But a contrary opinion of *Achomenes* brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the safer. For the *Perſian* Fleet had been sore vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole days together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of *Magnesia* four hundred ships of War, besides other Vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Arabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achomenes* periwaded his Brother not to disperse his Fleet; for if (said he) after the loss of four hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by Sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counsel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land Army and Fleet, should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewise made a sorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecians* Fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium*, in the Straits of *Euboea*, where the *Perſians* thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred sail about the Island to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas*, in a case so unlike, but with far different success. For that narrow channel of the Sea, which divideth *Euboea* from the main, was in the same sort held by a Navy of two hundred three score and eleven sail against the huge *Perſian* Armado, as the Straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas* till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Island, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the *Perſian* Fleet, and soon enough disclosed to the *Greeks*, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-prize, taking and sinking thirty Vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea; where being over taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the Rocks, and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increased by the arrival of fifty three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their loss with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greeks*, who readily did present them battle at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noon till night; and ended with equal loss to both parts. For though more of the *Perſian* ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greekish* Fleet, which being finally, could worse bear it. Herein only the Barbarians may seem to have had the worst; that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were sorely crushed in the battle; and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they weighed Anchors, *Themistocles* General of the *Athenians*, engraved upon stone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they should revolt unto the *Greeks*, or stand neutral; which periwasion, he hoped, would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Perſians*.

SECT. IV.

The attempt of *Xerxes* upon *Apollo's* Temple: and his taking of *Athens*.

When *Xerxes* had past the Straits of *Thermopylae*, he wasted the Country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoining: as for the Inhabitants, they chose rather to fly, and relieve themselves to a day of battle, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of saving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their service. Part of his Army he sent to spoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great affrontment that fell upon the Companies which arrived at the Temple to have sacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parassius*, overwhelmed many of the Barbarians; is were peradventure somewhat superfluous. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Athena*, whither they rolled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he should not have dared to entertain a covetous desire of enriching himself by committing sacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licent to chastise his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy One, who saith, *Will a man spoil his gods?* and elsewhere; *Have any Nation spent their gods, which yet are no gods?* *Go to the Isles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Perſians* alleged the burning of *Cybele's* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waste, which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize against *Delphi*, this vizor of holy and zealous reverence falling off, discovered the face of covetousness so much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence

Mat. 2. 8.

Jer. 2. 20

which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by their misbehaviour.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *He came to Athens, which finding, for seditious, he took and burnt the Citadel and Temple which was therein.* The Citadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than the widom, who literally interpreting *Apollon's* Oracle, *That Athens should be safe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with Boards and Palisadoes; too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the Prophecy: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done: *Themistocles*, to make direction the Interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business to words.

SECT. V.

How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greeks to fight at Salamis.

THE *Athenians* had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their Wives and Children into *Traczen*, *Egina*, and *Salamis*, not to highly prize their Houks and Lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheless, this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did shew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they removed their Wives and Children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forsake the life of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Ithaca*: which neck of land they did purpose to fortify against the *Persians*, and to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land and Sea, leaving the rest of *Greece* undefensible, to the fury of the enemy. So should the Islands of *Salamis* and *Egina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there bestowed as in places of security) have been given over into mercile's bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles* Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, very strongly made opposition, but in vain. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with fear of losing their own, which they would not hazard, that no persuasions could obtain of them to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*: As first in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedaemonian* Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the self same fear which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece* upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to dislodge the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himself to the defence of his own City and Estate: Then to the Council of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter;) he shewed, that the fight at *Ithaca* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer Ships, to determine the matter in the straits; and that besides the safeguard of *Egina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should be abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Ithaca*, which the Barbarians should not so

much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea; which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gave him to good advantage. All this would not serve to retain the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themistocles* with the loss of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speak in the Council that had no Country of his own to inhabit. A haile and shameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loss, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharp, as availed more than all his former persuasions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer City than any Nation of *Greece* could boast of; having well near two hundred good Ships of War, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was easy for them to transpire their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Here withal he mentioned a Town in *Italy* belonging of old to the state of *Athens*, of which Town he said an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in process of time should build it anew; and there (quoth he) will we plant our selves, leaving unto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the *Athenians*, whose affairs depended not as they well perceived, upon so weak terms, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such as might enforce the rest to yield to them, and confederate even to the uttermost of their own demands.

For the *Athenians* when they first embraced that Heretical resolution, of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruin, if necessity should enforce them so far for the preservation of their liberty, did employ the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Navy. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sea. Knowing well, that a strong Fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their Navy: Whereby it came to pass, that had they been vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athenians*, whose forces by Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and four score bottoms. Wherefore their *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their own condition, which would have stood upon desperate points if the Fleet of *Athens* had forsaken them; were soon persuaded by the greater fear of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the *Persians*, and laying aside their insolent bravery, they yielded to that most profitable counsel of abiding at *Salamis*.

How the Persians consulted about giving battle: and how Themistocles by policy led the Greeks to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

SECT. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giving battle: and how Themistocles by policy led the Greeks to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the mean season the *Persians* had entered into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battle to the *Greeks*, or no. The rest of the Captains giving such advice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in person, was of contrary opinion: Her counsel was, that the King himself directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to pass, that the *Greek* Navy (unable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of provision) should presently be dislodged, and every one seeking to preserve his own City and Goods, they should being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battle; so on the other side the danger will be need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loss in case it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the Victory which we desire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, it is more than they would have done, we sitting still: but if they as better Seamen than ours, put us to the worst, the journey to *Peloponnesus* is utterly dashed, and many that now declare for us, will soon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius* whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related unto his Master the common consent of the other Captains, and withal this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her advice, yet resolved upon following the more general, but far worse counsel of the rest; which would questionless have been the same which *Artemisia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that, as out of their own judgment, which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed, that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain persuasion of much good that his own presence upon the shore to behold the conflict, would work among the Soldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-side, pitching his own Tent on the Mount *Agaleus*, which is opposite unto the life of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might fairly view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every Captain. The near approach of the Barbarians, together with the news of that timorous diligence which their Countrymen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Army, marching apace thither, did now again so terrify and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no entreaty nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madness to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered, propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if losing the Victory, they should be driven into *Salamis*, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poor desolate Island.

Hereupon they resolved forthwith to set sail for *Ithaca*, which had presently been done if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he

perceiving what a violent fear had stopt up their ears against all good counsel, did practise another course, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwelcome decree; not suffering the very hour of performance to find him busied in wrangling altercation. As soon as the Council broke up, he dispatched secretly a trusty Gentleman to the *Persian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Navy about the Island, which encompassing the *Greeks*, might prevent their escape; giving them withal false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than believed these good news, well knowing that the Victory was their own assured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what ability their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captains with rich rewards, and the people with restitution of their City, and Territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their Ships about the life of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the life of *Psittalea*, which lyeth over against *Salamis*, to save such of their own, and kill such of the *Grecian* party, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did they necessarily enforce the *Grecians* to undertake the battle in the straits of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battle to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome task of writing down many disasters that befell the *Persian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it self that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well seem to have wrought out that Victory with equal courage, were it not that the principal honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Egina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the Barbarians did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land Army of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Egina* having possit the Straights, did sink or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

SECT. VII.

Of things following after the battel of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFter this Victory, the *Greeks* intending by way of scrutiny to determine which of the Captains had best merited of them in all this great service; every Captain being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deserving next unto himself, almost every Suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto virtue, as soon as her own turn was served. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper might easily discern

cern his faint heart through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius* Author of the War, began to cast a wary eye upon his Master, fearing lest his counsel should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the Victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his Princes indignation, he advised the King to leave unto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all Greece under the subjection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewith he forgot not to foother *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, That the cowardice of those *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metal, nothing better than slaves, who had so like themselves in the late *Scythia*, twice did not concern his honour, who had always been victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* itself, against which he now fought. These words found very good acceptance in the King's ear, who presently betook himself to his journey homewards, making the more haste, for that he understood, how the *Greeks* had a purpose to fail to *Hellisport*, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was, that the *Greeks* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not so strong as it should have been had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Peribrides* give counsel, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that Bridge, lest necessity should enforce the *Persians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men than like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timorous Prince, advising him to convey himself into *Asia* with all speed, before his Bridge were dissolved: which counsel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the Bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torn in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to embark himself in some obscure vessel, it is not greatly material; though the *Greeks* did most willingly imbrace the latter of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which as Locusts had before overwhelmed it.

SECT. VIII.

The Negotiations between *Mardonius* and the Athenians, as also between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, after the flight of *Xerxes*.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawn himself into *Thessaly*, whence he sent *Alexander* the son of *Amintas* King of *Macedonia*, as Ambassador to the Athenians, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as far as their own desires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that War.

The Athenians had now re-entered their City, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; forasmuch as they well perceived that the place could not be secure till the Army of *Mardonius* was broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lac-*

edæmonians understanding what fair conditions this Ambassador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, lest he should find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon they likewise very speedily dispatched their Ambassadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, told the best of their persuasion to retain the Athenians firm. They alleged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War against the rest of *Greece*, but had only threatened the subversion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that City, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the Athenians without much cruelty of injustice could not leave them. We know, said they, that ye have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forsake the Town, the houses thereof to be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongst us, as long as the War shall continue; hoping that ye who have always procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the Barbarians, their promises are large, but their words and oaths are of no assurance. It was needful to use many arguments to the Athenians, who gave answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Ambassadors, That whilst the Sun continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustain themselves; only desiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Army to march, forasmuch as it was not likely that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessaly*, having once received such a peremptory answer. In this their opinion of *Alexander* his readiness to invade *Attica*, they found themselves deceived. For he, as soon as *Alexander* had returned their obituate purpose of resistance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them and their City: they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the Country, where they expected the arrival of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agents unto them, with instructions not only to pervert them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded; but with great promises to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses to fight, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, and to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings charges: or, if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederates, whose succours did very slowly advance forwards; yet perhaps the leaders might be won with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should fail, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to please his Master King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needs understand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece* in the strongest part of their own Country. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the Athenians so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demetrius* calls him) *Cyrillus* advised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people, all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Council-house, heard what he had said, immediately

SECT. IX.

The great battle of *Platæa*.

It were too long a rehearsal to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to be the seat of that War. Much time was spent before the quarrel was decided by the trial of one main battle; for both parties did stand upon their guard, each expecting when the other should assault them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoined the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Thessaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persians*, furnished his Camp with fifty thousand men. Against these the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates had levied an Army of one hundred and ten thousand; of which forty thousand were weightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two Armies having eleven days confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose vicissitudes began to fail, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promised Victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the Lund of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, *Demigods*, and *Nymphs*. But it was hard to find the certain place which the Oracle designed: For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped; as likewise the memorials of those *Nymphs* and *Demigods*, were in the same place upon Mount *Cithæron*; and the ground served well for footmen against horse: only the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilst the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, the *Platæans* to make all clear, did freely bestow their Land on that side the Town upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edify their City; which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* Wars.

All things being ready for battle, the *Lacedæmonian* General thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he with his *Spartans* should entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* understanding, (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* and *Persians* had felt heavy proof, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Soldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his Battle, and oppose himself to *Pausanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemies did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that

day with their Archers on horse-back, who did to molest the *Greeks* at their working place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much loss to themselves, and more to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardice) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, that the *Lacedæmonians* being overtaken by the enemies horse, and overwhelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slain, and some of especial mark lost, before any sign of good success appeared in the entrails.

But as soon as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate, he gave the signal of batel; and thereupon the Soldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose all together, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek Army* that was in march, being revoked by *Pausanias*, came in apace to succour the *Lacedæmonians*; only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great batel, because the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Persians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the *Spartans*, with other their Alliances, did to well acquit themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slain in the field; the rest fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity enforced them unto; holding out the longer, because the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses and Walls. In the mean time the *Athenians* having found strong opposition of the *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory; which having not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found warily busied in assaulting the Camp with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage thorow the Wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greeks* entered with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand, they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with *Artabanus*, when as the *Persian Army* first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it, greater than any of the Alliances; yet they being of several Nations and Languages, and having lost their General, with other principal Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment, should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy-Country, against an Army of men far more valiant than themselves, and inflamed with present victory. Therefore the

same Wall which for a few hours had preserved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the laughing fury of unspitful Victors. *Artabanus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was slain by *Mardonius* upon some piece of service: For he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have been hostile unto him, and fought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making to large marches, that many of his Soldiers being feeble, were left behind and lost, he came to *Bizantium*, whence he shipped his men over into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious Expedition undertaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour and Conquest, though forcing otherwife, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, and rather worse, forasmuch as it began the quarrel, which never ended before the ruin of the *Persian Empire* was effected by that Nation of the *Greeks*, despised and sought to have been brought into slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the Vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the *Persian Monarchy* by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entered into greater consideration of their own strength, and the weakness of their Enemies.

SECT. X.

The batel of Mycale; with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning: and examples of the like.

THE same day on which the Batel was fought at *Plataea*, there was another Batel fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian Fleet* rode.

Lucyphides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek Navy*, at the request of some Islanders and *Ionians*, did sail into those parts to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himself at this time lay at *Sardis* a City in *Lydia*, not far from the Sea-side, having left threecore thousand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionian* and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artemides* and *Libramires* Admirals of the *Persian Fleet*, understood that the *Greeks* bent their course towards them, they did forthwith draw their ships aground, fortifying with Pallisades, and otherwise as much ground as was needful for the encompassing of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Lucyphides* at his arrival perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Galley close aboard the shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear than good will, were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek Tongue* to remember liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Salamis*, trusting that either these persuasions would prevail, or if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousy in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not seem strange, that this very false stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty to

perilvade

perilvade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former bravery little regarded, and less feared any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the *Milesians* whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the freight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Camp, which examples the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that while the *Greeks* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a rumour suddenly ran in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Soldiers) was very true. For the Batel of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great Batel, wherein *Paulus* *Emilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four days, as *Livy* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the Batel by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the Batel against the *Tarquinius* and the *Latins*, presently notified at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius* who was Rebel to *Romanian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germany*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself Emperour; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War, it was suddenly reported that *Antonius* was slain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of public joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Author of their tydings could not be found, the Emperour *Romanian* betook himself to his journey against the Rebel, and being now with his Army in march, he received advertisement by Post of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembering the rumour noted before in *Rome* of the self-same Victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make above five and twenty hundred miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange if among so many rumors begotten by forgery or mishearsings, and followed by credulous imagination, there should not be found (as happens in dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himself doth sometimes use to certify those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous noises: as he raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a found of Horles and Chariots to affright the *Arameites*; and as he threatened *Senacherib*, saying, Behold I will send a blast upon him, and he shall bear a noise, and return to his own Land. Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such

means as this to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Hierodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with hearty hearts, being in great fear lest their own adventure should by no means fall out well; confiding in what danger they had left their own Country of *Greece* which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius*, whilst they went wandering to kick out Enemies afar off, upon the coast of *Asia*. But the fame of the Batel fought at *Plataea* being notified among them, every man desired that his own valour in the present fight might be some help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this clativity of spirit they divided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the Plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and freight passages, to win the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set upon the Camp (e're the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did to forcibly assault it, that they brake way thorow the Pallisades and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the place, flaying all that could not face themselves by flight. In this fight the *Sannus* did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milesians* who upon the top of *Mycale*, were placed by the *Persians* on the spots of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had been sent of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little service, for the business was dispatched e're they came in: Only they broke such companies as retired in whole troops; making them flee dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of the huge Army levied against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make otherwise War.

SECT. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: with a transition from the Persian affairs to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Batel; but little mind had he to revenge either this, or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife; with whom he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force. Because he respected much his Brother her Husband, he thought it best to make a match between his own Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occasion of such familiarity as might work out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did fill reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him, he soon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern himself in peace, as to guide his Army in War. This young Lady having once desired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, caused the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands conversation with her, which he imputed not to much to the beauty of her

Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon the conceived execration lay. Therefore at a Royal Feast, wherein the custom was, that the King should grant their request, she craved that the Wife of *Majestes*, her Husbands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her disposition. The barbarous King who might either have reformed the abuse of such a custom, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatening her self with the like, to whatsover she should inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the request; and sending for his Brother, persuaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems that he understood how villainously that poor Lady should be intrusted, whom he knew to be virtuous, and whom himself had loved. *Majestes* refused to put her away; alleging his own love, her deserving, and their common children, one of which was married to the Kings Son, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him, saying, That he now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promised unto him. *Majestes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when returned home he found his Wife most brutally mangled by the Queen *Amistis* who had caused her Nose, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off; and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. *Majestes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children and some friends towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebel and avenge himself: But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannical condition of the *Perfian* Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joined with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much virtue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great finding an Image of his overthrow, and lying upon the ground, said, That he doubted whether in regard of his virtue he should again erect it; or for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lie. But surely, whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercilefs.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Perfian* Empire was to surely laid; that all the wickedness and vanities of *Xerxes* and other worse Princes could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almost equal to that which did establish it. In Wars against the *Egyptians* the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue as at the first it had been, very good; but against the general estate of *Greece*, neither he or any of his posterity did ever make offensive War but received many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mysale* served but as an introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Perfian* was no better Soldier at his own doors than in a foreign Country: whereof good trial was made forthwith, and much better proof as soon as the affairs of *Athens* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perfian*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Perfian* estate continued in her greatness many ages following, in such wise that the known parts of the world had no other Kingdom representing the Majesty of a great Empire.

But this greatness depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury wherewith both it and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unwieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to pass that *Xerxes* and his successors were fain to defend their Crowns with money and base policies; very seldom or never (unless it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the trial of plain battle with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would soon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealousy urged every City to envy the height of her neighbours Walls, and thereby diverted the swords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued to hew out the way of Conquest on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Perfian War, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

SECT. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.

After that the *Medes* and *Perfians* had recovered their last blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mysale*: *Leutychides* who then commanded the *Gracian* Army, leaving the pursuit of the War to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæ-*

monians and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta*, and overthrew them in the mean while besieged *Sifos*, a City on the Strait of the *Hellepont*, between which and *Abydos* *Xerxes* had lately fastened his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants desperate of succor, did

did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellepont*: In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children since the invasion of *Asia*, and the abandoning of *Athens* in divers Islands, and at *Traxen*; they now found them all, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the City overturned; yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortify their City, before they cared to cover themselves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being adverted, and mistaking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwall'd, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerful by Sea than either themselves or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any private dislike or jealousy, but pretending, that if the *Perfians* should return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their enemies, and to be made a feat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promised to give them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily.

But being resolved to go on with their works, by the advice of *Themistocles* they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their walls to that height, as they cared not for their milks, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealousy: (for by the arrival of divers persons out of *Asia*, they were told for certain, That the walls of *Athens* were speedily grown up beyond expectation), *Themistocles* prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, and determine accordingly. Their request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his own, by whom he advised the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with some such discourse as might retain them a few days; and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himself and the other *Athenian* Embassadors then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates, and *Arifrides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the Walls of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to believe, That whenever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such as right well understood what appertained to a Commonwealth, and their own safety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City; and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the resolutions of their own counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perwaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous War against the

Perfians, they found their own judgments, and the execution thereof, in nothing inferior or less fortunate than that of any other Nation, State, or Commonwealth among the *Greeks*. And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their own affairs; and thought it good reason, That either all the Cities confederated within *Greece*, should be left open, or else that the Walls of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, dismissed their milks, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the division; and suffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embassadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyram*, by which they might under covert embark themselves upon all occasions.

SECT. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatness, and prosperous War made by that State upon the Perfian.

THE *Athenians* having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War against the *Perfians*; to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty: and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where, after their landing, having possessed themselves of many principal places, they embarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Perfians* by force the City of *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behaving himself more like a Tyrant than a Captain, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treason against his Country. In his stead they employed *Demeter*, who either gave the same cause of offence, or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandment in that War, praised the Soldiers to complain; though indeed the wife and virtuous behaviour of *Arifrides*, General of the *Athenian* Forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available in rendering those detested whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no less wearied of the War than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their call, and the other the execution and honour which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandment of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruin in the next succeeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to levy money according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of *Greece*, and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side in *Asia* the left, and the Islands from the *Perfians*. This tribute (the first that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred

and threefold Talents, which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man *Arifides*, to whose discretion all the Confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the virtue of *Arifides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; so the desire which they conceived of increasing their commodity corrupted their virtue, and robbing them of the general love which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her Treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere their four hundred and threefold Talents were raised to six hundred; nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred Talents. The life of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these sums were laid up, and where at the general Assembly the Captains of those forces sent by the Confederates, were for form sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians* who were stronger by Sea than all *Greece* besides, had lockt up the common Treasure in an Island under their own protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War was *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*, who first took *Eionia* upon the River *Sirmon*; then the Isle of *Sciros* inhabited by the *Dolopes*; they mastered the *Caristis*, and brought into servitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the Confederacy: So did the other inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commands; taking upon them, and usurping a kind of sovereign authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of War, or in Ships; leaving the provision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Wars; the other greatly strengthened their Navy and their experiences, being always armed and employed in honourable services, at the cost of those who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money levied upon these their confederates, employed to well by the *Athenians* at the first (as all proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral fouling the *Afatick* Seas took in the City of *Phaselis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way assist the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contri. union.

From thence he set sail for the River *Euryandron* in *Amphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode, being of six hundred sail, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army encamped upon the shore; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the *Athenians*; the rest being broken to pieces or sunk; ere ever they had swum in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the

one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very soon presented with a third. For fourscore sail of *Phoenicians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, under the *Persian* command) thinking to have joined themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the time Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and feared nothing less than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-land called *Hydras*, did so amaze them, that they only fought to run themselves on ground; by which mean preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did to break the courage of the *Persians*; that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condemned to whatsoever Articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*; and further Covenanting, That none of his ships of War should fail to the Westward of the Isles called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the most honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect after this time make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as under *Alexander* they overthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which War few, or perhaps none of them had any place of great command, but served altogether under the *Macedonians*.

SECT. III.

The death of Xerxes by the Treason of Artabanus.

BESIDES the losses which could not easily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such as gave just cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace upon any terms not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus* the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving that the King his Master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such in kindred or place were near unto him, began to repose less hope of safety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the Sovereignty by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his cruelty and delighted for his cowardice and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treason he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he caused *Darius* the Son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedness he got the Kingdom, and held it seven months; or whether intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the son of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and surprized, were hard to affirm any certainly. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extreme tortments; according to the sentence, wherof the truth is more ancient than the Verbe:

*Raro antecedentem scelus
Deseruit pede pona claudo.*

Seldom the villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Banishment of Themistocles: his flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia; and his death.

ARTAXERXES being established in his Kingdom, and having to compound with the *Athenians* as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the *Greeks*, than he or his Predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athenis*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their own merit in that service, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to quell seemed cause both to make and to maintain; that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands, they would admit none other form of Government than merely *Democratical*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integrity nor good desert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had born great office longer than by flattering the rascal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatness upon popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of *Ostracism*, whereby he was banished for ten years, as a man over-burthened to the Commonwealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedaemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias* about betraying the whole Country of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty Cities, was driven after many troublefome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*, where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counsel and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitless. For when the *Athenians* in favour of *Inarus* the *Libyan*, who infected *Egypt*, causing it to rebel against the *Persian* had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and scowred those Eastern Seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, (or ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikelihood of good success, in leading a great Army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his virtue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to seek honour by the ruin of it; sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulness to his well-deserving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving people by finishing his life with a cup of poison.

SECT. V.

How the Athenians breaking the peace which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Egypt.

THEN was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his own Captains in the *Egyptian* War, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred sail strong, was sent forth unto *Cimon*, to take in the life of *Cyprus*; which conquest seemed easy both to make and to maintain; the *Persian* being utterly broken at Sea, and therefore by unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persians*, who had made so good proof of the *Gracians* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any Ships of War (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one should be found failing towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken; and if not his whole estate, yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far over-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, he left the league which in his own worlde fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore fought to get such assistance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way to take whilst they might whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and so unable to defend.

The life of *Cyprus* lying in the bottom of the Straights between *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, is very fitly desired for any Prince or State that being mighty at Sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by trade with those Countreys, or to infect one more of them with his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured in conceit this Island, was on the sudden well-nigh choaked with a greater morsel, to snatch at which they let *Cyprus* undigested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Country was exalted by the late Wars, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapas*, or *Viceroy*, could make on the sudden of his own Guards, or levy out of the ordinary Garrisons, were by him defeated, the naturals of the Country not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a revolt lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soon break divided himself that the people unable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance, would easily be drawn to accept him the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly slain *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the War. But he considering his own weakness, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents

adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, far greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured at what price soever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* Fleet, and knowing well the virtue of the *Soldiers* therein embarked; he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdom of *Egypt* as a far greater reward of their adventure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly turned according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was possessed of the peoples love, they were of much power. But the issue of those affairs was less left them, nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

Yet had the beginning of their enterprise very good and hopeful success: For they entered the Land as far as to *Memphis* the principal City; and of the City it self they took two parts: to the third part which was called the *White Wall*, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Perians* which then were in *Egypt* were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well advise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was, by setting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athenians*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look homeward to their own defence. This was the first time that the *Perian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greeks*: on the other, by stirring them up with Gold to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Agabazus* to *Scania* with much Treasure; who after great expense, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing so ready in employing their whole force against the *Perians*, whom in many conflicts of great valour they had found to be their enemies, and considering the absence of their Army in *Egypt*, he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and means to their relief who had now the space of six years defended their masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the son of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encountered by the *Perians* revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him master of the Country, whilst the *Athenians*, who *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great City.

It cannot be doubted that long abode in a strange air, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: first it is that when *Megabazus* having reduced the Country to obedience, attempted the City it self, whether his former success had diminished the courage of the *Perians*, or want of necessity made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chafed them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so near as they were forced to fortify themselves in the life of *Protopites*, where *Megabazus* after *Diades*: the River by divers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, took their camp of *Galles*, and put all to the sword, save a few that fled: *Megabazus* followed them, and they fled into *Lybia*: the same day, ten thousand men, and eight hundred Gallies, which they sent into the succour of the first two hundred. For the City those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Army was consumed, entered by the branch of *Nilus*, which is called *Mendesium*, and

fell unawares among the *Phonician* Gallies, and the *Perian* Army; so as the *Perians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyntus*; and *Isarus* the King of *Lybia* being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* six years War in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indelication to undertake many enterprises at once.

SECT. VI.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians for the most part with good success, about the same time.

Notwithstanding these overthrows in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-Wars were wedded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten near unto *Halicia*, by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*; so they obtained two great victories soon after, the one over the *Peloponnesians* near unto *Ceryphalia*; the other over the *Aeginets* near unto *Aegina*, where they sunk and carried away threecore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged *Argina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Atara*; where, after a great fight with equal loss, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to set up their *Trophies* as Victors in the former battle, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons and *Megarians*, to their great loss and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited near to *Tangra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Darians* against the *Phonicians* (at which time the *Thessalians* Horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them); so about threecore days after, the *Athenians* entered *Bautia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulf of *Oetius*, and evened the Walls of *Tangra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Aegina* to render upon most base conditions, as to beat down the Walls of their City, and to give them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other troubles and attempts elsewhere. Besides their victories, they sackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the *Athenians* and their Allies, during the time of those six years that a part of their forces made War in *Egypt*. In the end whereof, they attempted *Thesphaly*, persuaded thereto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharphalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over those that resisted; after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five years, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships; but they were again allured by *Agonitus*, one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marsh and Woody parts of *Egypt* from the *Perians*, to whom they sent sixty of their ships. The rest of their Army failing in their enterprise at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Island, encountered

encountered a Fleet of the *Phonicians* and *Cilicians*; over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

SECT. VII.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus: that he was Abahlueroth the Husband of Queen Hester.

These *Egyptian* Troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable; whereof the length is by some restrained unto twenty years; but the more and better Authors give him forty, some allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His favour was exceedingly great to the *Jews*, as appears by the Histories of *Esdra*s and *Nehemiah*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and aid to that great work of building the Temple; it were a needless travel; considering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to shew, that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Abahlueroth* who married *Hester*. Whereof it is be needful to give proof, it may suffice, that *Abahlueroth* lived in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must have been a *Persian*; that he lived in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the History, and used the counsel of the seven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continual Wars which exercised King *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry Wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first Wife *Ansis* the daughter of *Cyrus* alive in great honour, (he being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King), do manifestly prove that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the persuasion of *Mardochæus*, *Joachim* the High Priest the son of *Jesha*, caused the feast of *Parim* to be instituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Joachim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes* at the coming of *Esdra*s and *Nehemiah*: *Jesha* his father dying about the end of *Darius*:

The same continuance of Wars with other his furious and tragical loves wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as he had free from War, are enough to prove that the story of *Hester* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Abahlueroth* or *Artaxerxes* is expressed by *Nehemiah*. Again, it is well known that *Xerxes* in the seventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage must have been celebrated) came not near to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes* Longimanus, to prove that none of them could be *Abahlueroth*, it is enough to say, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hierusalem* captive, with *Tebachnia*, by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived until their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Ethiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Joachim* the high

Priest, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Royal Feast as is described in the beginning of *Hester*. This is the sum of the arguments brought to prove the age of *Hester*: story by the learned and diligent *Krentzheim* who adds the authorities of *Josephus* affirming the fame, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Isaac* the *Patriarch* lived, namely one hundred fourscore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

SECT. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, forgoing the Peloponnesian War.

But it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forwards, more vehemently prosecuting their Civil Wars, suffered the *Perians* for many ages to rest in peace, this *Egyptian* Expedition being come to nought. Soon after this the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the War called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and life of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the fame, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the banished *Baotians* re-entered their own Land, and mastered two of their own Towns posselt by the *Athenians*, which they soon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athenians* the *Athenians* set upon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slain or taken, whereby the *Baotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Islanders of *Eubœa* took such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the *Megarians* (who first left the *Lacedæmonians* and submitted themselves to *Athenians*) being now weary of their yoke, had slain the *Athenian* Garrisons, and joined themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Epidaurians*. These news hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians* led by *Plisphaanax* the son of *Panfanias*, had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many parts thereof, after whole return *Pericles* went on with his first intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After six of these years were expired, the *Athenians* (favoured the *Mysefians* against the *Sarmians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*; and after many repulses, and some great losses both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themselves upon most lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break down their own Walls, to pay the charge of the War, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruel *Peloponnesian* War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following: the same contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But

because there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this War, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrel; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the e-

state of the Country at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the rest had most dependence.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian War.

SECT. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Greece was never united under the Government of any one Prince or Estate until *Philip of Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to Union and League against the *Persians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every Estate held their own, and were governed by Laws far different, and by their own Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwise than as to such who were (perforce) their Leaders in the *Persian War* (demed the general quarrel of *Greece*) and took the profit and honour of the victory to their own use and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia* did so far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under such obedience as differed little from servitude; very few excepted who could hardly sometimes with arms, and sometimes with gifts preserve their liberty: of whom the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* were chief; which two people deserved best the plague of Tyranny, having first given occasion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Country by perpetual War. For until these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrel on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian War* (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not before the time that *Philip* had overthrown all, forasmuch as every conclusion of one War afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Country) the Wars commenced between one City of *Greece* and another, were neither great nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the general Council of *Greece*; or by the power of the *Lacedemonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

Their *Lacedemonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government when the *Peloponnesian War* began. Their education was only to practise feats of Arms, wherein they excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such manner as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious-building or apparel they regarded not. Their

diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They used Money of Iron, whereof they could not be covetous, nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, save that they used no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hence it came to pass, that in all enterprises whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they fought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary Soldiers in their Wars, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Islanders compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian Fleet* was great.

As in form of policy and in course of life, so in conditions natural, the difference between these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, fudden in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution. The *Lacedemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did usually in flagrant. Whereby it came to pass, that the *Lacedemonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and assured, that fought honour and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in freight subjection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, until such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrel to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Army of seventeen hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Navy, and (assisted by the other *Grecians*) overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soon after discomfited by them and the *Greeks*, who all served under conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Islands of the *Grecish Seas* under their obedience; imposing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War against the *Persians*; though indeed they employed their forces chiefly to the conquest of such Islands and Haven-Towns of their Countrymen as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedemonians*, who were Islanders, and men that delighted not in Expeditions

to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousy, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would have oppressed the *Plataeans*, when they of *Plataea* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aid than this advice, That they should seek help at *Athens*. Hence it was thought that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serve to encrease their honour and puissance.

SECT. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into War.

Nevertheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Athens*, because that City grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker Towns against the stronger, interposed apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Island *Coryra* their Colony which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their Fleet by adjoining that of *Coryra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby defeated of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now howsoever it were so that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redress by War the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore, seeking Religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences committed in *Sparta*, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of some Towns oppressed by the State of *Athens* should be set at liberty; and that a Decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly pressed, that if they might obtain it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making War.

This they desired not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle), but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entering into a War, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needful to the War, wherein the *Lacedemonians* were superior both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the general favour as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed: but the *Athenians* did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and

absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need than the willing readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

SECT. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

The first and second years Expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut down, the Country people driven to fly, with Wives, Children, and Cattel into the Town; whereby a most furious Pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had never felt nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Aphyllians* in the Isle of *Leibos*, and the siege of *Plataea* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide until victuals began to fail, waiting and destroying all things round about. The Governors of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a Fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which waited as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilst they were making War in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, won the Town of *Plataea* which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that War the *Lacedemonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might and did receive. The Confederates began to let forward very slowly in their Expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessities, which came by the Sea from the Islands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these Invaders took but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong Navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilful in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

SECT. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans received at Pylos.

Among other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylos* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Coryra*, waiting in that passage (as their manner was) the Coast of *Laconia*, and all the half-life of *Peloponnesus*, was

by contrary winds detained at *Pylus*, which a rugged Promontory joining to the Main by a strange neck of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Island of less than two miles compass, and within that a Creek, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being born off by the headland and life. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground and haven, they in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Country adjoining was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruel War with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in freight subjection; yet was not the old hatred to extinguish'd, that by the near neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians* it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily incursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or, if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this Haven, lying almost in the mid-way between them and *Coryra*, make them able to furnish all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The news of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entered a few days before with their whole Army: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well foresaw, little fearing the grievous loss at hand, which they there in a few days received. For when they in vain made a general assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land, finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence; they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Island before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channel that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that only two ships in front could enter between the Isle and *Pylus*; likewise but seven or eight ships could enter at once by the further channel between the Island and the Main. Having thus taken order to shut up this new Town by Sea, they sent part of their Fleet to fetch wood, and other stuff, wherewith to fortify round about, and block up the piece on all sides. But in the mean season the *Athenian* Fleet hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the Haven, did break and sink many of their enemies vessels; took five, and so enforced the residue to sue themselves aground.

Now was the Town secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Island as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to advise what were best for the public safety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to refuse their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking Truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The conditions of the Truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* should deliver up all the ships which were in the Coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Town, nor the *Athenians* against the Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should pass into the Island secretly:

That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at the whole return the Truce should end; which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly void in all: That when the Truce was expired, the *Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, That as they themselves had begun the War, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did sue to them for peace, advising them to make an end of War, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For instead of concluding upon even terms, or desiring of meet recompence for loss sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this War began, refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, unless the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendered unto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect; at which time the Truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captains, that they should according to their Covenant restore the ships which had been put in to their hands. Whereunto answer was made, that the condition of the Truce was, That if any one Article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye have assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are ye acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit so far overweighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to use many hard means for conveyance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed, That when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these Prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were so far from waiving *Attica*, that they suffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

SECT. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage obtained a Peace that was not well kept.

Therefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with continuance of good success, that having sent a few bands of men into *Sicily* to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrel; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their lands returned without either gain or loss, they banished the Captains, as if it had been merely through their default that the Isle of *Sicily* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it self, no whit inferior

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our unto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated shortly after by some disasters received, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battle which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slain; which two had most been adversaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation, so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War against such as through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently desirous to conclude the business ere Fortune by any new favour should revive the insolence which was at this time well fortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unless they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The estate of *Argos* which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a Truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles by joining with those who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong City, which though inferior to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so unwelcome, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little else to do.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had been not regarded. For it was then thought that by waiving the Territory of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrel should easily and in short time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians* and others, for whose sake the War was undertaken, have been so firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong Fleet, from any great harm that the *Peloponnesians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Masters of the Sea, they weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the *Confederates* of *Sparta* they could now endure neither War nor peace; their daily travels, and many losses had wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to use the occasion which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as seemed equal and easy; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The restitution of Prisoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot that the *Lacedæmonians* should restore first. These had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had they were had not won absolutely: For they had restored some Towns to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own

hands, but had been rendered unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give some satisfaction by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others which they had gotten in the War; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned, neither would they by any means yield themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatever Articles were drawn and concluded for their security and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest until such time as they might receive the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entered into a more straight alliance with the *Athenians*, making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have sued for peace at their hands, as soon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did they themselves plainly unwilling to give ear to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure work, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deserving in the late War, or found so troublesome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appear) was little worse than friendship. It bred great jealousies in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive such a conjunction between two so powerful Signories; especially one claiming a threatening every one, that was anything apt to fear, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits of subduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjust friends: whereby it came to pass, that they who lately had born chief sway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely used the advantage.

SECT. VI.

Of the Negotiations and practices held between many states of Greece, by occasion of the Peace that was concluded.

The admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unrefusable, and able to make way through all impediments, had been to excessive, that when by some sinister accidents that City was compelled to take and seek peace upon terms not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonians*

Ionians would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himself prisoner, nor that any misfortune should have been to great as should have drawn that City to relieve it less otherwise than by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especial mark, being overladen by enemies in the Island before *Pylus*, had rather chosen to live in captivity than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* had fired sticking as a thorn in the foot of *Lacedæmonia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate as utterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it fit down and sick to refresh it self by dishonourable ease: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive bally of those men which were virtuous though unfortunate; but other less Cities joining with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the rich and great City of *Argos*, of whose ability to do much, they conceived a strong belief, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the bale condition which through foolish envy is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the virtues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in our selves.

The first that publish'd their dislike of *Sparta*, were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatness of *Atheni* daily enervating the *Lacedæmonians* had entered into the present War. But their *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alleging as grievances that some Towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans* who during the time of War, had procured some part of the *Argadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependency upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The *Argives* feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their sails, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under; giving for that purpose unto twelve of their Citizens a full and absolute commission to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Atheni* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular business to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all comers; the *Athenians* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entered into this new Confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconvenience might arise unto them by these courses, the *Lacedæmonians* easily discerned; and therefore sent Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had been hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entered yet into alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purpose of whose Embassy was this: That the *Corinthians* without breach of their Oath could not forsake the alliance which they had long since made with *Sparta*; and that Reason did as well bind them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made,

as Religion enforced them to continue in their ancient Confederacy; forasmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their Associates, that the consent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Atheni*) should bind the lesser number to perform what was concluded; if no divine impediment withhold them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, That the *Spartans* had first begun to do them open wrong, concluding the War wherein they had lost many places without provision of restitution; and that the very clause alleged by the Embassadors did acquit them from any necessity of subscribing to the late Peace, forasmuch as they had sworn unto those people whom they perswaded to rebel against *Atheni*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in Reason and Religion to use all means of upholding those whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an Oath was no less to be accounted a Divine impediment, than perfidy, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said, That they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haste to join themselves with *Argos*, and caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* and *Atheni* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also upon the point to have entered into this new Confederacy. But as the affections were divers which caused this hasty conclusion of sudden friends to *Argos*, it is likewise cause to pass that the friendship it self, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were, that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*, as the *Mantineans* and *Elans*; these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and these would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were to enter into the society of the *Argives* as they had done; but the different forms of Government used in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joining with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This business having ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themselves of their own danger, who had not so much as any True with *Atheni*, and yet were unprepared for War. They sought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians* who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City, that had shewed against them, more stomach than force; but gave them to understand, that they might be safe enough from them if they would claim the benefit of that alliance which *Atheni* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto these *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependant of *Sparta*) the True that they desired; but into private Confederacy they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one should not make peace nor war without the other.

Herein,

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seen the great advantage which absolute Lords have, as well in peace as in war, over such as are served by Volunteers. We shall hardly find any Signiory that hath been so constantly followed as *Sparta* was by so many States, and some of them little inferior to it self, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsion means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up such places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such Towns as were old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reformed without their consent which had them in present possession; and particularly the Town of *Panactis* which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof unto the *Athenians* as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover *Pylus*) unless that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were constrained to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the last agreement between them and *Atheni*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Panactis*, till first they had utterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was fought to have been excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who coming to *Atheni* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to lull the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemy of *Atheni* should nestle in *Panactis*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deal with tame fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one; but used such base confusions as stood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having destroyed a Town that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough needs to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time both in *Atheni* and *Sparta*, many that were ill contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that year in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Atheni*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the War, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by Covenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him desire War, as the mean whereby himself might procure some honourable employment, used all means to stir the quarrel on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendered ought save their prisoners, and pretence enough to use that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Atheni*

had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, until they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereto they were bound, even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them froward, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* wishing a speedy beginning of open War, sent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to understand how fitly the time served for them to associate themselves with *Atheni*, which was enough to give them security against all enemies.

The *Argives* upon the first concurrence of many Estates unto their society, had conceived great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these sudden apprehensions of vain joy, were suddenly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had sought security from *Atheni*; and when a false rumour was noised abroad, *Atheni*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; than began the *Argives* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now consulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Atheni* their own Embassadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Elans*, to make a League offensive and defensive between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this business, the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick upon a little more, but rather by giving full satisfaction to retain the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who coming to *Atheni* with full commission to make an end of all Controversies, did earnestly labour in the Council-house, to make the truth of things appear; saying, That their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panactis*: concerning which Town, or any other business, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians* to see things fall out in such wise as might give to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them, to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the Negotiation with the *Argives* might be called off. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was

thus

dait on the sudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who secretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, persuaded them well of his friendship towards their City, and advised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of *Athens*, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptory and yield to nothing, unless they could draw them to unreasonable conditions. The Embassadors believed him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people as he had advised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the advantage which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity; that were come to *Athens* for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whose honest meanings had to ill been seconded with good performance) were now so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong persuasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the League with *Argos*. Yet for the present so far did *Nicias* an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the business was put off, until he himself with other Embassadors might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may also seem a great wonder, how so poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of so great importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadors might have cast the load upon his own shoulders, by discovering the truth: But the gravity which was usually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untruly men, had they professed themselves such as would lay and unlay for their most advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a frowne message to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, That the *Lacedæmonians* should take the pains to rebuild *Sanctæ*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them understand, that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into Confederacy with the *Argives*, and their adherents. The *Ephor* at *Sparta* had no mind to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would do no more than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seem to have effected nothing) swear anew to keep the Articles of the league between them and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embassadors, a new League was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Maininians*, and *Eleants*, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this Confederacy did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to do the like, *Sicily*,

had themselves recovered nothing of their own (prisoners excepted), for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disturb them, was the loss of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortunes, than in sundry passages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whole Amity, they had left sundry of their own friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the *Athenians* by the treaty of peace had recovered the most part of that which they lost in War; all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

SECT. VII.

How the Peace between Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

It was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellows had found business wherewith to let the *Athenians* on work, and make use of this conjunction. For presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So many acts of hostility were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) inflict each the others, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their several friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrisians*, and other people of *Greece* began anew to range themselves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their Ensigns. One victory which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meet valor in a fat Battle near to *Mainina*, against the *Argive* side, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The civil dissension arising shortly after within *Argos* it self, between the principal Citizens, and the Commons, had almost thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so far, as to renounce the Amity of the *Athenians* in express words, and forced the *Maininians* to the like. But in short space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobility, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Besides their upstarts in *Poloponnesus*, many assays were made to raise up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Macædon* to the *Athenians*: whose forces and readiness for execution prevented some things, revenged other, and required all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* warring matter of quarrel, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining still that enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open War.

SECT. VIII.

The Athenians sending two Fleets to sack Syracuse, are put to flight, and utterly distressed.

During this intermission of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of subduing *Sicily*, whither they sent a Fleet to mighty, as never

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of the History of the War.

ver was set forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessities to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that Voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to banish himself, for fear of such judgment as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed people; partly by the invasion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Perfia*, who supplied the *Poloponnesians* with money.

Neither was the success of things in *Sicilia* such, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end to that War. For although in the beginning, the enterprize had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Syracuse*, the chief City of all the Island, and one of the fairest Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with strong aid from *Poloponnesus*, it came to pass that the *Athenians* were put to the work on all sides, in such wise, that their Fleet was shut up into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicily*, so did they at home stand upon their terms; for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly journeys into *Attica*, which having pillaged and foraged, they returned home; did now by counsel of *Alcibiades* (who seeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortify the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they could not without daily incursions to harry all the Country round about, and sometimes give alarm unto the City it self. In these extremities the perverse obstinacy of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own doors, an enemy little less mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another Fleet into *Sicily*, to invade a people no less puissant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a prosperous event, makes foolish counsel seem wiser than it was; which came to pass many times among the *Athenians*, whose vain Conceits *Pallas* was laid to turn to the best. But where unadvised finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have served to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Syracusians*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy, which was there before) quite vanquished, and heaved up into the Haven of *Syracuse*, whereby the Camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up, and fly away by Land; in which flight they were overtaken, routed, and quite overthrowen, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deserved, fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Philostratus* Generals, formerly sent into that life, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicily*, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made War. Hereby it came to pass, that *Nicias* who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprize, did rather chuse to hazard the ruin of his Country by the loss of that Army, wherein consisted little less

than all the power of *Athens*; than to adventure his own office, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of shameful accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his trial resolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdom and necessity required it. For (said he) they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would speak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours, that shall be brought against us: yea these our soldiers, who now are so desirous to return in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the loud and insolent multitude.

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a precedent and pattern whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was such as a constant man could not easily have overmastered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to have the Camp break up till seven and twenty days were past. His timorousness was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the powers of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his *Athenians*; or might portend less evil to the foolish, than to such as did their best. Neither do I think that any Astrologers can allude this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had *Cælius the Roman*, he who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of *Cælius* his Army, defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the *Sun* were past the sign of *Scorpio*; he made answer, That he stood not in such fear of *Scorpio* as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

—Sapiens Dominabitur astris.

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives the Governors of understanding, when he intends evil to the Multitude; and that the wickedness of unjust men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens fell, after the great loss of the Fleet and Army in Sicilia.

THE loss of this Army was the ruin of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little less calamity to that Estate, than was the subversion of the Walls, when the City about seven years after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subjects of the *Athenian* Estate to rebel: of whom, some they reduced under their obedience, others held out; some for fear of greater inconvenience were set at liberty, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kind of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very unfortunately, that the principal men of *Athens*, being wearied with the peoples infidelity, took upon them to change the form of that Estate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpose, conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the form of an Aristocracy in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, some that were most likely to withstand this Innovation, being slain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were so dismayed, that none durst speak against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this general fear the Majesty of *Athens* was usurped by four hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient form of proceedings, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices; but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give consent: for whosoever presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the murder. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new authority, which nevertheless endured not long: For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Isle of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the four hundred Ultrapers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of Banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had promised to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant made unprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his service done unto that State was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Council and good performance he so far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good success was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his virtue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose Wife had so far yielded herself to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends he could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the *Spartan* treachery, conveyed himself unto *Tissaphernes*, whom he loved with his great beauty, sweet conversation,

and found wit, that he soon became the Master of that barbarous Viceroy's affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to advise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, wherby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persians*. By this counsel he made way to other practices, wherewith by strength of his reputation (as the only favourite of so great a Potentate) he played his own game, procuring his restitution. At length his Banishment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were opposed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the Soldiers to the Governours; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny wherewith they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being less regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquire themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority, and the greatness of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or safety at least, than the good Estate of the Commonwealth. Therefore they made sundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring to compound in as good terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the City of *Sparta* was governed by an Aristocracy, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping without any great cause to repair their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which upon just ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield some fair opportunity to the destruction of it self, which in effect (though not then presently) came to pass. And upon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decelia* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the Navy of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the City, but seeing no likelihood of success, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have been regarded, than in this they decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather have forborn to present unto the City, or to the Country near adjoining, any terror of the War. For the dissolution within the walls might soon have done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave occasion to let the Citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The four hundred by means of these troubles, were fain to resign their authority, which they could not now hold; when the people, having taken arms to repell foreign Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the sovereign command unto the people, or

or whole body of the City, but only to five thousand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed, that *Alcibiades* and his companions should be recalled from exile, and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Soldiers desire.

SECT. X.

How Alcibiades won many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their General, and again deposed.

THIS establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good success in the Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the same time overthrowen at *Sea* in a great battel by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joining such forces as he could raise, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydos*, his arrival with eighteen ships, gave the honour of a great Battel to the *Athenians*; he overthrowen and utterly destroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians* commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrian* ransom their City, and fortified *Chrysopolis*. Hereupon Letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* interpreting, found to contain the distress of the Army in these few words: *All is lost; Mindarus is slain; the Soldiers want victuals; we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrowen the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, besieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which even in those days was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his honour continued not long, for it was taken from him, and he driven to banish himself again, only because his Lieutenant contrary to the express command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second Banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the loss which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) less to be pitied of others, than that which ensued upon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had fought revenge upon his own City; now as inured to adversity he rather pitied their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weak estate, than fought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himself after injury received. Before they who were inflamed in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented Battel to *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not so confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himself, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former loss of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the people was published

in the Navy, then did *Alcibiades* withdraw himself to a Town upon the *Hellepont*, called *Byzantium*, where he had built a Castle.

SECT. XI.

The Battel of Arginusæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captains by the People.

AFTER this time the *Athenians* receiving many losses and discomfures, were driven to fly into the Haven of *Amyclene*, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. The raising of this siege necessity enforced them to man all their Vessels, and to put the utmost of their forces into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callicratides* Admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected that the ten Captains, who jointly had command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, should for that good days service, and so happy a Victory, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise, they were forthwith called home and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing more Vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very just answer, That they pursuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet under sufficient men, to save those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindered the performance of that, and other their intentions. This excuse availed not. For a leud fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himself creaking in a Meat-tub, had been intreated by those who were in peril of drowning, to desire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very strange that upon such an accusation maintained with so slender evidence, men that had well deserved of their Country should be overthrowen. But their enemies had so incensed the rabal multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only *Socrates* the wise and virtuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgment was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other Vessels in the storm: but the Captains which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was over-past, this judgment was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice, but the Divine Justice was not asleep, nor would be so deluded.

SECT. XII.

The Battel at Egos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian War.

THE *Peloponnesian* Fleet under *Lysander*, the year next following, having scourged the *Egean Seas*, enter *Hellepont*, where (landing Soldiers)

ers) it besieged and took the Town of *Lampfacus*, whereupon the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourscore sail, made thither in haste: but finding *Lampfacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Sesfos*, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the River called *Agos-Panamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the River of the *Goat*, being on the Continent opposite to *Lampfacus*: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampfacus* in the Harbor. The next day after their arrival, they presented fight unto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Agos-Panamos*; and thus they continued five days, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own Harbor when it drew towards Evening.

The Castle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made use of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, and making War in his own name upon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soon foresee and prevent it. For they lay in a rude subject to every weather, neither near enough to any Town where they might furnish themselves with necessaries, nor so far off as had been more expedient. *Sesfos* was the next Market-Town; thither both Soldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* wished them either to lie at *Sesfos*, which was not far off, or at least to consider how near their Enemy was, while fear proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardice. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the Commanders would him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians* either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Flight. And like enough it was that he might so have done by transporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his Confederates, and others his followers, over the Straights, who assaulting the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsel no better than hath been rehearsed, he left them to their fortune; which how evil it would be, he did not prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himself by the advantage of his Haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was, to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seen. Therefore understanding in what careless fashion they roomed up and down the Country; he kept all his men aboard after their departure: and the fifth day gave especial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* disembarking, as their custom was, and walking towards *Sesfos*, they should forthwith return, and hang up a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysan-*

der being in a readiness, made all speed that strength of Oars could give, to *Agos-Panamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboard their ships, nor many near them, and all in great confusion upon the news of his approach.

Inasmuch that the greatest industry which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that loss imported, gave over *Athens* as desperate, and made a long flight into the Isle of *Cyprus*; all the rest were taken, and such of the Soldiers as came into the rescue, cut in pieces. Thus was the War which had lasted seven and twenty years, with variable success, concluded in one hour, and the glory of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that the never afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory *Lysander* having taken such Towns as readily did yield upon the first fame of his exploits, set sail for *Athens*, and joining his forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias* Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the City, which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelled all the Islands, and such Towns of the *Ionians* as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*; he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals, and other necessities from the City, and enforced the people by meer Famine to yield to these conditions: That the long Walls leading from the Town to the Port, should be thrown down; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set at liberty: That the *Athenians* should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoining to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the Wars.

These Articles being agreed upon, the Walls were thrown down with great rejoicing of those who had born displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governors, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompensed their former insolency and injustice over their Captives, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians* was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertised the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now) domineered in every quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* War. After which the *Lacedæmonians*, abusing the reputation and great power which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by combination of many Cities against them, were dissolved; of which they had subdued *Athens*. The greatest foil that they took, was of the *Thebans* led by *Epinomidas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon* Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his Education. By these *Thebans* the City of *Sparta* (besides other great losses received) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But their haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the several Estates and Signories of *Greece*, were grown so jealous one of another, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*,

Thebans, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did to counterpoize the stronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly balanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon* (whose force-

ful they had been dependants and followers, yealously most near Vassals to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means by making use of their factions, to bring them all into servitude, from which they never could be free, till the *Romans* presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselves indeed become their Masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian War, or shortly following it.

SECT. I.

How the affairs of Persia stood in those times.

During the times of this *Peloponnesian* War, and those other less Expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimannus* having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Bastard, whom the Greek Historians (lightly passing over *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Usurpers, and for their short reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who as his Brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to have been the Sons of *Hesper*) held the Kingdom but one year between them, the younger succeeding his elder Brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the History of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearsal of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second being a vicious Prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous Brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his Brother, and more cruel, he slew unjustly *Bagoas* a principal Eunuch, and would have done as much to his Brother *Darius* the Bastard, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could levy, fought at once upon the King and Kingdom. *Darius* having slain his Brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amoratus* of *Sais* an Egyptian, rebelled against him, and having partly slain, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrison, allied himself firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it over to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their civil Wars) maintained it against the *Persians* all the days of this *Darius*, and of his Son *Artaxerxes Mucron*. Likewise *Amorges* a subject of his own, and of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled against him; confederating himself with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity before spoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Islanders and others, subject to the State of *Athens*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; It fell out well for *Darius* that the *Lacedæmonians* being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great

Navy, without which it was impossible to advance the War against the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driven to crave his assistance, which he granted unto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himself, though afterwards the Articles of the League between him and them, were let down in more precise terms; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make War jointly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that should rebel from either of them; and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia* which had formerly been his, or his Predecessors, should return to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the War ensuing (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his Grandfather and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the City of *Tasus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Nevertheless *Egypt* still held out against him, the cause whereof cannot be the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with Gold; which effected for him by Soldiers of other Nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was insufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his own Sister, who bare unto him (besides other Children) *Artaxerxes* called *Monon*, that is to say, the Mindful, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular virtue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his eldest Son *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of the great Empire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his Father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharp course with him, and had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the War between these Brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall have occasion to speak somewhat in more convenient place.

SECT.

SECT. II.

How the Thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the subversion of the Walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that War called the *Peloponnesian War*, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from civil broils. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of such ancient Statutes as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City standing as it did in that sudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the Supreme Authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give judgment in particular causes, to whose judgment the Laws themselves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become subject. But these Thirty having to great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deserve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellows as were odious to the City, though not punishable therefore by Law; they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their leud conditions, but did not withal bethink themselves how easy a thing it would be unto these thirty men to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without true trial and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plausibly entered into a wicked course of Government, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore dispatching two of their own company to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedemonians*, that it was the full intent of the Thirty to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpose it behoved them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the *Lacedemonians* to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their own costs to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard sent, the Captain of which was so well entertain'd by the Thirty, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations of *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, invaded the principal men of the City, sending armed men from house to house, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely or able to make any head against this wicked form of Government: whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the Thirty) seemed very horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellows to bethink themselves, and provide for their own security, and his destruction, lest he should make himself a Captain of the discontented (which were almost the whole City) and redeem his own peace with their ruin. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them some

part of the publick Authority, the rest they disarm'd; and having thus increased their own strength, and weakened their opposites, they began afresh to shed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, upon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the Thirty was most tyrannical, accuse him to the Council, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main priviledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the Thirty, but have the accustomed trial) he took upon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and so reduced him under the trial and sentence of that order. It was well alleaged by *Theramenes* that his name was not more easy to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans; upon which consideration, he advic'd them all to conceive no otherwise of his case than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding: but every man chusing rather to preserve his own life by silence, than presently to draw upon himself the danger, which as yet concern'd him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemn'd him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poison.

SECT. III.

The Conspiracy against the thirty Tyrants, and their disposing.

AFTER the death of *Theramenes*, the Thirty began to use such out-rage as excell'd their former villanies. For having three thousand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or shame, depoling them of lands and goods, and caused them to fly into banishment, for safeguard of their lives. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the City. For the banished Citizens who were fled to *Thebes*, entered into consultation, and resolved to hazard their lives in setting free the City of *Athens*. The very thought of such a practice had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who with their Captain *Therapylus* took *Phyle*, a place of strength in the Territory of *Athens*. No sooner did the Thirty hear of their exploit, than seek means to prevent further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedemonian* Guard, with which force they attempted *Phyle*, but were with some loss of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormy weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the City, which above all they were to make good, they left the most of their Guard, and two companies of Horle, to weary out them which lay in *Phyle*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Therapylus* were increased from seventy to seven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon those Guards, of whom they cut off above

above an hundred and twenty. These small but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyle*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the suburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their coming, the Thirty had resolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleusine* to their own use, whereinto they might make an easy retreat, and save themselves from any sudden peril. It may well seem strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of Government had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtain men good will, that contrariwise to secure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Justice) murdered them all. But *Sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, fearing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Therapylus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thousand armed again by the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprize *Therapylus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom though there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the Victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the Thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piræus*, together with some exhortations used by *Therapylus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the Thirty were depol'd. Nevertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the Thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be established. For Embas-

sadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aid against *Therapylus* and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedemonians*. And here appeared first the jealousy, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late Wars had been the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alledging that it stood not with their caths, to make War against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the League: but fearing indeed lest the *Lacedemonians* should annex the Territory of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Therapylus* his party, made a shew of War, he finally wrought such means that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and such others as were like to give cause of tumults, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that Tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parley, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the City returned to her former quietness.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger.

SECT. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his brother.

THE matters of *Greece* standing upon such terms, that no one Estate durst oppose itself against that of *Lacedamon*: young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, having in his Fathers life-time very carefully prosecuted the War against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous War against the *Athenians*. To this request, being general, the *Lacedemonians* gave a suitable answer; commanding the Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedemonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* should have been the recompence of his deserts; or that, he perishing in battel, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it plea-

sed God rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the ways, which under the *Macedonian* Ensigns, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and wial the weakness of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whose hour was not yet come. The love which *Parsyatis* the Queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince in his Fathers old age, to aspire after the Succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before been shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose

whole disavow himself might easily lose the place of a Viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the less, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compassed of cowardice, treachery, craft, and all vices which accumulably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, using by the way all fair shews of friendship as to a Prince for whom it might well be thought that Queen *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Parysatis* had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alleging that (which in former ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like dilection with his elder brother *Artaxerxes* was born whilst his Father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was crowned King, All which not sufficing; when the most that could be obtained for *Cyrus* was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanor, and confinement of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoining: then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous Treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily believed, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and sent back into his own Province.

SECT. II.

The preparation of Cyrus, and his first entry into the War.

THE form of Government which the *Persian* Lieutenants used in their several Provinces, was in many points almost Regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own reputation; usually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their own heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whatever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himself the interest that he had in the Kingdom; the small assurance of his Brothers love, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endued by his late imprisonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedaemonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himself. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present itself: but rather enterprise somewhat whilst yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrel with *Tissaphernes*, and seized upon many Towns of his Jurisdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition forgetful of what simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the considerable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his Brothers hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But *Tissaphernes* whose sole conditions were hated, and cowardly dejected, although he durst not adventure to take arms against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesians* were about

to give up themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionian* had done, thought by terror to preserve his reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion to take arms, which was no small part of his desire. In levying Soldiers he used great policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countys adjoining, whose lives were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Grecian* Captains with money, who being very good men of War, entertained Soldiers therewith, some of them waiting in *Thrace*, others in *Thessaly*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to cross the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several Wars, that the Soldiers might be held in continual exercise, and ready in arms upon the sudden. *Cyrus* having sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being thirteen thousand very firm Soldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very easily have forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the less: but his purpose was not to lose time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the less, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory; he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoice that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he postd away to carry tidings to the Court of this great preparation.

SECT. III.

How Cyrus took his journey into the higher Asia, and came up to his brother.

THE Tumult which his coming brought, was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira* against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the War. But whilst the King in great fear was arming the high Countys in his defence, the danger halted upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increased by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by trial in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of *Cicilia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled again, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their Cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who knew very well that his Brother was followed by men of

fame temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were preft to the War against their will and dispositions, whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to persuade the *Greeks* to pass the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cicilia*, to seek excuses, telling them, that *Artaxerxes*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where some of the *Greeks* considering, that who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might fairly return if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entered the Fords, whereby all were finally periwaded, and so to some had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes* where soever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raised an Army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battle. *Artaxerxes*, who with three hundred thousand men, had undertaken to make good the Streets of *Syrus*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look down *Cyrus* in the face; who despairing to find any way by land, had procured the *Lacedaemonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Army. I do not find that this cowardice of *Artaxerxes*, or his Soldiers, who arrived not at the Camp till five days were past after the battle, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they toward whom he withdrew himself, were all made of the same metal. Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was persuaded not to abandon to many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp dispute of Title to a Kingdom is most available) would have grown superiour in reputation. By such advice, the King relolved upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be secure, being fully periwaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped; but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe as to be far distant from his enemies.

SECT. VI.

The Battle between Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

THE Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evil ways, and scarcity of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being past this Trench, marched carefully in great disorder, having belovewed their Arms in Carts, and upon Beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Van-currors brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had great accident had breathed new courage into the ranged their Battels in good order upon the side

of the River *Euphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was afternoon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly in silence; whereas it had been expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should have spent all their force upon the first brunt; and when it appeared that from the fronts of the two Armies were to be unequal in distant, being all embattelled in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his own, did not with the corner, and utmost point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battel, which carried nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to distrust their own menhood, which was not accustomed to make proof of it self upon such excessive odds. It was almost incredible, that so great an Army should be so easily chased. Nevertheless it quickly appeared, that these *Persians* having learned (contrary to their custom) to give charge upon their enemies with silence, had not received (for it was contrary to their nature) to learn a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of an on-set, made by the *Greeks*, all that beately rabble of cowards fled again, without abiding the stroke, or flaying till they were within reach of a dart. The Chariots armed with hooks and stiths (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gave so much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that such as were about him, forthwith adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had been assured unto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greeks*, and to set upon them in the rear, he advanced with six hundred Horse, and gave to valiant a charge upon a squadron of six thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Captain thereof, *Artaxerxes* with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of six hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended; who perceiving where the King stood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himself, but said, *I see the man*; and presently with a small handful of men about him, ran upon his Brother, whom he stroke through the Gurock, and wounded in the breast. Having given immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a Dart, thrown by a base fellow, where-with astonished, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Master was slain. *Artaxerxes* cauled the head and right hand of his Brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had great accident had breathed new courage into the ranged their Battels in good order upon the side

Mmm Cap.

Captains as were now even in their own eyes no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who having made way through the Battle of the *Greeks*, was ready now to join with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the news which *Artaxerxes* brought with him, and his Brothers death been sufficient to countervail all disasters received, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks*, would have yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slain any one man of the *Greeks*; but contrariwise, when he came upon them, they opening their Battle, drove him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Matters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to sit upon them in the rear. But these good Soldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village that lay under a hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well, that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaid on the top of a Spear. This Ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greeks* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the spur; so that none remained in the place of battle, save only the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their Quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to dine.

SECT. V.

The hard estate of the Greeks after the fight; and how Artaxerxes in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their Camp spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satiate their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entered by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the benefits of his people, and weakness of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which

gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long ere with greater forces they disjunct with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning, charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there upon his Mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his Brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Arius*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would join with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they fell and went back to *Arius*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arius* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would join with them, and pursue the Victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whole errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would die ere he yielded to such a motion: a third asked, Whether the Kings, as having the Victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in a way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what countenance he meant to requite their kindness. To this question *Phalimus* a *Græciæ* an, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered, that the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words to them who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore one told *Phalimus*, that having nothing left but their Arms and Valour, whilst they kept their Arms, their Valour would be serviceable; but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying, This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech, but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevail against the great King. It seems that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and employed in a business of importance, thought himself too profound a Statesman, to be checked in his Embassy by a bookish dissembler. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known, than that he brought an unheeded message to his own Countrymen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons and Lives to the mercileless Barbarians) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon* who when all the principal Commanders were surprized by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the Wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought first into *Greece*, freeing it from all thole, and from greater dangers

dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their service in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the final answer was, That with out Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* delivered the Kings furthest pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the General told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I understand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise War, saith *Clearchus*. But whether War or peace, quoth this politick Ambassador? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose), Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horses, Affes, and other Beasts, which they rolled with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

SECT. VI.

How the Greeks began to return homewards.

AT night they took their way towards *Arius*, to whom they came at midnight; being forsaken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fell over to the King; by whom, how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces, for had they been kindly used, it may well be thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and served as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arius* being of too haughty a temper and birth, to think upon seeking the Kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make Covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tired the Soldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seem by declining them, to shew fear, or weakness. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Græcians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Country, should be very fearful: but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition informed them to do, should make the *Persians* fly out of their Camp, and so affright the great King, that instead of demanding their Arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day very early came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for Ambassadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best improve the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell

among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for Battle, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of Truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, lending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

SECT. VII.

How Tissaphernes under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the Greeks.

Hitherto the *Greeks*, relying upon their own virtues, had rather advanced their affairs, than brought themselves into any freights or terms of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtle Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the Chief Commanders by fine sleights, did mischievously entrap them, to the extrem danger of the Army. He told them that his Province, lying near unto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrymen at home, would not be unthankful for such a benefit. Herewithal he forgot not to rehearse the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battle shewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chase to the Barbarians that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alleg to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which case I have good hope to speed, if you will send a mild answer to him, who hath willd me to ask you, For what cause ye have born Arms against me? The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should pass freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they took, and committing no spoil: yet that it should be lawful for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having sworn, the League was concluded; and *Tissaphernes*, returning to the King to take leave, and end all business, came unto them again after twenty days, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, mislaid great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For he doubts his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed jealousy, the Brethren, the Kindred of *Arius*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Soldiers, did work him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This caused many to advise *Clearchus*, rather to pass forward as well as he might, than to rely upon Covenants, and sit still whilst the King layd snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves again into those difficulties, out of which they were

newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting withal their own wants, and the Kings means, but especially the Oaths mutually given and taken, wherewith he favo'ed the enemy should have clogged himself if he meant mischief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed, inasmuch as no enforcement, or bare respect, was like to have drawn it from him. But his falsehood was such, both in substance and in effects, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich man a liar*. A lie may find excuse when it grows out of fear: for that passion hath his original from weakness. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falsehood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud Lucifer, advancing his own strength against the Divine Justice, doth commit that in with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to defraud all the Captains, whom he subtilly got into his power by a train; making the General *Clearchus* himself the mean to draw in all the rest. The business was contrived thus: Having travelled some days together, in such wise that the *Persians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tissaphernes* and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tissaphernes* his brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the Oath of Confederacy, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keep it; and repeating the benefits which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make use of their service against the *Assyrians*, or *Persians*, who were accustomed to inflict his Provinces; or against the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithless *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many ways he could have used to bring them to confusion; without peril to himself; especially by burning the Country, through which they were to pass, whereby they must needs have perished by meer famine. For which cause he said, that it had been great folly, to seek by perjury, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their safety, not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the King, by their assistance; but for that he might by their friendship hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captains with him to the same place, where in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell o-

penly which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissention between them. *Clearchus* himself being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferior Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Soldiers, as it had been to some common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principal Colonels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a sign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slain. Forthwith certain bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the *Gracians*, who wondered much at all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have assailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his own Brother, and *Arius* followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principal men in the Army, saying That they brought a message from the King, which *Arius* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the League made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Atamem* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Colonels, for detecting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to surrender their arms which were due to him, as having belonged unto his servant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed upon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, That if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished; but he willed them to send back *Atamem* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly loved, and that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be advised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus* and the other four were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandment their heads were broken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, renewing to this perfidiousness of *Tissaphernes*, the annex which he afterward received. He saw his Province wasted by the *Greeks*, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aid of men and money, he did so ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let us return to the prosperity wherein he triumphed with great cause, having betrayed braver men than himself, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole Army.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

How *Xenophon* heartened the *Greeks*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.

Great was the heaviness of the Soldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders, and no less their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoid. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deep sadness of the whole Army, to be such as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to advise the under-officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whose familiar friend he had been, to bethink themselves of some mean, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the Soldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serve for to give them hope, and above all, persuading them in no wise to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and to together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order set down for disburdening the Army of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loss of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentiful Villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to pass them where they were fordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide slings, wherewith he overreached the enemy; and finding some Horfes fit for service, that were employed among the carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compass, who had been accustomed to the point-blank. By these means did he bear off the *Persians*, who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chase with that band of fifty Horfes, which being well back with a firm body of footmen, and seconded with troops of the light-armed shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to fly aloof. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handy-gripes with these resolute men, did possess the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to pass. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betook himself to that course, which was indeed the surest, of burning the Country. With great sorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some advised to defend the Country, as granted by the enemy himself to be theirs; others to make more fires, if perhaps the *Persians* might be ashamed to do that which was the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; but these were faint comforts. The best counsel was, that being near unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Country, passing over some high mountains which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them,

if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to seek to force, or circumvent them by his fine wit.

SECT. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek Army found in passing thorow the Land of the *Carduchi*.

Entering upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of ways, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferior to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the art of War. They were very light of foot, skilful Archers, and used the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much use against their poor travellers, afflicting them in several ways which they spent in that passage, far more than all the power of the Great King had done. Between the Territory of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centries* a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreshed themselves one day, rejoicing that they had so well escaped their dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove easie. But the next morning they saw certain troops of Horfe, that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the Kings Deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase their dangers, the *Carduchi* following upon them, lay on the side of a Mountain, within less than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discover a Ford, by which the greater number of them passing over, did easily chase away the subjects of the *Persian*, and then sending back the most expedite men, gave succour to the Rearward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly armed, could not on plain ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Springs of *Tygris*, though *Ptolemy* place them far more to the East upon the River of *Cyrcus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the River *Centries* (as of many other Rivers, Towns and Places mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the severity of a Critick. For *Ptolemy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add small light to this Expedition: only of this last, I think it the same which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artafogaria*, springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks* having passed *Centries*, did arrive.

SECT.

SECT. X.

How Teribazus Governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greeks with terms of feigned peace, was disappointed, and shamefully beaten.

THE Army finding in Armenia good provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or threescore miles to the heads of the River *Tigris*, and passing over them, travelled as far further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus*, at the River *Telbas*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small, but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Persian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seem to have been a School, where the Art of falsehood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they should take what they pleased, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As soon as he had made this league, he levied an Army, and besetting the streights of certain Mountains which they were to pass, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendation of being no less craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of success. For a great Snow fell, which caused the *Greeks* to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandered about seeking relief. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Soldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, fought him out, and coming upon his Camp, did so fright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the Van-couriers, chased him away. They took his Pavillion, wherein (besides many slaves, that were Artificers of voluptuousness) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and passing *Euphrates* not far below the springs thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep fens, being followed aloof by the Enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found straggling behind. The inhabitants of the Country through which they marched, had their wintering-houses under ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the Owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extrem cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaves, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattel) some Colts that were bred up for the great King.

SECT. XI.

The passage of the Army to Trabyzond, shewing the Countries bordering upon the River of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phasis*, near whereunto the people called *Pha-*

siani, *Tacchi*, and *Chalybes*, were seated. These Nations joined together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains which the *Greeks* were to pass, made countenance of war; but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to fly, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whose Country the *Greeks* did enter, were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great force of Cattel were taken; the people to avoid captivity, threw themselves head-long down the rocks, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of cattle, which served to feed them, travelling through the Land of *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living, who were glad when after seven days journey they escaped from those continual skirmishes wherewith they had been vexed by these Barbarians. Hence travelling through good Corn-country inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythians*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoining, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine Sea*. From *Gymnium* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his Enemies, desiring them of water to kindle fire. After five days march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moschici*, whence their Guide shewed them the Sea, towards which they bent their course; and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones* (with whom, by means of an Interpreter found among themselves, who, born in that place, had been sold into Greece, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchis*, wherein stands the City of *Trabyzond*, called then *Trapexus*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchis* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapexuntians*, did spoil the Country thirty days together, forbearing only the borders upon *Trabyzond*, at the Citizens request.

SECT. XII.

How the Army began at Trabyzond to provide a fleet wherewith to return home by Sea: how they came into the Territory of Synope, & there prosecuted the same purpose.

HAVING now found an Haven-Town, the Soldiers were desirous to take shipping and change their tedious Land-journeys into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherisiphus* a *Lacedaemonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedaemonian* Admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to embark

embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their Navigation. Left all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoining to clear the ways, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Soldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by Sea; but the Country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily consent to *Xenophon*'s request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapexuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into Greece, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring Ships into the Port of *Trabyzond*: the other took Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were stayed to increase the Fleet. After long abode, when Victuals began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchis*, near unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few Ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Army took their way by land to *Cerasus*, a Greek Town, where the Fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of Eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the *(a) Mosynati*, who were divided into factions. The stronger party despising their friendship, caused them to join them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

a Village
a Nation
of Pontus
Capadocia.
The City
of Cerasus
a Port-
Town in
the same
Region.

The next place of their abode was *(b) Coryra*, a Greek Town likewise, and a Colony of the *Synopians*, as *Trapexus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Soldiers entered the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These news were unwelcome to *(c) Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of their dealings, and threatening to join with the *Paphlagonians*, if redress could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*. That meer necessity had enforced the Army to teach those of *Coryra* good manners in so bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonians* at once, though perhaps the *Paphlagonians* would be glad to take *Sinope* itself; to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Town of *Coryra* to relieve the Soldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with Shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Arctephemus*, which crossed their way. This good counsel, and the fair promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would pass the rest

e Sinope
a Port-
Town in
Lycia;
a Colony
of the My-
lians.

a Traby-
zond, a
Colony of
the Greeks
situate in
the bottom
of the Eux-
ine Sea.

of the way by Sea; provided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serve to embark every one of them; then would they not put from the shore:

SECT. XIII.

Of Disfection which arose in the Army, and how it was embarked.

HITHERTO the danger of Enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity; which now began to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of Greece, warming their heads with private respects to their several ends and purposes. Whilst they, who were sent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*, *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a City in those parts, which were so unlike to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puissance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Country, divining of his success by the entrails of beasts. The Soothsayer whom he employed, had received a great reward of *Cyrius*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battle in ten days: he therefore having preferred his money carefully, was desirous to be soon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversity of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclaea*, being informed of this consultation, were so afraid, lest the poverty of the Soldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themselves at home, should give success to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Army with a sufficient Fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Soldiers pay, if they would presently set sail for Greece. One of these Captains being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Tractus*; another offered to lead them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon*, who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these Propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to sit forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should forsake the Army, before such time as they were arrived at their journeys end. *Silanus* the Soothsayer, who had uttered *Xenophon*'s purpose, was hereby flayed from out-running his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than he would with his good liking. All the other Captains were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived that Ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation; but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Soldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope* and *Heraclaea*, knowing that the Army was now resolved for the Voyage, and that *Xenophon* whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Navy, whilst they were in good readiness to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The Captains therefore, who being disappointed by these Towns, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had seen

ved with fair hopes, repented much of their fair officers, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Army, of taking the Ships, and failing to *Phasis*, where they might seize upon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good living. But finding him cold in the business, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These news becoming publick, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captains to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Corylus*, Lord of the *Taphlagonians*, who lending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the *Greek* having now their Fleet in a readiness, did soon weigh Anchors, and set sail for *Hermene* the Port of *Synope*, whither *Cherisiphus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to give the Army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

SECT. XIV.

Another great dissent and distraction of the Army. How the Mutiniers were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by *Xenophon*.

THE nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captains as the common Soldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedaemonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incited by that fugitive who forsook the Army at *Trabizanda*, flying with one of their two Ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the intrails that threatened ill success to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cherisiphus* a *Lacedaemonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a Voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbade him to accept it: especially knowing to well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wheresoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cherisiphus* had been General but six or seven days when he was deposited; for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclae*, which had sent Presents to the Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending Ships for their transportation. Two days they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclae*, where consulting how to take their way onwards,

whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three days; and that being now come out of the Enemies Country, victuals and other necessities could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Town of *Heraclae*, giving the Citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyziceni*; which sum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyziceni* at least; which, to require, they thought *Cherisiphus*, as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*, but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were sent; who in such wise delivered their insolent message, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Town, Walls. When the Soldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, that their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the most part of them *Acadians* and *Achaens*, they forsook immediately *Cherisiphus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed; woelecting ten Captains, sailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the midway between *Heraclae* and *Byzantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisiphus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisiphus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cause he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* such Shipping as he had; who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclae*, and *Thrasia Alitica*, intending to make a cut through the midland Country to the *Propontis*. The Mutiniers who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpose to take spoils in *Bythinia*, divided themselves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into some Village five or six miles from the Sea; in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered: and so was that part of the Country surprized on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendezvous was an high piece of Ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance, others not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians*, which had slipped at first out of the Soldiers hands, did raise the Country; and finding the *Greeks* laden with booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encompassed. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that

being

being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Acadians* and *Achaens*, who wanting the assistance of horse, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand merely upon their defence, bearing off with great danger and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*; till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parley. Whatsoever the Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* would give none, but pledges for assurance, they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incited, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the Inland-Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly thrown themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horsemen he sent before to discover, and to scour the ways; the light armed footmen took the hill-tops on either hand, all of them firing fire on whatever they found combustible; whereby the whole Country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the *Acadians*, increasing still the numbers of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given battle, found that his device to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signs that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his with great joy: confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night; wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and join with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calphas*, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disjoin the Army, should suffer death.

SECT. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by *Xenophon*; and how the Army returned into *Greece*. The occasions of the War between the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Persians*.

THE Haven of *Calphas* lay under a goodly Head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, excepting Olives. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Soldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should find some device to have settled himself and them in that place. For the greater part of them had

good means to live at home; neither did they so much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wives and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to return. But whether it were so, that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own disposition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected, or whether the signs appearing in the intrails, did indeed forbid their departure; so long they were intreated to abide in the place till victuals failed: neither would the Captains lead them forth to forage the Country until the Sacrifices should promise good success. *Cherisiphus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heraclaeans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joined to the rest of the Army, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Colonel into the place of *Cherisiphus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Soldiers with the spoil of some Villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprize he found ill success, the whole Country lying in wait to intrap him, and an Army of Horse being led by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrap*, or Viceroy of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*; which troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certain Mountain thereby. The news of this overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the Camp; upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps de garde*, flew home, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessities, caused the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travel, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their assailants. In this journey his demeanor was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was discovered, lying on the top of the hills adjoining, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a Wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, That he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not fail with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the Camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their Dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the uneasy return, which might serve to stay Covards from running away, but to wish unto the Enemy a fair and easy way, by which he might fly from them. Their perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could

not

not suddenly be conveyed away, to the discretion of the *Greeks*, who had general licence, gathered the Harvest of these had Neighbour fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoil of the Country, but when the occasion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Soldiers had no mind to Ray. Wherefore entering further into *Ephesus*, they took a great booty, which they carried away into *Chrysolis*, a City near unto *Chalcidius*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly vex, left their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visit his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, intreating him with much instance and large promises to wait them over into *Europe*, to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral condescending, promised to give the Soldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at *Byzantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the intreaty of the *Persian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them to surely imprisoned with misty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but would them to surrender their Arms into his hands, and so to yield their lives to his discretion. How discontentedly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and

how to require his injurious dealings, they kized upon *Byzantium*, which by *Xenophons* persuasion they forbore to sack, I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the general course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of *Asia*, and stir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprises than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet; the *Lacedæmonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the War shortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sown, before these Companies returned out of the high Countreys of *Asia*. For the Towns of *Ionis* which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, it notagaint the Great King, prepared to rebel; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedæmonians* to lend them aid, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their request. For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities, and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, whilst they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

SECT. I.

How the Lacedæmonians took courage by example of Xenophons Army, to make War upon Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour shewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the *Persian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate *Asiatiques*, and rehearsed the many Victories which they themselves had gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joint forces of that whole Nation to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handful had opened the passage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of four and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of *English* miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheless the Civil di-

traction wherewith *Greece* was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which kindled with *Persian* Gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Estate; leaving it questionable, whether *Agesslaus* having both the fame, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two years, which he spent in *Asia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of stout courage, and great or profitable achievements. For how highlysoever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countreys lying near the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of *Cannæ* the *Brian*, with fix thousand men from *Aquilia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it, than equal. But of

Agesslaus

Agesslaus and his Wars in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speak more in due place.

SECT. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the War in Asia.

THIMBRO receiving *Xenophons* men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such as had been highly beholden to the King; who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Master did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Thimbro*, was for his opprobrious taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himself as a good man of War, and a wise Commander. For whereas the Rule of the low Countreys of *Asia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the Worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command in those Wars against the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corridor thoroughly beaten, though to the Kings loss) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entered *Æolis*, which was under the jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few days he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave ease (success to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian*, had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein he behaved her self so well, that the not only was beloved of the people under her Government, but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certain Towns adjoining; and sundry times the *Myssians* and *Persians*. For the had in pay five Companies of *Greeks*, whose valour by her good usage, did her great service. But somewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Son in law of hers called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to slay her, and kill her Son of seventeen years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her Treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole Estate. Being denied entrance by her Soldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with Presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Governor in the place of *Mania*. His Presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul Treason threatened, whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Towns of *Mania* that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their gates. One only Town stood out four days (against the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governor striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergehe* and *Scopsis*, which the Traitor held; who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which, he issued out of *Scopsis*, as

and coming into the Camp, made offer to join with the *Greeks* upon such conditions as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to let the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon their words they marched toward *Scopsis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to strive against the Army, and the Townsmen, which were all of one mind; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergehe*. *Midias* did not forsake his company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergehe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Soldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise do a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traitor not daring to make denial, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tended pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the *Greeks*; and lo the murderous Wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his dejected head. *Dercyllidas* having in eight days taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of War. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the Truce being continued, held; in which time, besides the waiting of *Bythinia*, the neck of land joining *Cherryonta* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the City of *Astane* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta* to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not unequal to recover all the Towns of *Ionis*; *Pharax* the Admiral of the Fleet (which was a yeasty office) being appointed to join with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity; yet was he not in his own danger required with the like. For *Pharnabazus* having respect to the Kings service, came to assist his private enemy *Tissaphernes*, and lo passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength, which done, they marched towards *Ionis*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keep the War from their own doors, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoil and danger of the War, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the River of *Maander*; and not looking to have been so soon encountered, marched carelessly through the Country: when on the very sudden the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marshalled in very good order to preclude battle. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readines, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persians* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greeks* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Islanders and others, of such places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either

betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wife. Only *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians*, regarding their Honour, prepared to endure the fight, which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed; who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of reluctance was made, began to consider, what strange defence the Soldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed; and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last until *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the *Greeks* in *Asia* might enjoy their own liberty and laws; but contrariwise on the other side, That the *Lacedæmonians* should depart *Asia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect, only it served to free the *Greeks* from the present danger, and to gain time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to avoid the War by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by trial of a Battel.

SECT. III.

How the Lacedæmonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old displeasures. The discontent of the Corinthians and Thebans conceived against the State of Sparta.

IN the mean season the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympian Games*, had let a fine upon the City of *Sparta*; for Non-payment of which, they forbade them to come to the solemnity; and publicly whipt one of them that was of note, for presuming to contend against their Decree. Likewise they hindered *Asius* King of *Sparta* from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge; and therefore sent a peremptory message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usual pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars; though little they cared for the liberty of such Towns which they called afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere Vassals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of Liberty to work very slowly; but having now to do with a State of great spirit, and small force, it gave present success to their desires. Two years together they sent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*; the first year an Earthquake (held in those times a prodigious sign, and which did always forbid the prosecution of any enterprize in hand) caused them to retire: the second year all the Towns of the *Eleans* did hastily revolt, and the City it self was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Priestship of the *Olympian Games* was left unto them,

which it was not to be doubted that they would in time coming use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this Expedition all the *Greeks* were affilit to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians*, whose aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian War*, as the force of *Sparta* it self, they could not smother their dislike of their unequal division following the victory; which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth* only security against *Athens*, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equal greatness of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutral Commonweals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred prosecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatness which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans*, to take occasion of any quarrel, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the *Persians*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

SECT. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His War with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death; and the War diverted into another Province, through perjury and gifts of Tissaphernes his successor. How carelessly the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.

AGESILAUS newly made King of *Sparta*, was desirous to have the honour of the Victory, which not without cause he expected upon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to join with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Asia* in *Boeotia*, a Haven lying opposite to the Island of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War against *Troy* many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant also to do sacrifice in *Asia*; which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were so unable to conceal their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw down his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himself and his Country in a new War; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his main intent. Having landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persians* should restore to liberty all the *Greek Towns* in *Asia*, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making provision for the War, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, whilst *Agesilaus* was busied in settling the Estates of his confederate Cities on that side

side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from War, was at the coming down of these Forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* received a plain message from *Tissaphernes*, That either he must forthwith depart out of *Asia*, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they should provide victuals and other necessaries for his Army, did callily make *Tissaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horse, in which part of his Forces the *Persians* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horse into the Plains of *Meander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavy foot-army, not suffering them to pass into that Country which was fittest for their service. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great spoil without resistance, till such time as the Horsemen of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiving by that trial how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, took all possible care to increase that part of his forces. By which means having enabled himself whilst Winter lasted, he entred upon the Country of *Tissaphernes*, as soon as the season of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horsemen of *Tissaphernes* in the plain *Meander*, with the usual assistance of their Infantry, he gave them battel, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loss fell heavy upon *Tissaphernes*, who either upon cowardice had absented himself from the battel, or following some other business, was then at *Sardis*. For which cause his Master having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man so odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way; he sent into those parts *Tibranistes* a *Persian*, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeed him in the Government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last, through too much overweening of his own wisdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himself most perfect; for supposing that by his great skill in subtil negotiation he should one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Asia*; he did not seek to finish the War, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find some opportunity of making such end as might best stand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it seems that he much mistook his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found such means whereby the danger it self might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tibranistes* took at his first possession of the low Country. For he sent Embassadors to *Agesilaus*, in very friendly sort letting him know, that the man

who had been author of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Army be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition was by *Agesilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean season he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tibranistes*, who bought his departure with thirty Talents.

This was a strange manner of War, both on the offensive, and the defensive part. For *Agesilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his several Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offered at any loss that fell on their next neighbour Princes, which were subject likewise to the same Crown of *Persia*, so long as their own Government could be preserved from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able by partial construction, to countenance or disgrace the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so usual, that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Provincial Governour, according to the benefit or loss which the Country given in charge unto each of them received, during the time of his Rule. Whereby it came to pass, that as every one was desirous to make his own Territory yield a large increase to the Kings treasure, so no man was careful to assist his borders, if loss or danger might thereby grow to himself and his; but sat still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joining their forces, it had not been uneasy to recompence the spoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from greater miseries.

SECT. V.

The War and Treaty between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

AGESILAUS having thus compounded with *Tibranistes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Country without resistance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drove him out of the Camp. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustres, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and places of strength, which might have increased his power, and given assistance to his proceedings; but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him those that were discontented and stood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he lost again as easily, by means of some slight injury done to them by his under Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himself in any Town, for fear of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as near as he could fight to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not uneasy to do. For the pleasures by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessity, had been so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes

his bounty towards them, and his love, (which had been such, that besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their Fleet, when it was driven to run ashore at *Abydos*, adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could find any ground, and fight on Horiback against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise then by telling him, That having War with his Master, they were informed against their will to offend him. *Agesslaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him against the *Persians*, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make War against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himself to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, That the Army should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agesslaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary business elsewhere; but because his Country would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards required their unthankfulness with full revenge.

SECT. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with Gold from the Persian.

IN the mean while *Tithraustes* perceiving that *Agesslaus* meant nothing less than to return into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, took a wife course, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire; but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late Victories, and saw her Dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He sent into *War* against the *Lacedæmonians*; which Treachery was by the subtil practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all those Estates having formerly born secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open War. And left this great heat of the incensed multitude should for want of present exercise, begin to faint and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Loricans*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians* either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Loricans* were either hired or persuaded to pay now to the *Thebans* who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning to lose their Rent, made a distress by strong hand,

recovering a great deal more than their own: which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) required with an invasion made upon *Phocis*, warring that Country in the manner of open War. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between *Thebes* and *Sparta*, and the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, came to *Sparta*, concluding the violence done by the *Thebans*, and requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, and ready consent to their suit, it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians* to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, and then to discover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their own wills, having no other War to disturb them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Asia* no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with such forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta*, (for *Sparta*, as hath been shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to join with *Lysander* and make a speedy end of the War. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seek what help they could abroad, so much as their own strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwise affected in heart, than their duty in conscience; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it self on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by public allowance, or done in time of the general War, and recompensed with friendship lately shewn in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honour sake, they requested them of aid in the present War, offering to do the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former estate and dignity. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the *Thebans*, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large requital of the courtesy which they had received. For it was decreed, That the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War, but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it self in their cause. Whilst *Pausanias* lay still waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lysander* being desirous to do somewhat that might advance the business in hand, came to *Halimarus*, where, though *Pausanias* did not meet Town, and was slain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victory did encourage the *Thebans*, so the coming of *Pausanias* with his

his great Army did again amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were soon revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late battle, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slain by composition, departed out of their Territory, for which, either cowardice or indifferency, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traytor, and driven to fly into *Tegenæ*, where he ended his days in banishment.

SECT. VII.

How Agesslaus was called out of Asia to help his Country. A Victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recovers the mastery of the Seas, and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

THIS good success, and the Confederacy made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Embracians*, *Lacrians*, and *Acanians*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to give battle to the *Lacedæmonians* as near as they might, to their own doors; considering that the force of *Sparta* it self was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agesslaus*, who readily obeyed the danger, promising his friends in *Asia* to return speedily to their assistance, passed the freights of *Hellepont* into *Europe*. In the mean time the Cities of the new League had given battle to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Associates; but with ill success. For when the right wing of each party had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battle meeting *Agesslaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent over into *Asia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had since his departure seen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admiral slain. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into union with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of the *Lacedæmonians* grew strong at Sea, when the City was depopulated of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himself, during these broils, to take such order, that he should not need any more to seek peace by treaty and commendation of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had sold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the *Athenian* with eight Ships, who had escaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was surprized by *Lysander* at *Argos Potamos*; giving him the command of a great Navy, wherewith he recovered the loss received at *Argos Potamos*, by re-

paying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like destruction of their Fleet at *Cnidus*. After this Victory, *Conon* failed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his Victory, so strong a Navy, and so much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Seigniorship which they had lost.

SECT. VIII.

Of sundry small Victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians lose all in Asia; the Athenians recover some part of their old Dominion.

NEVERTHELESS the *Lacedæmonians* by many Victories at Land, maintained for some years the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this loss at Sea. For *Agesslaus* obtained the better with his horsemen from the *Thebans*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*. He waited *Bastina*, and fought a great Battle at *Coronea* against the *Thebans* and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshal *Gylis* foraged the Country of *Loricis*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of their Victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by many losses, much decreased. For the *Thebans* did in the battle of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agesslaus* chased them in the return from the pursuit. Likewise *Gylis* was slain with a great part of his Army by the *Loricans*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal damage received in the parts adjoining; many Towns being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enterprises was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawn by the loss of the *Havea* of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the news came of a great Victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willing to do their message, required only in scorn to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Athens*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt much loss, their whole State being endangered by the *Acanians*; who held with the contrary side, until *Agesslaus* repayed these invaders with equal, or greater calamities brought upon their own Lands, which did so afflict the *Acanians*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of more consequence, upon which the success of all depended. For when the Towns of *Asia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almost disabled to pals the Seas, having lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should use their own laws, if they would expel the *Spartan* Governors. Only the City of *Abydos* did stand firm, wherein *Dercyllides* lay, who did his best to contain all the Towns about *Hellepont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, because the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thrasybulus*, took in *Bizantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the life of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Lacedæmonian. Of sundry fights and other passages in the War. The Peace of Antalcidas.

About this time the *Spartans* began to perceive how unsafe a thing it would be to maintain the War against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of *Persia*: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, most lately offering not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and to leave them to the Kings disposition; but withal to fet the Islanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they laid that all their principal Estates of their Country would be weakened, that no one nor all of them should be able to rise against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being broken and rent into many small pieces, could neither have disputed the *Persian* by an offensive War, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it ease for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himself Master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were carried with envy, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had conquered all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted; both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joined together against the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their several Embassadors oppose themselves unto it; and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interposing himself to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Struthus*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his Lieutenant unto the low Countries, did seek to repay the harm done by *Asiaticus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Timbro* was sent into *Asia* to make War upon *Struthus*; and others were appointed to other places: whereby the War being scattered about, all the Isles and Towns on the firm land, grew almost to the manner of Piracy, and Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Timbro* was slain by *Struthus*, and in his place *Diphridas* was sent, who demeaned himself more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Asiaticus*, because he had not impeached *Thrasybulus* in his enterprises about *Hellaspont*; *Anaxibius* who succeeded him, was surprized and slain in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasybulus* departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was slain by the way at *Aspendus*. The City of *Rhodes* had long before joined with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Aristocracy*, or the Government of a few of the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwise the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Sovereignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves by erecting in the Town of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more especial cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roved upon the

Coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and besiege their Town: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, the Islanders began anew to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their Ships again, that returned beaten, having lost four of thirteen. The loss of these Ships was soon recompensed by a Victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Islanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seem strange that the City of *Athens*, having but newly raised her Walls, having not by any fortunate and important Battle recovered her Estate from dangers by land; but only depending upon the assistance of such Confederates as carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause, would fend a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Eugorau*, when the Mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Island in the eye of *Pyræus*, had ability to vex the Coast of *Attica*. But as the overweening of that City did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compass; so the intolency and shameless injustice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders a desire to keep themselves far out of fight, and to seek employments at such distance as might secure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments, out of which few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did pass away much part of his time in the life of *Leibor*, *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country could well have spared: with which he returned not when the business in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new adventures in *Egypt*, whereby arose neither thanks to himself, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careless of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Telutius* a *Lacedæmonian* being made Governor of *Ægina*, conceived a strong hope of surprizing the Navy of *Athens* as it lay in *Piræus*, thinking aright, that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten Ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleep in their Cabins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he waited by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which means he took many Ships laden with Merchandizes, many fishermen, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or four Gallies; having sunk or broken, and made unrevivable, as many of the rest as time would suffer. About this time *Pharabazus* the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in Marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians*, were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellaspont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas* from the great King; the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many several States as were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* having bought his own peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controversies between the *Greeks*, disposing of their business in such wise, as stood best with his own good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his Decree was, That all

Asia

Asia and *Cyprus* should be his own; the Isles of *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Scirus*, be subject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whatsoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it it should make War, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasures. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Gattions, for which they wanted money, and other States by the miseries of the War, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compel the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth*, (which under pretence of defending, they held by Gattions, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords), and the *Thebans* to leave *Boeotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had always held the Government, the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended under the name of the *Boeotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages: alleging that they had formerly been accustomed to do so, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having been ill-affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By these courses the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the small Towns in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their Wars, as Authors of their Liberty; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

SECT. X.

The War which the Lacedæmonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by Treason, and Olynthus by Famine.

Whilst these Wars, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown so mighty, that she did not only command her neighbour Towns, but was also become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it self. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the usual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to set at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acanthus*, and of *Apollonia*, being nearest unto the danger of those encroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such terms as did found of compulsion, protesting that either they must War upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being sent presently away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the War, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Army following them, surprized the Citadell of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phobidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their Country. The

Thebans were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt, whether this act of *Phobidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit to far outweighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the Government of the City: by whose authority, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedæmonians* in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, (which notwithstanding the loss of one great Battle, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it self unto their obedience.

SECT. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their liberty, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.

After this *Olynthian* War, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off their yoke, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, coming to *Athens*, that the tyranny where with his Country was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those, who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook *Athens* privily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like Husbandmen returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phylidas* the Scribe had drawn into the Conspiracy. The day following, a solemn Feast being then held in the City, *Phylidas* permitted the Governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that night the most beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheered them with such hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers, because the Gentlemen who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators attired like Ladies, and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their Garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Governours upon business, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the Prison, slew the Cooler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than

indeed

indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the people took Arms and besieged the Castle, sending hastily to Athens for succour. The Garrison also sent for aid unto the Towns adjoining, whence a few broken Troops coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horsemen of Thebes. On the other side, the banished Thebans did not only make speed to assist their Countrymen, but procured some Athenians to join with them, and thereby came to strong into the City, that the Castle was yielded, more through fear than any necessity, upon condition that the Soldiers might quietly depart with their Arms; for which composition, the Captain at his return to Sparta was put to death. When the news of the doings at Thebes, and the success arrived at Sparta, an

Army was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that City, as if some part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the Lacedæmonians, and not a Town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own liberty. Cleombrotus one of the Kings, was sent on this Expedition Winters journey, who having wearied his followers with any good or harm done; leaving Sphodrias with part of his Army, at Thebes, to insult the Thebans; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Haven of Athens; which failing to take, he wasted the Country adjoining, and drove away Cattel, causing by this outrage the Athenians to enter with all their power into the War, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly withdraw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing Estate of Thebes, from the Battel of Leuctra, to the Battel of Mantinea.

SECT. I.

How Thebes and Athens joined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The Battel of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatness.

THE Lacedæmonians were men of great resolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings; but one dishonourable Rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commodity of Sparta, were to be neglected; the practice of which Doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blench that Estate: but when it was put in execution by insufficient overweening men, it seldom failed to bring upon them, instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and loss. And so it befall them in their enterprizes of Ptochidas, upon the Castle of Thebes, and Sphodrias upon the Piræus. For howsoever Agesilaus did spoil the Country about Thebes, in which he spent two Summers; yet the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who by the good success of some attempts grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise began to look abroad, failing to the life of Coreysa, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prevailed, began as in the Peloponnesian War, to surround Peloponnesus with a Navy; afflicting to the Lacedæmonians, that had not the Thebans by their insolvency wearied their friends, and caused them to seek for peace, it had been very likely that the end of this War should have soon come to a good end, which nevertheless being prosecuted by the Thebans (who opposed at once both their two great Estates) left the City of Sparta as much dejected, as the beginnings found it proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians perceiving how Thebes encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not sparing such as had been dependants upon Athens, and finding themselves, while engaged in such a War, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to

settle the affairs of Greece, by renewing that form of peace which Amalcidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they sent Messengers to Thebes, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the War, to which purpose they willed the Thebans to send Embassadors along with them to Sparta; who readily confederated, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of Peace: which came to pass, being wrought by the courageous wisdom of Epaminondas, who understood it far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treaty the Lacedæmonians and Athenians did soon agree; but when the Thebans offered to swear to the Articles in the name of the Boeotians, Agesilaus required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the Boeotians free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto Epaminondas made answer, That the City of Sparta should give example to Thebes by letting the Boeotians free; for that the Seignior of Boeotia did by as good right appertain to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: for Agesilaus bearing a vehement hatred unto those of Thebes, by whom he was drawn back out of Africa into Greece, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to achieve by the Persian War, did now passionately urge that point of letting the Boeotians at liberty; and finding it as obstinately refused, he dashed the name of the Thebans out of the League. At the same time Cleombrotus the other King of Sparta lay in Phocia, who received command from the Governours of Sparta forthwith to enter upon the Land of the Thebans with all his power; which he did, and was there slain at Leuctra, and with him

him the flower of his Army. This Battel of Leuctra being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the Greeks, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight itself, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of Sparta; but especially, for that after this Battel (between which and the conclusion of the general Peace, there passed but twenty days) the Lacedæmonians were never able to recover the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near: whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it self unto the little Region of Boeotia, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an Army of three thousand and ten thousand strong into the Gates of Sparta. So much do the afflictions of an hard War, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of conquest, by flattening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxury, wretchedness, and many other vices or vanities, made rusty and effeminate.

SECT. II.

How the Athenians took upon them to maintain the Peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. Epaminondas invadeth and wasteth the Territory of Lacedæmon.

THE Athenians refusing to take advantage of this overthrow slain upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the Lacedæmonians, did nevertheless finally give them to understand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themselves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which Agesilaus (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left imperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at Athens; where the general liberty of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified under the stile of the Athenians, and their Associates. Hercules began fresh garbils. The Mantinians, claiming power by this Decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure (as it were) in despite of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edify it, and allie themselves with such of the Arcadians as flood worst affected to Sparta. The Arcadians, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondence with the Lacedæmonians; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The Lacedæmonians durst not give impeachment to the Mantinians, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the Arcadians, till such time as the factions broke out into violence, and each party called in foreign help. Then was an Army sent from Sparta, as it were in defence of the people of Tegea, against the Mantinians, but indeed against them both. Agesilaus had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The Thebans had by this time subdued the Phocians, and were become head of the Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubœans, and many others; with the power of which Countrys they entered Peloponnesus in favour of the Arcadians, who gave upon expectation of their coming, abstained from giving Battel to Agesilaus. The Army of the Spartans being dismissed, and Epaminondas joined with

the Arcadians, the Region of Laconia was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almost 600 years were spent, since the Dorians under the posterity of Hercules had seized upon Laconia; in all which time the bound of an Enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country. Ten years were not fully past, since all Greece was at the devotion of the Spartans: but now the Region which neither Xerxes with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of Athens, and other enemy-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the Women of Sparta were ashamed to behold. All which indignity notwithstanding, the Lacedæmonians did not issue out of Sparta to fight, but sought how to preserve the Town, letting at liberty as many of their Helotes, or slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the Athenians, to give them succour. From Corinth, and some Towns of Peloponnesus, they received speedy assistance; the Athenians came forward more slowly, to that Epaminondas returned without battel, having rebuked the City of Messene, and peopled it anew by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the Lacedæmonians many ages before had chased away to other Countrys, possessing their Territories themselves.

SECT. III.

The Composition between Athens and Sparta for command in War against the Thebans, who again invade and spoil Peloponnesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THIS journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the Spartans, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from Sparta, and from all the Cities which held League with it, unto Athens, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the Athenians, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the situation and quality of those two Cities, but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded; who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of Athens, were to have served under the Lacedæmonians. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority should be divided by time, the Athenians ruling five days, the Lacedæmonians other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion, vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of Peloponnesus, wherein the Thebans found their enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified Isthmus from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against Xerxes, they were driven out of their strength by Epaminondas, who foraged the Country without resistance. But as the Articles of this League between Athens and Sparta did, by dividing the conduct in such manner, disable the Society,

and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; to the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanity. For the *Arcadians* considering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Soldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the Government with their friends the *Thebans*; and not always continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatness they should strengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in all time. For a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, because the City *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battle, their calamity being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

SECT. IV.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greeks to the Persian; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitless issue of the Embassages.

THE *Thebans* especially rejoiced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering that without their aid, the success of all enterprizes proved to ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Theffalians*, and moderators of great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleaded them best, they carried *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought means of alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Ambassador the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they desired, whereof two especial points were, that *Messene* should remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of War to Sea; only the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Ambassadors at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having round by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a sure party in *Greece*, did upon many mighty considerations resolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; justly expecting that their greatness should be an that side his own security. The *Athenians* had been ancient Enemies to his Crown; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Persians* to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signiory in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Greeks*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aid by *Darius* *Nobis*, were not able to vanquish them till their own misdeeds brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious

over *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertook the conquest of *Asia*, from which though by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* Gold, they were called back; yet having renewed their power, and sealed all things in *Greece*; it was not unlikely that they should rise upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprize, had not they been impeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had always discovered a good affection to the Crown of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his invasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athens*: And finally, having offered much contumely to *Agaglan* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good servings, they were no Seamen, and therefore unlikely to look abroad, whereupon if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good Haven-Towns; which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend unto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as far forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that mean he purchased his own quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes* was very beneficial to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after this time, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been so composed, that any one City might without impeachment of the rest have transported an Army to assist the revolting *Sarraps*, or Vice-roys of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Campylia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phoenicia*; humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruin, which the Divine Council had deferred unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great Conspiracy of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy Soldiers, was in short space dissolved, and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiatics*, wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeem the former treason to his Prince, and purchase with his own promotion with increase of riches. Of this commotion which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interpret the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a sudden storm, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laid down, having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other action agreeable; as also because in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyru* to the invasion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this infurrection, and a fruitless journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much less of digression from the course of the business in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time passed away to quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford unto such an absolute Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only, or chiefly Domestical; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his Wife *Statira*, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her Son *Cyru*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poison and malicious practices he had satisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth

forth the wholly applied her self to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the leud desire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perversion which Princes not endued with an especial grace, do readily entertain: That his own will would be the supreme law of his subjects, and the rule, by which all things were to be measured and adjudged to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness *Pelopidas*, and the other Ambassadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of this Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Ambassadors to the *Persian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, should be left at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all Controversies that might arise, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings Letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Ambassadors drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*: when an Oath was required for observation of the form of peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the Ambassadors, who said, that they were sent to hear the articles, not to swear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to send unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them to rely upon their own swords.

SECT. V.

How all Greece was divided between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumult arising in Arcadia.

THE condition of things in *Greece* at that time did stand thus: *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatness, drawn all their followers into a cruel and intestine War, by which the whole Country, and especially the Estates of these two Cities was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces against the *Thebans*, who fought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Elcans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of these ancient Governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly assent without some injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty independent, that he had reduced all the Continent of

Greece without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside, excepted) under such acknowledgment as wanted not much of meer Vassalage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already he had let good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobility superiors, but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all; which caused them to suspect and envy nothing more than the greatness and honour of *Sparta*, taking Truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joining with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of the *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians* transported with a great opinion of their own worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard, it was thought convenient by *Epanimachos* and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Army into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very strange, and seemed no less to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firm League with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheless assert this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Army. But this did rather hinder, than by any means stay the coming of *Epanimachos*; who finding the way somewhat more clear for him (because the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Isthmus*, and had been adverse to *Thebes*, was now by miseries of the previous War, driven to become Neutral) took occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Army, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about confederate money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uses. In compounding the differences grown upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captains of some *Theban* Soldiers lying in *Tegen*, to take prisoners many of their Countrymen, as people desirous of innovation. This was done, but the uproar thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epanimachos* turned all the blame upon them who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them to judge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should give him in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before thought means to settle the affairs of their Country,

by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did not forthwith send to *Athena* for help; but immediately dispatched some of the principal among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embassy brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas* against them; they well knew, that all their forces and best provisions would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about Privileges, they (who had been accustomed unto such a Supremacy, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerful City of *Athena*, till other hope of securing their own State could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Archadians*, that the command of the Army in chief should be given for the time to that City in whole Territory it lay.

SECT. VI.

A terrible Invasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

Certain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm confent, and uniform care of the common safety. For beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Messenians* prepared with all their strength to join with *Epaminondas*; who having lain a while at *Nemea* to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Army coming from *Athena* would pass by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegæa*, which City, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon such of the *Archadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortifie *Mantineæ* with all diligence, and to send for *Agésilæus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the Town, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held to good capital upon his Enemies, that had not an unknown fellow brought halcy advertisement of his purpose to *Agésilæus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantineæ*, the City of *Sparta* had suddenly been taken. For thither with all speed and secrecy did the *Theban* march, who had luredly carried the City, notwithstanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it, but that *Agésilæus* in all flying-haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Mantineæ*, so it presented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantineæ*. It was the time of Harvest, which made it very likely, that the *Mantineans* finding the War to be carried from their Walls into another quarter, would use the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their Corn, and turning out their Cattel into the fields, whilst no enemy was near that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantineæ*, sending his horsemen before him, to seize upon all that might be found without the City. The *Mantineans* according to the expectation of *Epaminondas* were scattered abroad in the Country, far more intent upon their Harvest-busines, than upon the War, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their

Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a desperate case; and the Town it self in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should have taken all their provision of victuals, with so many of the people as had not overtly been redeemed, by that City returning to society with *Thebes*. But at the same time the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantineæ* were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods and people from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous adventure to deliver those who otherwise were given as lost. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the best Soldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good Horsemanship had always been given to the *Thessalians*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought upon the *Athenians*, that into this War upon no necessity of her own, but only in desire of relieving her distressed friend, they issued forth of *Mantineæ*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their Horses with meat; and giving a lusty charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained Masters of the field, giving by this Victory a safe and easy retreat to all that were without the Walls. The whole power of the *Bæotians* arrived in the place soon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Alliants were not far behind.

SECT. VII.

The great Battel of Mantineæ. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

Epaminondas considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing *Sparta* and *Mantineæ* having failed, the impression of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians* would soon vanquish, unless by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leave some memorable character of his Expedition, resolved to give them Battel, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtful affections of his own Associates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and ability as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein Victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Soldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his own desire; he made shew of declining the enemy, and trenching himself in a place of more advantage, that so by taking them at all expectation of fighting that day, he might ally the heat of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in to great and sudden a danger, the enemy ran to Arms, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that days service, urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the War was in their Country) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and others

others of less account filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their own Battel, opposite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Archadians*, the *Eubæans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thessalians*, with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right wings, the horsemen on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the *Eleans* were in the rear. Before the footmen could join, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, when finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and to be beaten upon by *Thessalians* flings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their Infantry naked. But this retreat was the less disgraceful, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall back upon their own footmen; but finding the *Theban* horse to have given them over, and withal discovering some Companies of foot which had been sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their Battel in the rear, they brake upon them, routed them, and bowed them all in pieces. In the mean season the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* Squadron of horse came up to the relief of it, and reformed all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; so that equal courage, and equal loss on both sides made the hope and appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful: unless perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might seem the more likely to prevail, as having born the first brunt and fury of the onset, which was not hiserto remedy; and being framed by discipline, as it were by nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans* by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit so sure and general. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obdurate stiffness of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad success of their own horse, nor all the force of the *Bæotian* Army, could abate so far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice company of the most able men, whom he cast into the form of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole Battel in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may justly be said to have carried the Victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the Battel was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and served merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained more what, which the enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of the Battel; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is exprest from them, who forsook the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and prowess. This was the last work of the incomparable virtue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troop

of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonians* Squadron, and forced it to give back in disorder, was furiously charged on the sudden by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, using against the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan* called *Anticrates*, he received so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and piece of the truncheon in his breast. Hereupon he sunk down, and was soon conveyed out of the fight by his friends, having by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who saw would have got his body); but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans* who raging at his heavy mischances, did with great slaughter compel their disordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadness of this disaster, than with all the travel of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physicians, that when the head of the Dart should be drawn out of his body, he must needs die. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to have lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought unto him. He bade them tell him, which part had the Victory; answer was made, that the *Bæotians* had won the field. Then said he, It is a fair time for me to die; and withal sent for *Iolida* and *Diaphantos*, two principal men of War, that were both slain: which being told him, he advised the *Thebans* to make peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a General. Herewithal he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and went of issue, by telling them, that the Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantineæ* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory should live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Country: for he equalled all others in the several Virtues, which in each of them were singular. His Justice and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wisdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferior to his Military virtue; in every part whereof he excelled, that he could not properly be called a War, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Provident Captain. Neither was his private Conversation unanswerable to those high parts, which gave him praise abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; resolute in publick business; but in his own particular case, and of much mildness: a lover of his people, bearing with mens infirmities; witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence. Master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keep love. To these graces were added great ability of body, and much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philosophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested not in the sweetness of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects, as gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in *Greece*.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece after the Batel of Mantinea. The Voyage of Agefilau into Egypt. His death and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and Pompey the Roman.

This Battel of Mantinea was the greatest that had ever been fought in that Country between the Naturals, and the Iust. For at *Marathon* and *Plataea*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the *Græcian* Valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* War, as long continuance, and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were undertaken against foreign enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all Greece was interessed, which never had more able Soldiers and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the success, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath been related, it was found best for every particular Estate, that a general Peace should be established, every one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprized in this new League; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindered not the rest from proceeding to conclusion, considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in Ceremonies, which had no power to declare itself in execution. This peace, as it gave some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seek after wealth by foreign employment in Egypt, whither *Agefilau* was sent with some small Forces to assist, or indeed as a Mercenary, to serve under *Tachos* King of Egypt in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of Egypt, went now as a Voluntary, with such Forces as he could raise by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These Egyptian Kings descended from *Amysæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* *Nathus*, having retained the Country notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and foreign invasions, during three Generations of their own race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (easily procured with Gold) they conceived great hope, not only to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoining, which were held by the *Persians*. What the issue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domestic Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebellion itself had soon come to nothing, if *Agefilau* had not proved a false Traitor, joining with *Nectanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This fallhood *Agefilau* excused, as tending to the good of his own Country, though it seem rather, that he grudged because the King took upon himself the conduct of the Army, using his service only as appointed the General. Howsoever it came to pass, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Phrygians*, upon whose submission gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who seems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the

same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set up another King; to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agefilau* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his Treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good service done to himself, rewarded him with 230 Talents of Silver; with which booty sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate and valiant, and a good Leader in War, free from Covetousness, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the less admirable in him, for that the Discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endure every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust and vain-glorious, measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thians* and their Allies, as compelled that Estate by meer necessity to grow warlike, and able, so the utter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the balance against *Pompey* the great; whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionate. Yet we may truly say, that as *Pompey* made great Wars under sundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him; so *Agefilau* had at one time or other some quarrel with every Town in Greece, had made a War in *Asia*, and meddled in the business of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessors: yet not winning any Country, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein also they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of Liberty, and each of them ruined the Liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; the resemblance was nearer than the equality. Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had enforced to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the form of Government only being changed: But the Liberty of *Greece*, or *Sparta* itself, was not forfeited unto the *Thians*, whom *Agefilau* had compelled to enter into a Victorious War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was presently lost; and the freedom of all Greece being wounded in the *Thian* War, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the Peace ensuing, did very soon upon the death of *Agefilau* give up the ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Country was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary passages of things, in any other Nation.

Fins Libri Tertia.

THE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, to the Establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of *Antigonus*.

THE FOURTH BOOK

CHAP. I.

Of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander* the Great, King of *Macedon*,

SECT. I.

What Kings Reigned in *Macedon* before *Philip*.



HE *Greeks* of whom we have already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine War, nor made wise by their vain contention for superiority, do still, as in former times, continue the invasion and valuation of each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their liberty, with as happy success as ever Nation had, and with no less honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a trial and experience more than fortunate, against those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their Forces, as whatsoever could be spared from their own distraction at home, they transported over the *Hellespont*, as sufficient, to entertain and buffet them withal.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man

of mark in the world, that they undercal, and perish by the hands and harms which they least fear, so fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to speak) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast-growing greatness of such a Neighbour-King should, in regard of their own safety, have served them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glory of their *Persian* victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which fate never them, than they did, had in the time of *Amysæus*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Greeks* persuaded themselves) in any one Age, likely to recover their own, much less to work any wonders against their borders. And indeed, it was not in their Philosophy to consider,

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sider, That all great alterations, are, from like, sudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, tall-running, and enraged. No, the Greek did rather employ themselves, in breaking down those detences which flood between them and this inundation, than seek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reason they might have found to have lain under it. It was therefore well concluded by Orisus: *Græci Civitates imperare strepula expoint, imperium omnes perdidere, The Cities of Greece left their command, by striving each of them to command all.*

The Kingdom of Macedonia, so called of Macedonia the son of Orisus, as other Authors affirm, of Jupiter and Athra, is the next Region towards the North, which bordereth Greece. It hath to the East, the Aegean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and South-west by Thessaly and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the family of Temene, of the race of Erechder, and by Nation Argives; who are listed as follows. About some six years after the translation of the Assyrian Empire, Ambassadors governing Media: Caranus of dress, commanded by an Oracle to lead a Colony into Macedonia, departed thence with many people; and as he was marching through that Country, the weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of Goats, which fled the storms fast as they could, halting them to their known place of covert.

Whereupon Caranus, calling to mind, that he had also by another Oracle been directed to follow the first troop of Beasts, that should either lead him, or flee before him; he pursued these Goats to the Gates of Edessa, and being undisturbed by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darkness of the Air, he entered their City without resistance, and possessed it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of Cissus, Caranus became Lord of the rest of Macedonia and held it eight and twenty years. Caranus succeeded Caranus, and reigned twelve years. Tyrinus followed Caranus and ruled eight and twenty years.

Perdicæus the sixth, the son of Tyrinus governed one and fifty years: a Prince for his great valour and many other virtues, much renowned, Solimus, Ilmy, Jodine, Eusebius, Theophilus, Antiochus, and others affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himself, and for all the Kings of Macedonia his Successors, at Aegæ, assuring them that the Kingdom should so long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to bury their bodies in that Sepulchre: wherein it is said, that because Alexander the Great failed, therefore the posterity of the Temeneus failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by Perdicæus.

Argent succeeded unto Perdicæus, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight and twenty years.

Æropus followed Philip, and governed six and twenty years: in whose infancy the Illyrians invaded Macedonia, and having obtained a great victory, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former loss or to lose at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious: for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being present) or rather they perceived themselves, that there was no man so void

of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himself from destruction. The like is reported by Ammonius of Clotarius the son of Erechdenda.

Alcetas succeeded Æropus, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the first, succeeded Alcetas, and reigned fifty years: He lived at such time as Darius Hystaspes, after his unprosperous return out of Scythia, sent Megabazus with an Army into Europe, who in Darius name required Amyntas to acknowledge him for his Suprem Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Ambassadors, as you have heard before, were for their infant behaviour toward the Macedonian Ladies, slain by the direction of Alexander, who was the son of Amyntas, and his Successor.

Alexander first made the Rich, the son of Amyntas, governed Macedonia three and forty years. He did not only appease the wrath of Megabazus, for the slaughter of the Persian Ambassadors by giving Gyges his Sister, to Babares of the blood of Persia; but by that match he grew so great in Xerxes his Grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of Olympus and Helmus, to be united to the Kingdom of Macedonia. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greeks. For Xerxes being returned into Asia, and Mardonius made General of the Persian Army: Alexander acquainted the Greeks with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, Perdicæus, Alcetas and Philip.

Perdicæus the second, the son of Alexander, lived in the time of the Peloponnesian War, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in Thucydides his first six Books. He left behind him two sons, Perdicæus, who was very young; and Archelaus, who was hale-born.

Perdicæus the third, being delivered to the custody and care of Archelaus, was at seven years of age cast into a well and drowned by his false Guardian, who excusing this Fact to Cleopatra the Mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell therewith by misadventure. But Archelaus stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his Brother, he slew both his Uncle Alcetas the son of Alexander the Rich, and Alexander the son of this Alcetas, his Cousin German, and enjoyed the Kingdom of Macedonia four and twenty years.

This Archelaus, of whom both Plato and Aristotle make mention, though he made himself King of Aegæ by wicked murder, yet performed many things right greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, that he fought by all means to draw Socrates unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured Eurydice the Tragedian. He had two Sons, Archelaus and Orisus.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father: and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose, by Cræteus.

Orisus his younger son was committed to the education of Æropus of the Royal blood of Macedonia, and had the same measure which Archelaus had measured to his Pupil, for Æropus murdered him, and usurped the Kingdom, which he held some six years: the same who denied passage to Agesslaus King of Sparta, who desired, after his return from the Asian expedition to pass by the way of Macedonia into Greece.

This

This Usurper left three sons, Panfanius, Argens, and Alexander. Panfanius succeeded his Father Æropus, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by Amyntas the son of Philip, the son of the first Perdicæus, the son of Alexander the Rich, which Philip was then preferred, when Archelaus the Bastard slew his Brother Perdicæus; his Uncle Alcetas, and his son Alexander. This Amyntas reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years: for he was not only instigated by Panfanius, abetted by the Thracians, and by his Brother Argens, encouraged by the Illyrians; and by the said Argens, for two years possessor of Macedonia; but on the other side, the Olympians, his Neighbours near the Aegean Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of Pella, the chief City of Macedonia.

Amyntas the second, had by his wife Eurydice the Illyrian, three sons: Alexander the second, Perdicæus the third, and Philip the second: Father of Alexander the Great: and one Daughter called Euryone, or Exione. He had also by his second wife Gyges, three sons; Archelaus, Argens, and Menelaus, afterward slain by their Brother Philip. He had more by a Concubine, Ptolomy first named Alorites, of the City of Alorus, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by Panfanius, the son of Æropus, but defended by Iphicrates Alexander, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of money) to leave his youngest Brother Philip in Hostage with the Illyrians, who had subjected his Father Amyntas to the payment of tribute. After this, Alexander being invited by the Alveads against Alexander the Tyrant of Phères in Thessaly, having redeemed his brother Philip, to draw the Thebans to his assistance, entered into confederacy with Pelopidas, being at that time in the same Country, with whom he also left Philip with divers other principal persons. For the sake of his promises to Pelopidas. But Eurydice his Mother falling in love with her Son in Law, who had married her Daughter Euryone, or Exione, practised the death of Alexander her son, with a purpose to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which Ptolomy Alorites did put in execution: by means whereof, he held Macedonia for three years, but was soon after slain by Perdicæus the brother of Alexander. Thence hath it otherwise of Philip being made pledges and faith. That Amyntas his Father delivered him for hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conveyed to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that Philip while his Father was yet living, was first ingaged to the Thebans, and delivered for hostage a second time by Alexander his brother.

Perdicæus the third, after he had slain Alorites, his base Brother, governed Macedonia five years, and was then slain in a Battle against the Illyrians, according to Diomedes; but Justin affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of Eurydice his Mother, as Alexander did.

SECT. II.

The beginning of Philip's Reign, and how he delivered Macedonia from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.

Philip the second, the youngest son of Amyntas by Eurydice, having been instructed in all knowledge, requisite unto the Government of a King.

dom, in that excellent education which he had under Epaminondas, making an escape from Thebes, returned into Macedonia, in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourscore and thirteen years; and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was inviolated, he took on him, not as a King (for Perdicæus left a son, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War. Yet his trisul ambition soon over-grew his modesty, and he was easily persuaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and woe, the absolute rule of the Kingdom. And to say the truth, the necessity of the State of Macedonia at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did set up in opposition, Panfanius, the Athenians, Argens, son of the late Usurper, Æropus: each of these labouring to place in Macedonia a King of their own election. These heavy burdens when Philip could not well bear, he bought off the weightiest by money, and by fair promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his Brother Perdicæus had his death accompanied with four thousand Macedonians, beside those that were wounded and taken prisoners, and that the Pannonians were destroying all before them in Macedonia, and that the Athenians with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under Mantias, did beat upon him on all sides and quarters of his Country: yet after he had practised the men of War of Pannonia, and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from Panfanius, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and for the first, he prevented their recovery of Amphipolis, a City on the Frontier of Macedonia; and did then pursue Argens, the son of Æropus, set against him to abide the battle, and followed him so hard at the heels, in his retreat from Ægæ, that he forced him to the siege of the battel, which he lost in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others, which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquishers life and liberty to return into Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the Athenians for the present, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greeks.

SECT. III.

The good success which Philip had in many enterprises.

Now had Philip leisure to look Northward, and to attend the Illyrians and Pannonians, his irreconcilable Enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with so prosperous success, as he slew Bardillius, King of the Illyrians, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the Illyrians held in Macedonia; and withal, upon the death of the King of Pannonia, he piec'd that Country, and after a main victory obtained, he enforced them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he halted speedily towards Larissa, upon the River Peneus in Thessaly, of which

which Town he soon made himself Master; and thereby he got good footing into that Country, whereof he made use in time following. Now, although he resolved either to subdue the *Thebans*, or to make them his own against all others; because the horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of *Thrace*, lest while he invaded *Thebally* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and won it. He also recovered *Pynda*, and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof, Saint Paul afterwards directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in Mines of Gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philip's* affairs, he drew yearly a thousand Talents, which make six hundred thousand French Crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburthen the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entered into league with his Father's malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*, whom he the better to flatter unto him, he gave them the City of *Pynda* with the Territory, meaning nothing less, than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occasion to deliver the City of *Phères* in *Thebally*, from the Tyrants *Lysiphras* and *Tisiphon*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe's* Wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Phères* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fatten the *Thebans* unto him, and to his exceeding great advantage, bind them to his service.

SECT. IV.

Of the Phocian War, which first drew Philip into Greece.

About this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad eight years after the Battle of *Mantineæ*, and about the eighth year of *Antisthenes* *Olynth*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions, concur towards the execution of eternal providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revenged hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thebansians*, and *Loricans*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wield the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves, beating down their own defences, to give him an easy passage, and beating themselves to give him Victory without peril; left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-

proud by their Victory at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphyziones*, or of the general Estates of *Greece*, in which at that time they sway'd most, they caus'd both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians*, to be condemn'd in greater sums of money than they could well bear; the one for supplanting the Castle of *Calcedon* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delfus*. The *Phocians* being resolv'd not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on, and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*; and for refusal were exposted as Sacrilegious, and accus'd to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philemelus*, a Captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolv'd to sack the Temple it self. For fearing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Acropolis* ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-god, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could befall them than already was intended; they resolv'd to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had communion to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War, was ten thousand Talents, which in those days served them to wage a great many men; and such was their success in the beginning of the War, as they won three great battles against the *Thebans*, *Thebansians*, and *Loricans*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philemelus* cast himself head-long over the Rock of *Arctus*.

In the mean while the Cities of *Cheroneia*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepar'd to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Melone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That he that shot him, did purposely direct his Arrow toward him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: After *Philip*; After to *Philip*; for so he was called that gave him the wound. This City he even'd with the foil.

The Tyrant *Lysiphras* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thebansians* engaged in the holy War, enter'd *Thebally* with new Forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus* Commander of the *Phœcian* Army, in place of *Philemelus*. For hereby the *Phocians*, hop'd so to entertain the *Thebansians* at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time call'd into *Thebally*; but both the *Thebansians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thebally*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the same victorious Army brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforc'd his Army, return'd with all speed into *Thebally*, there to find again the honour which he lately lost; and was the second time encountered by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune. His Army

Army overturned, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken: of which number himself being one, was among others hang'd by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sail'd along the Coast, commanded by *Cæres*; but the greatest number of those that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recover'd them. *Lysiphras* was now again driven out of *Thebally*, and *Phères* made free as before.

SECT. V.

Of the Olynthian War. The ambitious practices of Philip.

From hence *Philip* resolv'd to invade *Phœcia* it self, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrench'd his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylæ*. Whereupon he return'd unto *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyræ*, *Varone*, and other Towns he quarrell'd with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had woo'd to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had ever more both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archeolus* his half Brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other Sons by *Gygæ*; but *Philip's* elder Brother by the same Mother being dead, he determin'd to rid himself also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the war, *Juliane* affirmeth. Just quarrels are sustain'd by just Princes, but to this King all things were lawful that might serve his turn: all his affections, and passions, how divers soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thence converted. For he neither forbore the murder of his own Brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity: he effected no place strong where his Arms loaden with gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclin'd all the power they had within their own walls, he enter'd their Territory, and by the advantage of a well compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrowes ere he sat down before the City it self: which done, he bought *Eubœiæ* and *Lophocæ* from their people, and from the service of their Country and Common-weal, by whose treason he enter'd the Town, slew his Brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaves by the drum. By the spoil of this place, he greatly enrich'd himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For so was he advis'd by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, That he should make his assaults with silver spears: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

En. Cæm.
94. 16.

— Diffidit Urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulis
Reges munibus.

By gifts the Macedon claus'd Gates against,
And Kings enjoying his estate brought under.

And it is true, that he won more by corruption and fraud than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of *Greece* his secret work-ers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*): So when in the contention between the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was chosen Arbitrator, he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Justice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and slain both Kings, gave sentence for himself, and made the Kingdom his own.

SECT. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian War.

The War still continued between the *Phocians* and the Associates of the holy War: the *Bœotians*, finding themselves unable to subdue without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to smother their enemies; nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the War; and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Antisthenes* *Olynth* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty Talents, which makes a hundred and fourscore thousand French Crowns: but when with these supplies they had fill the worst against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within *Bœotia* it self, they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandments in War.

Now had *Philip* what he long'd for, for he knew himself in state to give the law to both, and to quelling all his other purposes towards the North, he march'd with a speedy pace towards *Bœotia*, where being arriv'd, *Phalacrus* who commanded the *Phœcian* Army, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his own peace, and withdrew himself with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the *Phœcians* to the mercy of the Conquerors, and for conclusion, he had the glory of that War called *Sacred*, which the *Greeks* in many mutual slaughters had continued for ten years; and besides the glory, he possist himself of *Orehoeme*, *Coronea*, and *Cosia*, in the Country of the *Bœotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the *Phœcians* into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, reserving unto himself the yearly tribute of threescore Talents, which make six and thirty thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the frame of pity for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Council of the *Amphyziones* which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendency of the *Pyrian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phœcian* sacrilege.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

PHILIP, after his triumphant return into Macedonia, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parnonius*, slaughtered many thousand of *Thracians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him, the tenth part of all their Revenues. But his next enterprise against the *Perinthians* stayed his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, seated upon *Pontus*, in the mid-way between *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolved to defend their liberty against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* came down before it with a puissant Army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious assaults, built many overtopping and commanding towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual assaults to weary them, and wait both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Perinthians* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium*, which stood upon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chios*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoever was wanting to their necessity. But because *Philip* of *Byzantium* by reason of their neighbourhood, and easy passage by water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed the one half of his Army, and besetted it, leaving fifteen thousand foot before *Perinthus* to force it in that thought: But to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake difficult enterprises at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no less dishonour than loss: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it: to which though *Phocion* prevailed them all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions, yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred new vessels, and ten Merchantships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his son *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*: but he was also unsuccessful in that enterprise: for the *Tribals*, a people of *Messia*, set on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greatest part of the spoils which he had gathered.

SECT. VIII.

How Philip overthrowing the Greeks in the battle of Cheronea, was chosen Captain General of Greece. The death of Philip.

AMONG these Northern Nations (part of which he suppress, and part quitted) he spent some eighty years; and in the ninth year after the end of the Holy War, he was, by his great advantage, invited again by the *Greeks* to their alliance. For the Citizens of *Ampyloides*, having disobeyed the decree of *Ampyloides*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Lo-*

crans gave countenance and aid to the *Ampyloians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their alliance. Now you must think, that *Philip* was not long in resolving upon this enterprise; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back, nor other dissuasion then a flattering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entered *Phocis*, won *Platea*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storm would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to join with them) to leave the enjoying of their estates, and their freedom to the chance of one battle, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Orator's eloquence could not prevail. It is true, that he could far more easily mind them of the virtue of their Ancestors, than make them such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion, the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Perinthians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, or *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great virtues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed; in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the confederates encountered, although some thousands of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* to thinning a victory; that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of the Nations interjection) into *Persia*, *India*, and *Egypt*, so it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Grecian* glory; Yea their liberty (saith *Currius*) with their large Dominion, won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ever lost.

Now this advised King (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Sovereignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General against the *Persians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let go those *Athenians* that were taken at this battle of *Cheronea*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their City: but in *Thrace* (which lately by the virtue of *Epanimondas* triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soon after (according to the long desire which he had nourished of this Sovereignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, filled the first Commander of all the *Greeks*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and under the Commandment of *Attalus* and *Parnonius*, transported the same over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, to begin the War. Of his enterprise against *Persia*, he

he fought success from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received such another convertible riddle, as *Crasus* did, when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withhold the flatteries of our own appetites, so did *Philip's* ambitious desire to invade *Persia* abate his judgement, so far, that the death wherewith himself was threatened, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which feast and pastimes thereof appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principal persons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich Presents: but this was indeed the Feast of his Funeral. For, having refused to do Justice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons; this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the King's partiality in so foul a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater; he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived six and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Julius* reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband; which after his death he boldly avowed, by the honour he did unto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

SECT. XI.

What good foundations of Alexander's greatness were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities and issue.

NOW although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea; and had seen the fruits of his hopes, and labours changing colour towards ripeness and perfection; yet he was herein happy, that he lived to see his Son *Alexander* at Man's estate, and had himself been an eye-witness of his resolution and singular valour in this last battle.

The foundation of whose future greatness he laid last so fondly for him, with so plain a pattern of the Buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easy to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though less famous. For, besides the recovery of *Macedon* itself in competition between him and the Sons of *Epirus*, the one allied by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*; and besides the regaining of many places possessed by the *Thyrians*, the overthrow of those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olympus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom; and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it self against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his Son, and had bred up for him, so many choice Commanders; as the most of them, both

both for their valour and judgement in the War, were no less worthy of Crowns, than himself was that wore a Crown: For it was said of *Parnonius* (whom *Alexander*, ungrateful to so great virtue, impiously murdered) That *Parnonius* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King; but the King without *Parnonius* never did any thing worthy of remembrance: as for the rest of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexander's* death endure to acknowledge any man Superior to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more virtues, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with virtues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this favour of piety, that he rather laboured to satisfy those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadian* and *Nicean*. Whom when for their evil speech of *Philip*, his familiars persuaded him to put to death, he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself: Secondly, that it was in every man's own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly after proved; for after *Philip* relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had persuaded him to use violence, that he was a better physician for evil speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his Son are remembered by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Cassiodorus* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyenus* and *Erostratus*; his wife sayings, by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next heir thereof: for *Amintas* the Son of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection during his Infancy) had the right. This *Amintas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip's* base Son *Arideus*, her Uncle by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, *Philip's* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Arideus* by extreme torments, *Eurydice* he strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexander's* death slain at *Sardis*, by the commandment of *Antigonus*.

By *Audita* an *Illyrian*, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Niceipolis*, the Sister of *Jafus*, a Tyrant of *Boeotia*, he had *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterward by her Father-in-Law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Niece of *Attalus*, he had *Carusus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be roasted to death in a Copper Pan. Others lay his murder to *Alexander* himself. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers breast.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

He had also two Concubines, *Asinoe*, whom after he had gotten with child, he married to an eunuque n an, called *Lagus*, who bare *Pholony* King of *Ægypt*, called the Son of *Lagus*, but

esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philmna* his second Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Ardeus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander the Great.

SECT. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexander's doings, before he invaded Asia.

Alexander, afterwards called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father's being a Prince no less valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his Reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years, after *Rome* was built, and after his own Birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, (omit as foolish Tales; but, that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the World) was burnt upon the day of his Birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and tore shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of Arms. *Alexander's* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastned unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that perwaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Council of the States of *Greece*, he was, according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain General against the *Persians*, upon which War *Philip* had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same Title of General Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia* side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexander's* affections: those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion he now shot at both sleeping and waking; all other thoughts and ima-

ginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth: for he receiveth advertisement, that the *Athenians*, *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themselves against him, and by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereto they were perwaded by *Demetrius*, himself being thereto perwaded by the gold of *Peria*: the device he used was more subtle than probable; for he caused it to be bruited, that *Alexander* was slain in a battle against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion, whom he had corrupted, to affirm that himself was present and wounded in the battle. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of policy (as policy is now a days defined by falsehood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve true turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true. Common people are sometimes mockt by them as Souldiers are by false Alarms in the wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perilous summoned to assemble, so do all men in general condemn the Ventures of such trumpany, and for them, fear upon necessary occasion to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Grecians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the Port, which he purpooth to recover; and if no less becometh the worstest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards those Revolters, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Ambassadors to pacify the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perwaded him to pardon the *Grecians*. While men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought

to effect any great affair, who hath entangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peucet*, *Getes*, *Agreans*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers Overthrows given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty: the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans* who had in their Citadel a Garrison of three thousand *Macedonians*, attempt to force it. *Alexander* hatheth to their succour, and presents himself with thirty thousand foot, all old Souldiers, and three thousand Horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Grecians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phenix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) instead of such an Answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then lay in the balance of Fortune with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obduracy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their City taken and rased to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty Talents. This the King did to the terror of the other *Grecian* Cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleander* one of the Prisoners, to perwade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather misled, by giving half credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perwaded of *Alexander's* death, they rebelled but against his successor. He also besought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Ancestor *Hercules* was born therein: but all perwasions were fruitless; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timocles* the Sifter of *Thebans*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his Father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatened to take her life, unless she would confess her treasure: she led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him, that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had received into their City so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped

and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perwaded this second revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of *Peria*, he was content that the Orators should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the Captains, wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Grecians* betook themselves to the service of the *Persian*, whom after a few days he invaded.

SECT. II.

How Alexander passed into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the River of Granicus.

When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did pass the *Hellefont*, and being ready to dit embark, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers, not to make any waste in their own Territory, or to burn, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possess. He landed his Army, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a solemn sacrifice upon *Aciliss's* Tomb, his maternal Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the Justice of God; for all that he had planned, was soon after withered and rooted up; those whom he most trusted were the most traitorous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another merciless sword as his own, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander's* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himself, as having stiled him his servant in a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* intituled himself King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) he gave order withal to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sink his Ships, and send the *Macedonians* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Æthiopia*, or some other unhealthy part of *Africa*.

In this fort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill fortunes of men bearing

thim to the ground, by what strong confidence for-
 armed. The great numbers which he gather-
 ed together, and brought in one heap into the
 field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his
 enemies, than any discouragement at all. For, besides
 that they were men utterly unacquainted with dan-
 gers; men, who by name, and countenance of
 their King were wont to prevail against those of
 less courage than themselves; men that took more
 care how to embroider with gold and silver their
 upper garments, as if they attended the invasion
 but of the Sun-beams, than they did to arm them-
 selves with Iron and Steel against the sharp pikes,
 swords and darts of the hardy *Macedonians*. I say,
 besides all these, even the opinion they had of their
 own numbers, of which every one in particular
 hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight,
 filled every one of them with the care of their own
 safety, without any intent at all to hazard any
 thing but their own breath, and that of their Hor-
 ses, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they
 came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves
 with the Gold and Jewels of *Persia*, both which
 they needed; so the *Persians*, who expected no-
 thing in that War but blows and wounds, which
 they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power
 to constrain them in assembling themselves for his
 service; but their own fears and cowardice, which
 in time of danger had more power over them,
 they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against
 so servile a passion did justly and violently require
 it. For, *saith Vegetius*, *Quem admodum bene exer-
 citatus miles prælum cupit, ita formidat indolens;
 nam sciendum est in pugna usum aniplius prodesse
 quam vires. As the well practised Soldier desires to
 come to battle, so the raw one fears it: for we must
 understand, that in fight it more avails to have been
 accustomed unto the like, than only to have rude
 strength.* What manner of men the *Persians* were,
Alexander discovered in the first encounter; before
 which time it is said, by those that write his story,
 that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to
 undertake the Conquest of an Empire so well peo-
 pled with an handful of men, or the success he had,
 were more to be wondered at. For at the River
 of *Granick*, which severeth the Territory of *Troy*
 from *Propontis*, the *Persians* sought to stop his pas-
 sage, taking the higher ground and bank of the
 River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it
 were) to climb up into, and scale from the Level
 of the water. Great resistance (*saith Curtius*)
 was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander*
 prevailed. But it seems to me that the Victory then
 gotten was exceeding easy, and that the twenty
 thousand *Persian* footmen, dead to be slain, were ra-
 ther killed in the back, in running away, than hurt
 in the beloms by resisting. For had those twenty
 thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse-
 men, or, after *Plutarch*, two thousand and five hun-
 dred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the
Macedonians, *Alexander* could not have bought
 their lives at so small a rate, as with the loss of four
 and thirty of all sorts of his own. And if it were
 also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexan-
 der* encountered two of the *Persian* Commanders,
Spirabrides and *Rafaces*; and that the *Persian*
 horse-men fought with great fury, though in the
 end scattered; and lastly, how those *Grecians* in
Darius's pay, holding themselves in one body
 upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after
 mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last,
 how then doth it resemble truth, that such resistance
 having been made, yet of *Alexander*'s Army there

fell but twelve footmen, and two and twenty horse-
 men.

SECT. III.

*A digression concerning the defence of hard
 passages. Of things following the Battle
 of Granick.*

THE winning of this passage did greatly en-
 courage the *Macedonians*, and brought
 such terror upon all those of the lesser *Asia*,
 as he obtained all the Kingdoms thereof
 without a blow, some one or two Towns ex-
 cepted. For in all invasions, where the Na-
 tions invaded have once been beaten upon a
 great advantage of the place, as in defence of
 Rivers, Straits, and Mountains, they will soon
 have persuaded themselves, that such an en-
 emy upon equal terms and even ground, can
 hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiav-
 el*'s counsel, That he which resolveth to
 defend a passage, should with his ablest force
 oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few
 Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced,
 that Armies of such force as may be thought
 sufficient to conquer them, can be debared
 all entrance, by the natural difficulties of the
 ways. One passage or other is commonly left
 unguarded: if all be defended, then must
 the forces of the Country be distracted; and
 yet lightly some one place will be found
 that is defended very weakly. How often
 have the *Alps* given way to Armies, break-
 ing into Italy? Yea, Where shall we find
 that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are
 they such as (to speak briefly) assist with
 all difficulties those that travel over them;
 but they give no security to those that lye
 behind them: for they are of too large extent.
 The Towns of *Lombardy* persuaded them-
 selves that they might enjoy their quiet,
 when the Warlike Nation of the *Swissers*
 had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the French
 King, from descending into the Dutchy of
Milan: but whilst these Patrons of *Milan*,
 whom their own dwelling in those Moun-
 tains had made fittest of all other for such a
Francis, appeared in *Lombardy*, so much
 the greater terror of the Inhabitants, by
 how much the less they had expected his
 arrival. What shall we say of those Moun-
 tains, which lock up whole Regions in such
 fort, as they leave but one Gate open: The
 Straits, or (as they were called) the
 Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Ther-
 mopyla*, have seldom been attempted, per-
 haps because they were thought impregna-
 ble: but how seldom (if ever) have they been
 attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after
 him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Ther-
 mopyla*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexan-
 der*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide o-
 pen; how strongly forever they had been lock-
 ed and barred, yet were those Countries open
 enough to a Fleet that should enter on the back-
 side. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing it

it is, we find examples in all histories that bear
 good witness. The deepest have many Floods;
 the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boats,
 in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a
 Bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all
 the length of his own bank, hath also enough to
 beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to
 let him come over, to his loss, than by striving in
 vain to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to
 his own disadvantage, all the heads of his Sould-
 iers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hav-
 ing their means of safeguard taken from them by
 the skill or valour of such as are too good for
 them. Certainly, if a River were sufficient de-
 fence against an Army, the Isle of *Mona*, now cal-
 led *Anguilly*, which is divided from *North Wales*,
 by an Arm of the Sea, had been safe enough a-
 gainst the *Romans*, invading it under the conduct
 of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not
 meaning to spend the time in making Vessels to
 transport his forces, did assay the floods. Where-
 by he so amazed the enemies attending for ships
 and such like provisions by Sea, that surely believ-
 ing nothing could be hard or invincible to men,
 which came to minded to war, they humbly in-
 treated for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the
Britains were men stout enough, the *Persians* were
 very dauntless.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to
 pass the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy,
 not marching higher to seek an easier way, nor at-
 tempting to convey his men, over by some safer
 means. For, having beaten them upon their own
 ground, he did thereby cut off no less of their re-
 putation, than of their strength, leaving no hope
 of succour to the partakers and followers of such
 unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered *Sardis*, *E-
 phesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians*, and *Magnesia*,
 which were rendered unto him. The Inhabitants
 of which, with the people of the Country, he re-
 ceived with great grace, suffering them to be go-
 verned by their own Laws. For he observed it
 well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus, nullis clon-
 stie fama; It is commodious unto such as lay the
 foundations of a new Sovereignty, to have the same
 of being merciful.* He then by *Parmenio* wan
Miletus, and by force mastered *Halicarnassus*, which
 because it resisted obstinately, he raled to the
 ground. From whence he entered into *Caria*, where
Ada the Queen, who had been cast out of all that
 she held (except the City of *Alinda* by *Darius* his
 Lieutenants, presented her self unto him, and a-
 dopted him her Son and Successor; which *Alexan-
 der* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the
 whole Kingdom to her disposing. He then en-
 tered into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia* and obtained all the
 Sea-coasts, and subjecting unto him *Pisidia*, he
 directed himself towards *Darius* (who was said to
 be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army)
 by the way of *Phrygia*: For, all the Province of
Asia the less, bordering upon the Sea, his first Vi-
 ctory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and
 settling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Clean-
 der* to raise five new Captains in *Peloponessus*, for
 marching towards the North, he entered *Celene*,
 seated on the River *Idanor*, which was abando-
 ned unto him; the Castle only holding out, which
 held out forty days was given up: for so long
 time he gave them to attend succour from *Darius*.
 From *Celene* he pass'd through *Phrygia* towards
 the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Ger-*

dium, the Regal Seat, in former times of King *Midus*.
 In this City it was, that he found the *Gordian Knot*,
 which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it
 asunder with his Sword. For there was an ancient
 Prophecy did promise to him that could untie it,
 the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*,
 not respecting the manner now, so it were done,
 assumed to himself the fulfilling of the Prophecy,
 by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the
 less towards the east, he took care to clear the Sea-
 coast on his back, and to thrust the *Persians* out of
 the Islands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Cos*: the charge
 whereof he committed unto two of his Captains,
 giving them such order as he thought to be most
 convenient for that service; and delivering unto
 them fifty Talents to defray the charges, and withal
 out of his first spoil gotten, he sent threecore Talents
 more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Ma-
 cedon*. From *Celene* he removed to *Anicra*, now
 called *Anguri*, standing on the faire River of *Sangar*,
 which runneth through *Cardus*: where he mu-
 ltered his Army, and then entered *Paphlagonia*,
 whose people submitted themselves unto him, and
 obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus*
 Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians*
 lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Dar-
 rius*'s Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to
 pass on towards him: for of this only Captain he
 had more respect than of all the multitude by *Dar-
 ius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had
 besides. For so much hath the Spirit of some one
 man excelled; as it hath undertaken and effected
 the alteration of the greatest States and Common-
 weals, the erection of Monarchies, the Conquest of
 Kingdoms and Empires, guided handfulls of men
 against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contri-
 vied victories beyond all hope and discourse of rea-
 son, converted the fearful passions of his own fol-
 lowers into magnanimity, and the valour of his e-
 nemies into cowardize: such spirits have been stir-
 red up in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers
 parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to es-
 tablish and to destroy, and to bring all things. Persons
 and States, to the same certain ends, which the in-
 finite Spirit of the *Universal*, piercing, moving and
 governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly, the
 things that this King did, were marvellous, and
 would hardly have been undertaken by any man
 else; and though his Father had determined to have
 invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he
 would have contented himself with some part
 thereof, and not have discovered the River of *Indus*
 as this man did. The swift course of victory, where-
 with he ran over so large a portion of the World in
 so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this,
 that he was never encountered by an equal spirit,
 concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it
 came to pass that his actions being limited by no
 greater opposition, than desert places, and the meer
 length of tedious journeys could make, were like the
Colossus of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for
 the workmanship, though therein also praiseworthy, as
 for the huge bulk. For certainly the things perform-
 ed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexan-
 der*'s, and working no less exactly, though the ef-
 fects were less material, as were also the forces and
 power of command, and by which it wrought. But he
 that would find the exact pattern of a noble Com-
 mander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that
 encountering worthy Captains, and those better
 followed than themselves, have by their singu-

gular virtue over topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are do feldom live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of feeble Nations, compounding the body of a grofs and unwieldy Empire. Wherefore these *Parvo-Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactness and greatness concurring to feldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave *Roman, Cæsar*.

Having thus far digressed, it is time that we return into our Eastern Conquerors; who is travelling hastily towards *Gilicia*, with a desire to recover the Straits thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch unto *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he repared most truit, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in this first battle, upon which by certain inscriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well advised himself; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gains in the Wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall never be long followed of those of the better fort. For men which are either well-born, or well-bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often fristise themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and frong in courage, do with the gain of gold and silver.

The Governour of *Gilicia* hearing of *Alexander's* coming on, left some Companies to keep the Straits, which were indeed very defensible, and withal, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to prise and put in execution the counsel of *Memon*: who in the beginning of the Wars advised him to wait all the provisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and always to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army is best broken, by delays, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes repoting themselves in beds, and others on the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many Difficulties upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleep, and refusing to give or take battle, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his own life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest encouragements given by *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatal battle, That they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Nexer, when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home by being beaten, lost his Kingdom. *Perticles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a battle: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read Histories to inform our understanding by the examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by

adventuring in their own Countries, to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave *Cæsar* ground; but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battle, lost the freedom of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battle with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of found Judgment, that those Councils which promise victory in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France*, made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the fifth, when he invaded *Provence*; by waisting the Country, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boltrous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the *Low-Countries*.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a battle with the *Burgundians*, invading their Country, and could not be persuaded to linger the time, and stay their advantages; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. *Philip of Valois* set upon King *Edward* at *Crèffy*, and King *John* (when the *English* were well near tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been waited to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, near *Poitiers*, to joyn battle with him: But all men know what lamentable success these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France*, made another kind of *Fabian-Warfare*; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *English* could never get his inheritance by smok. And it is reported by *Béloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that he was from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wile men grow short lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any found advice. The course which *Memon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason, have brought the *Macedonians* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Straits of *Gilicia*, doubting whether it were more shameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For, had *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia* been waited while *Alexander* was far off; and the Straits of *Gilicia* been defended by *Asines*, Governour of that Province, with the best of his forces, hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the trial of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage; or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Gilicia*, at better leisure have been so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries by painful travel.

But *Asines* leaving a small number to defend the Straits, took the best of his Army with him, to waste and spoil the Country; or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather have adventured his person in custody of the Straits, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the fields, would have been con-

conveyed into strong Towns. So should his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himself with his horsemen have had the less work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Gilicians* cause to wish for *Alexander's* coming; and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wile in apprehending all forms of danger. These Guardians of the Straits, hearing that *Asines* made all haste to joyn himself with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence began to grow circumspect, and to think that surely their General, who gave as lost the Country behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* Swords. Wherefore not affecting to dye for their Prince and Country (which honour they saw that *Asines* himself could well forbeare) they speedily followed the footsteps of their General, gleaming after his Harvest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Gilicia*, abandoned by the cowardice of his enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

SECT. IV.

Of the unmarlike Army levied by Darius against Alexander. The unadvised courses which Darius took in this expedition. He is vanquished at Issus; where his Brother, Wife and Children are made Prisoners: of some things following the battle of Issus.

IN the mean season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Soldiers, out of divers Nations; *Justin* multiplies them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch*, at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a Masker than a man of War, and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own safety, perfwading himself, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Army there was carried the holy Fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their Priests; and after them three hundred and three score and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawn with white Horses, with their Riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the Horse of the Sun: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, lined and garnished with silver and gold; and then the Vanguard of their horse, compounded of twelve several Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others language; and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them: in the tail of these horses the Regiment of Foot marched, which the *Persians* called Immortal, because if any died, the number

was perfectly supplied: and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metal embroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearl; baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withal, or to perfwade them that it were great incivility to cut, and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said, *Sampson exornatus miles, sed virtute superiorem aliis non exornavit, cum in palatium sportaret fortitudinis animi, & non vestimentis mirari, quoniam hostes velutium non debellavit; Let no man think that he exceedeth shof in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrus* that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Samnites* in that fatal battle, wherein they all swore either to prevail or dye, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests, and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Soldiers to lay aside all fears: *Non enim cresta vulnere facere, & per pila atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the Roman pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.*

To second this Court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (be-like to breed the more terror) and these were honoured with the title of the King's Kinsmen. Then came *Darius* himself, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the Gods of his Nation, call and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serve, to which they served their turns of these, by changing their maille-boodies in linen, portable, and current coin. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open winged Eagle of the same metal: The hinder part whereon *Darius* fate, had a covering of ineffimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads gilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for fear of marring their beauty. He had for the proper guard of his own person, two hundred of the blood Royal; blood, too Royal and pretious to be spilled by any valorous adventure (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the *Switzers* would have done him more service) and these were backt with thirty thousand foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred spare horses for the King, which if he had meant to have used, he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Rear-ward, the same being led by *Sisygambis* the King's Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on horseback, with fifteen Wagons of the King's Children, and the Wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurses and Eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this Troop was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battles. Between these and a company of light-armoured slaves, with a world of Varlets, was the King's treasure, charged on six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels brought as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbered with

with a most unnecessary train of Strumpets, attended with troops of divers Nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the fame could not but have encouraged the nakedst Nation of the World against them. We find it in daily experience, that all discourse of Magnanimity, of National Virtue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and encourage Virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in comparison of spoil and riches. The rich ships are boarded upon all disadvantage, the rich Towns are furiously assaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our English Nation have attempted many places in the Indies, and run upon the Spaniards head-long, in hope of their Royals of Plate, and Pilotoes; which, had they been put to it upon the like disadvantages in Ireland, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Pieces and Pikes against their Commanders, contending that they had been brought without reason to the butchery and slaughter. It is true that the War is made willingly, and for the most part with good success, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, so plenty is wont to thrust peril, and men that have well to live, do rather study how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to dye (as they call it) honourably. *Certe si n' arien a gagner que des coeups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes halt to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his South-fayers, he would have satisfied himself by the out-sides of the Persians, and never have looked into the intrails of Beasts for success. For leaving the description of this second battle (which is indeed no where well described; neither, for the confusion and hasty running away of the Asiatics, could it be) we have enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the Macedonians, to inform us what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threecore thousand Persian footmen were slain in this battle, with ten thousand of their horsemen; Or (as Curtius saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, 40000 taken prisoners, while of Alexander's Army there miscarried but two hundred and fourscore of all sorts, of which numbers Arius and other Histrions cut off almost the one half; it do verily believe, that this small number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing, their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the Persian Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had any favour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers, they would never have fold to good cheap, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the King's children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the King's safety and his estate at less. Darius by this time found it true, that *Choridamus* a banished Grecian of Athens had told him, when he made a view of his Army about Babylon, to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would devour, than to the Macedonians, whom they meant to assail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers,

embattled in gross squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make for little account of his delicate Persians, loving their ease and their palat, being withal ill armed, and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having for great abundance of treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same Grecians, and so to encounter the Macedonians with men of equal courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

But this discourse was so unpleasing to Darius (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praises, and to nothing so little as to hear truth) as he commanded that this poor Grecian should be presently slain: who while he was a funding in the Tormentor's hands, used this speech to the King, That Alexander, against whom he had given this good counsel, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon Darius for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a Wife man: *Desperata est Principis salus est, cujus aures ita formate sunt, ut optera que utilis, nec quicquam nisi juvandum accipiat; That Prince's safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasing.*

For, liberty in Council is the life and essence of Council; *Libertas consilii est que vita et essentia, quæ crepta consilium evanescit.*

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the Grecian Souldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Straits: But had they been Counsellors and Directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troop of horsemen been able to have opposed the fury of Alexander, without any assistance of the Persian foot-men. For when Darius was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those Grecians, under their Captain Amyntas, held firm, and marched away in order, in despite of the Vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we read in Histories ancient and modern, what brave retreats have been made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served, hath been broken.

At the battle of Ravenna, where the Imperials were beaten by the French, a squadron of Spaniards, old Souldiers, came off unbroke and undismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of Nemours, and Nephew to *Lenis* the twelfth, charged, he was overthrown and slain in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers fear them not, by being acquainted with dangers, *periculo imminenti mali, opus ipsum, quantumvis difficile, aggrediuntur; They go about the business, if itself, how hard sever it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischief hanging over their heads may bring; and as truly of those that know the Wars but by hear-say; Quod valentes sunt et prevalent ante pericula, in ipso tamen periculo discidunt; They have ability enough, and so spare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.*

These Grecians to retire his the retreat, advised Darius to retire his Army into the plain of *Megastomias*, to the end that Alexander being carried into those large fields and great Champaigns, he might have invironed the Macedonians on all sides with

with his multitude; and withal they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater number at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this Council was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the Persians, as they persuaded Darius to inviron the Grecians which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Estates, by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give nor discern of Counsels. For Darius that would needs fight with Alexander upon a straitened piece of ground, near unto the City of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Alexander could (who by the advice of *Parmenio* stayed there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children, whom the Grecians his followers had persuaded him to leave in Babylon, or elsewhere taken prisoners, and all their Train of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, and her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexander's presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them, and though Darius's Wife was a most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet Alexander mistreated his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Arriobulus* the Historian that he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Mennon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Lycomedes*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before Darius, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of Persia in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also Darius's Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to six thousand and two hundred Talents of coin, and of Bullion five hundred Talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains, (casting the Crown from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto Darius, all Phoenicia (the City of Tyre excepted) was yielded to Alexander, of which *Parmenio* was made Governor.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, Maritime Cities of great importance, of which one *Straus* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, Alexander's Lieutenant in Asia the less, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Arriobdanes*, Darius's Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the Macedonians newly leaved; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antiper* were beaten; four thousand of those Greeks which made the retreat at the last battle, forsaking both the party of Darius and of Alexander, and led by *Amyntas* into Egypt, to hold it for themselves, were buried there, for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander to honour *Ephesus*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life, being of the Royal blood was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was becheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to Alexander, he wist that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of Alexander, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another man's desire: for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not Govern his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts; he received a letter from Darius, importing the ransom of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conquerour, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing in his direction, to file Alexander King. It is true, that the Romans, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of Darius had already cast leaf; the one a resolved, well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. Alexander diddained the offers of Darius, and sent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of Darius himself.

SECT. V.

How Alexander besieged and won the City of Tyre.

Alexander coming near the City of Tyre, received from them the present of a golden Crown, with great force of victuals and other presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was descended. But the Tyrians like not his company within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was fated in the old City adjoining, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, Alexander resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all men's opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet, with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea between the Island and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of wind, sometimes by the Tyrians fired, and sometimes torn asunder, yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the siege) from Cyprus, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven months in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginning of the Siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by Alexander, persuading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the fury, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand. Arius, a Persian reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidoniens*, that served Alexander, conveyed great numbers by shipping unto their own City.

Happy it was for *Apollis* that the Town was taken: for one of the Tyrians having dreamt, that *Jup. I. 18.* this

this god meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden chain to the Idol of *Berolus*; but *Alexander* like a gracious Prince, loosed him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize, and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nebuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the channel that lay between the Island and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Tiblotas* the Son of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Serates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenius*; *Ephraim* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

SECT. VI.

How Darius offered Conditions of Peace to Alexander. Alexander wins Gaza, and deals graciously with the Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, lets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the loss of the last Battle to the Straitsness of the place: he hoped to terrify him by threatening to encompass him in the plain Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enough of that nature to prevent unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Alyr*, and the *Hellespont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had posited him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having posited the Sea it self, disdained to think of resistance in transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, That *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of honour and Riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Betis*, a faithful servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Town with an absolute resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a stone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former Battels; for he left to many of his *Macedonians* buried in the Sands of *Gaza*, that he was forced to fend for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was, that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entr'd *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis* (whom *Josephus* calleth *Babonem*) in that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assaults; he bored holes thorow his feet, and caused him to be drawn about the street, whilst he was yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himself, disdained to ask either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his Tyranny, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Heitor*? It is true, that cruelty hath always somewhat to cover her deformity.

From *Gaza* (saith *Josephus*) he led his Army *Lith.*
towards *Jerusalem*, a City, for the antiquity, and
great fame thereof, well known unto him, while
he lay before *Tyre*, he had sent for some supply
thither, which *Jaddus* the High-Priest, being subject
and sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The Jews
therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to
resist, committed the care of their cities
and safety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God,
issued out of the City covered with his Pontifical
Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, em-
broided with gold, with his Mitre, and the plate
of gold wherein the Name of God was written,
the Priests and Levites in their rich Ornaments,
and the people in white garments, in a manner so un-
usual, stately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly ad-
mired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the
ground before the High-Priest, as reverencing the
name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him
for it. However it was, I am of opinion, that he
became so confident in his enterprize, and so
assured of the success after the Prophecy of *Daniel*
had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself,
and the Conquest of *Perfia* so directly pointed at,
as nothing thenceforth could discourage him, or fear
him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*)
that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind la-
boured the Conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleep
such a person as *Jaddus*, and so appalled, profess-
ing one and the same God; by whom he was en-
couraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand,
with assurance of victory. This apparition for-
mally apprehended only by the light of his fan-
tasy, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith
he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as
contrary to the practice of the *Phoenicians* (who
he hoped to have sacked and destroyed *Jerusalem*)
he gave the Jews all, and more than they desired, both
of liberty and immunity, with permission to live
under their own Laws, and to exercise and enjoy
their own Religion.

SECT. VII.

Alexander wins Egypt: and makes a journey to the Temple of Hammon.

FROM *Jerusalem*, *Alexander* turned again to-
wards *Egypt*, and entered it, where *Darius* his
Lieutenant, *Alaces*, received him, and deliver-
ed into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight
hundred Talents of Treasure, and all other the
King's riches. By this we see, that the King of
Perfia, who had more of affection than of judg-
ment, gave to the valiantest men he had, but the
command of one City, and to the weakest toward
the Government of all *Egypt*. When he had set
things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travel after
God-head, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; so foolish had
prosperity made him. He was to pass over the
dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the water
which he brought on his Camels backs was spent,
he could not but have perished, had not a marvel-
lous shower of rain fallen upon him, when his Ar-
my was in extrem'd despair. All men that know
Egypt, and have written thereof, affirm, That it
never rains there: but the purposes of the Almighty
God are secret, and he bringeth to pass what he plea-
seth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost
his way in those deserts, that a flight of Crows
 flew

flew before the Army; who making falter wing
when they were followed, and fluttering slowly
when the Army was call back, guided them over
those pathless Sands to *Jupiter's* Temple.

Arrianus, from the report of *Strabo*, the Son
of *Lygus*, says, That he was led by two Dragons;
both which reports may be alike true. But many
of those wonders and prodigious things, are feign-
ed by those that have written the story of *Alexan-
der*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly
over his head at the battle of *Issus*; That a Swal-
low flew about his head when he slept, and would
not be feared from him, till it had awakened him at
Halicanassus, fore-shewing the treason of *Aegropus*,
practised by *Darius* to have slain him; That from
the Iron bars which the *Tyrrians* made their de-
fensive Engines, when *Alexander* besieged them,
there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops
were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a *Macedo-
nian* Soldier, at the same time; That a Turf of
earth kill on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*,
out of which there flew a Bird into the Air. The
Spaniards in the Conquest of the West *Indies* have
many such pretty tales; telling how they have been
afflicted in battle by the presence of our Lady, and
by Angels riding on white horses, with the like
Romish miracles, which I think themselves do
hardly believe. The strangest thing that I have
read of in this kind, being certainly true, was,
That the night before the battle at *Nova*, all the
Dogs which followed the French Army, ran from
them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon
them, as if they had been bred and reared by them
all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi*
and *Tremulio*, Generals for *Levay*, the twelfth,
were by these imperial *Switzers* utterly broken and
put to ruine.

The place of this Idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill
described by *Curtius*: for he bounds it by the *A-
rabian Troglodytes* on the South, between whom,
and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebaic*,
or the superior *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Ly-
bia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent; and on
the North he joys it to a Nation called *Nassamones*,
who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon
the spoils of shipwreck: whereas the Temple or
Grove of this Idol hath no Sea near it by two hun-
dred miles and more, being found on the South
part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West
from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came near the place, he sent
some of his Parasites before him to pacifice the
Priests attending the Oracle. That their answer
might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad
ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiter's* Son,
And who was saluted, Son of *Jupiter*, by the Devil's
Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or
rather (as some think) defective in the Greek
Tongue; For whereas he meant to say, *O paidios*, he
said, *O pai dios*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, instead of
O dear Son: for which Grammatical error he was
richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread,
that the great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexan-
der* for his own.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had
formerly consulted the Oracle: The one when he
was employed against *Gorgon*, the other against
Anteus and *Buffris*; and seeing those men had de-
rived themselves from the gods, why might not
he: By this it seems, that he hoped to make his
followers and the World fools, though indeed
he made himself one, by thinking to cover from
the World's knowledge his vanity and vices; and

the better to confirm his followers in the belief
of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to give an-
swer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it
should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander*
as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented,
either by a Bos carried in a Boat, by a Ram, or a
Ram's head, I see that many wise men have trou-
bled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks
of *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith *St. Au-
gustine* in *Moses's* time) *Ea que de diis veteres fabulati
sunt confiteri, non sunt nimium curiose persequenda*;
*We must not over-curiously search into the fables
which the Ancients have written of their gods*.

But this is certain and notable, that after the
Gospel began to be Preached in the World, the
Devil, in this, and all other Idols, became
speechless. For, that this *Ammon* was neglected
in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of
Trajan altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch*
witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain cal-
led *Four fountains* (though *Plutarch* in his third *African*
Table sets it farther off): that at Midnight it is as hot
as boiling water, and at Noon as cold as any Ice; to
which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard
of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is
reported by *St. Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*,
Pliny, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others,
and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer
in the night than in the day.

SECT. VIII.

How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.

FROM the Temple of *Hammon* he returned
to *Memphis*, wherewith many other learned
men, he heard the Philosopher *Parmenon*,
who belike understanding that he affected the title
of *Jupiter's* Son, told him that God was the Fa-
ther King of all men in general; and refining the
pride of this haughty King, brought him to say,
That God was the Father of all mortal Men, but
that he acknowledged none for his children, save
good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinces of
Egypt, to several Governours, following the rule
of his Master *Aristotle*, That a great *dominion* *Asia*
should not be continued in the hands of any one; whom *Pol. lib. 5.*
therein the *Roman* Emperours also followed, not
daring to commit the government of *Egypt* to a
man of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank
and degree. He then gave order for the found-
ing of *Alexandria* upon the Westernmost branch
of *Nilus*. And having now settled (as he could) the
estate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdoms of the lesser
Asia, *Phoenicia*, and *Syria* (which being but the
pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory
would readily have redeemed) he led his Army to-
wards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the time
was committed to *Mazæus* to defend, yet was it aban-
doned, and *Alexander* without resistance pass't it.
From thence he marched towards *Tygris*, a River
for the swiftness thereof called by the *Perfians*, *The*
Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and reason it self tells us,
might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading
Macedonians; for the violent course of the stream
was such, as it drove before it many weighty
stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the
bottom,

bottom, were so round and well polished by a continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the Macedonian footmen to waste the River, otherwise than by joining their hands, and embracing arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage, and furious rage of the stream. Besides this notable help, the Channel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head as the footmen were enforced to lift their Bows and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being noised, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly, and undeniably said of *Flower*,

*Talis est hominum terribrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater circumq; Deorum;*

*The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by God's will they daily are directed.*

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the circuit of misgovernment have been subject to many evils, and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming Fever, and thereby become frantic, and without understanding, fore-throwing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place, where *Mazæus* (who had charge to defend the Passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himself to the Macedonians, followed with certain companies of Horsemen, as if with even forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them, he forsook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seen, that fearful and cowardly men do ever follow those ways and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true, that he set all provisions a fire, where-with the Macedonians might serve themselves over *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless, when unseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he fought to waste, *Alexander* being now in fight, were by his Horsemen saved and recovered. This *Mazæus* might have done some days before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of Horsemen, as the Macedonians durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foot out of fight, and far behind.

SECT. IX.

The new Provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the Battle of Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexander's* first return out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also the *Arrians*, *Seythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather served to make up the names of men, than to

make resistance. *Arrians* had numbered them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius*, who numbers the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foot, and nearly thousand Horse, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of *Assyria*, to have overcome the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a rule in the Philosophy of the War;

In omni prelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocita, quam ars & exercituum silent prestante victoriam; In every Battle skill and practice do more towards the Victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave rest to his Army after the passage over *Tygris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moon, of which the Macedonians not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude always are) took it for a certain presage of their overthrow and destruction, inasmuch as they began not only to murmur, but to speak it boldly; That for the ambition of one man, a man that did disdain *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; for he not only enforced them to make War against worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themselves.

Hercupon, *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Soldiers might be assured that this decision of the Moon was a certain presage of good success, for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small fool in those days.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Cæsar* made good use, when he fought against *Arriovivus*, and the *Germani*: for they being persuaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they should certainly lose the battle, *Cæsar* forced them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein, having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect perished.

The *Egyptians* gave no other reason than this, That the *Grecians* were under the aspect of the Sun, the *Persians* of the Moon; and therefore the Moon falling and being darkened, the estate of *Persia* was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obscured. This judgement of the Egyptian Priests being noised through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercituum terrore plerumq; Deus ad pugnam non ducit;* Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight when it is possessed with matter of terror.

It is truly observed by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; which we find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, deviled tales, dreams and Prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous

rous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own loss and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Persian* Army, certain Letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the *Grecians*, persuading them for great sums of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these, by the advice of *Parmenio*, he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his fair Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no less to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexander's* kindly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to confer it on fo joint and continent an Enemy as *Alexander*; to whom he once again, before the last trial by Battle, offered these conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up, and resign all *Asia* the less; and, with *Egypt*, all those Kingdoms between the *Phœnician Sea*, and the River of *Euphrates*. That he would pay him for the Ransom of his Mother, and of his other Daughters, thirty thousand Talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his Son *Ochus* in hostage: To this they sought to persuade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Ambassadors to be removed, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who persuaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, That the Empire between *Euphrates* and the *Helle-spont*, was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* Prisoners was a great cumbrance, and the treasure offered them for their far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for Virtue, as for Fortune, and left himself a Successor of able age who have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatening of others than himself: who, to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his Issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behind him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*, the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised, and grateful: and being taught new Lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts, and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Ambassadors lay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without any respect to their Vassals; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Soldiers, and by great sums of money to persuade his friends to

attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant; yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithful) resolve in hate to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made War against him, not as a King with Royal and overt force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice: That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdoms as yet in *Darius's* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the Battle which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, and not to receive: That the Heavens could not hold two Suns; and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superior, he might perchance be persuaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

SECT. X.

The Battle of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

With this Answer the Ambassadors return to *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazæus* to defend a passage, which he never dared yet so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captains. *Parmenio* persuades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not move terror in the Macedonians being but few. *Alexander* disdains to steal the Victory, and resolves to bring with him the daylight, to witness his valour. But it was the fœcals that made good *Alexander's* resolution, though the counsel given by *Parmenio* was more found: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci necessarij cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, confilium est, notis tempore belli fortunam tentare*. Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and trenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And *Darius* for fear of surprize had stood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night. *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of food; for reason had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam famem intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam feram exterius*: Soldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steel without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* Army: for he had besides, both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of these Regions. He used but a short speech to his Soldiers to encourage them. And I think that he needed little Rhetoric; for by the two former Battles upon the River of *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Vittoria victoriam parat, animusque victoribus auget*.

& adversarius aufert: One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from those that have been beaten.

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this Battle, fought at *Gangamela*; They tell us of many charges, and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometimes to the *Persians*, sometimes to the *Macedonians*; That *Parnonius* was in danger of being overthrown who led the left wing; That *Alexander's* Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune herself was long unresolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, that *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But in conclusion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible day's work, saying, That *Ephion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number; that of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand; (saith *Curtius*) thirty thousand, according to *Arrianus*; ninety thousand, if we believe *Plutarch*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battles, the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued; For if those four or five hundred thousand *Arians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cut but a dart or a stone, the *Macedonians* could not have brought the Empire of the East to so easy a rate, as six or seven hundred men in three notorious Battles. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have past that River so easily, much less the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whole Empire God in his Providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented unto them the choice, either of death or victory, to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that invaded them.

SECT. XI.

Of things following the Battle of Arbela.
The yielding of Babylon and Susa.

Darius, after the rout of his Army, recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him, his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, persuading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoil and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with Treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius*'s departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great mass of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendered to him: for the fear which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been

twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so near the place where he abideth the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it unpollable to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cut the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable; *Et præterea magis reprehendi possum quam corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.*

From *Arbela*, *Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazæus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendered himself, his Children, and the City. Also the Captain of the Castle who was keeper of the Treasure, threw the streets with flowers, burnt Frankincense upon Altars of silver, as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnity to entertain their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* footmen to march. When he entered the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of Treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand Talents of silver uncoined. The City it self I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautiful and fruitful Trees, which it is said, that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built: that the Queen and other Princesses might walk privately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King reposed himself and the whole Army four and thirty days, consuming that time in banquetting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softened the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of War, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painful travel, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Soldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were filled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Judges to have deserved best in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the *Marshall Montfort*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every *Pique* *Beauf*, or Spurr-Cow, for when the Captains of foot had a thousand Soldiers under one Ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the Kings were less charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the eighth of good Ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate; nay sometimes he made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

while

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand and four hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour servir sur la dure; To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Castle and City of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Mineur*, and *Appollonius*; to supply all wants, a thousand Talents, but to honour *Mazæus*, who rendered the City unto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagabates* that gave up the Castle, and having distributed to every Soldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entered into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on toward *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Plutarch*, *Herodotus*, and *Eliahu* call *Memnonia*, situated on the River *Euphrates*, a City sometimes governed by *David* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Governor of this famous City, gave it up to the Conqueror, with nity thousand Talents of silver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort, did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the King's prosperity, not of his person (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the King's treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the Persians, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own Captains, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battle, all the Nobility of *Persia* would have returned unto their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their own Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any Frontier-Town, or Fortifies of weight, by the rendering whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the French had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fontenay*, in the year 1523.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazæus* might have furnished the King from *Babylon*; and while he stayed four and thirty days at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have helped him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might have relieved him; for the great mass of Treasure was laid up in that City. But who hath sought out and frequented fearful adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest; for those that are greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only consult the conservation of their own greatness.

The Government of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonian*, making *Abulites*, who rendered it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazæus* and others; in giving them titles, but neither trust nor powers for leaving these thousand old Soldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius*'s mother and her children to repay themselves.

It is said that *Charles* the fifth, having promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the Government of *Marseilles*, if he could have forced it, and whereof he made

sure account, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he thought thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithal to have recovered his favour.

SECT. XII.

How *Alexander* came to *Persepolis*, and burnt it.

From *Susa*, *Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he fought to pass those Mountains which hinder *Susana* and *Persepolis*, he was suddenly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Straits, called *Pyle Persidis*, or *Susfide*, and after the loss of many Companies of his *Macedonian*, was forced to save himself by retreat, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the flames tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being enclosed to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*; but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, where-in he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Swissers*, undertaking to defend all the passages, who if their footmanhood had not saved them upon the King's descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius*, *Julius* numbers them at eight hundred) having been taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* foamed and delaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears, and other members, as they could no way have been known, to their Country-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false hearted Grandees, hearing of *Alexander's* approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoil the King's Treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexander's* arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst Councils; for all was left to the liberty of the Soldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which if it had been laid in the balance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon* indeed, and *Susa* were very rich, but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoil that had been made of money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand Talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonian* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal honour to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but

but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicærides*, a creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty days, at which the Commanders were *Pammenes* and *Cratæus*, and with a thousand Horse, and certain Troops of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Perfe* which the Snow had covered: a fruitless and foolish enterprise, but, as *Seneca* says: *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare: He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extrem frost, and make way, but with extrem difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his Horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring, other men into extremity, thereby to show how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their weariness that followed him, than his sometimes forbearing to drink, did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little Judgement, I shall rather commend that Captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extrem necessity, than those witleless arrogant fellows, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We had in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or of the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admiral of France: *That who will shape that Beast (meaning War) must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians that were most amorous of his virtues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carousing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of bawle Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own, and all other Nations. For being perfwaded, when he was inlamed with Wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Cabbie and City of *Persepolis* to be consumed with Fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Pammenes* to the contrary, who told him, that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perfwasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perfwasion to the *Affians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts; for they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such variation) to hold their possession. *Post violentiam crudelitas sequitur: Cruelty doth commonly follow Drunkenness*: For it so fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

SECT. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius his death.

About this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Gilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexander's* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which were numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his Fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of War, who had sometimes lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the King's resolution. Two only, and those of the greatest, to wit, *Nabuzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the later was Governor of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and pursue by it some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: This preamble *Nabuzanes* used, and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow-Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that, the War ended, the Empire should again be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain, prest towards *Nabuzanes* to have slain him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, withheld him. In the mean while *Nabuzanes* withdrew himself, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the King's faithful servant, perfwaded him to be advised and serve the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence which the King, being of a gentle disposition, willingly yielded unto. *Bessus* makes his submission, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patros*, who commanded a Regiment of four thousand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels served *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in sight of the *Macedonians*, offered himself to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the War gave him faithful counsel, but he inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patros* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the division of his faithful servants. *Bessus* had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the World, and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following, *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himself unable to make head against these ungrateful and unnatural Traitors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithful servant to depart from him, and to provide for himself. In like

like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Persians* being most bawle cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had four thousand *Greeks* to joyn with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himself, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like, and King-like, to have died in the head of those four thousand *Greeks*, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perfwaded him) than to have lien bewailing himself on the ground, and suffering himself to be bound like a slave, by those ambitious monsters that laid hands on him, where neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Invidious hath no compassion.

Now *Barius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and, to add despoilment and derision to his adversity, they fastned him with Chains of Gold, and drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Nabuzanes*, perfwaded themselves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter; and then to defend themselves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it is against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strange villany, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his coming, halted after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-back certain selected companies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other Horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how near he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his Rear, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perfwading him to mount thereon, and to save himself. But the unfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and flew two poor servants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercy of the *Macedonian* sword.

Polytratus a *Macedonian*, being by pursuit of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was refreshing himself with some water that he had discovered, clyping a Cart with a Team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood: And by a *Persian* Captive which followed this *Polytratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Treachery. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if

dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrows unhealed, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he brought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also having nothing else to present, rendered thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient Death pressing which *Polytratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

SECT. XIV.

How Alexander pursued Bessus, and took in to his grace Darius his Captains.

It was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved, for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundless Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel Traitor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion he won their contents to go on: which done, leaving *Cratæus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amynas* with six thousand Horse in *Parthia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardians*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passed the River of *Zisberis*, which taking beginning in *Partia*, discharges it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Partia* and *Hyrcania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In *Zadrascarta*, or *Zendacarta*, the same City which *Ptolemy* writes *Hyrcania*, the Metropolis of that Region, he rested fifteen days, banqueting and feasting there.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and Governments. But of all others he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*: He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedemonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great

At this time it was that the Treason of *Dimnus* broke out, of which *Philotas*, the Son of *Parnenio* was accused, as accessory, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same Treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to fidelity, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have slain him for security of his own life. So, constrained by fear, he made flew as if he had been won by persuasion; and by tarrying at length to like well of the business, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Cebalinus* with the whole History: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Cebalinus* (who might with least suspicion should go to the Court, and utter all. *Cebalinus*, meeting him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to do, but did not. Two days passed, and *Philotas* never broke with the King about the matter, but still excused himself to *Cebalinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldness bred suspicion, and caused *Cebalinus* to address himself to another, one *Mitron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forthwith brought him to *Alexander's* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed between *Cebalinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perfwade himself that this concealment of the Treason, argued his hand to have been in the business. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldst think Philotas more worthy to be a King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had fo wounded himself, that he lived no longer, than to give his last groan in the King's presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspicion, which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious services of his Father *Parnenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himself, had freely pardoned and given him hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he again swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this business: How he perfwaded himself that he could never find a better occasion to oppress his private enemy, than by pretending Piety and Duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is most general, in his *Philotas*.

*See how these great men clothe their private
In these fair colours of the public good;
And, to affect their ends, pretend the State,
At if the State by their affection flood:*

*And arm'd with Power and Princes jealousy,
Will put the least conceits of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent:
Trea, valour, honour, honesty shall be made
As accessories unto ends unjust:
And even the service of the State must laide
The needfull undertaking with distrust;
So that base vilest, idle Luxury,
Seem safer far, than to do worthily, &c.*

Now, although it were so, that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening, he called him to a Banquet, and discomfited as familiarly with him, as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cried out upon the King in these words: *O Alexander, the malice of mine Enemies hath furmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were urged against him by Alexander himself (for the King of Macedonia did in person examine the accusations of Treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the King's humour, who desired to be glorified as a god.) That when Alexander wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*, He answered, That he could not but rejoice, that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (said Alexander) a firm perfwasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despite. See what a strange Monster Flattery is, that can perfwade Kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Thief; where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, *Hedior* and *Nicanor* having been lost in the present War. He was so greatly oppressed with griefs for a while he could utter nothing, but tears and sorrow had so waisted his spirits, as he sank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Perfians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perfwading the assembly, that he did disdain the language of his own Country, and fo withdrawing himself, left him to his merciless enemies.*

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the King's disposition and resolution, contended among themselves, which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base Companions) *Dimnus* named

named unto him *Demetrius* of the King's Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amynas*, and some others; but (pale not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have encouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartened *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, forced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burthen, is for the most part found so malicious, as the rather desires to draw others (not always deservingly) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of restless and unnatural torments, devised by his profect enemies *Craterus*, *Centus*, *Ephelion*, and others; *Philotas* accused his own self, being perfwaded they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, nor was he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were far more merciless than death it self.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding *Sen. Aug.* *gustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, faith he, with Fountains of tears, *Quid cum in sua causâ quisque torquetur? &c. cum exercitur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur; & innocent laici per incerto scelere, certissimas penas: non quia illud commissi detegitur sed quia non commissi nescitur. What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause, and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty, and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty: not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had been enough for *Alexander's* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemulus*, who afterwards conspired against him, made the King's cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca* speaking of *Alexander*, faith thus: *Cruelitate minime humanum malum est, indignum tam mihi animo; ferina iam rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in silvisque animal transfere. Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so milde a spirit: It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and calling away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made, were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed: For (faith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsely, come to one and the same end. Now while the King's hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lycostes*, Son-in-law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed *Philotas*; but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way to direct to win the King's favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were difficult.

But *Parnenio* was yet living; *Parnenio*, who had served with great fidelity as well *Philip* of Macedonia the King's Father, as himself, *Parnenio*, that first opened the way into Asia; that had depicted *Attalus* the King's enemy; that had always, and in all hazards, the leading of the King's Van guard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts: A man beloved of all the men of War, and to satisfy the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threecore and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had posset themselves of his affection, it was resolved, that he should be dispatched. *Polydamas* was employed in this business, a man whom of all other *Parnenio* trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the King's Letters. *Hic exitus Parnenionis fuit, militie domique clari viri; Multa iure Reges prosperi, Rex sine illo nihil magne rei esset.* *Lib. 7.* This was the end of *Parnenio* (faith *Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the King; but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.

SECT. XVII.

How Alexander subdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How Bessus was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

When these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Arapians*, or *Evergians*; he made *Amendius* (sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governor, then he subdued the *Arachosians*, and left *Mentus* to command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by *Parnenio*, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his oldest *Macedonians*, worn with age, and with travels of the War. The *Arapians*, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigenus*. And now he resolves to find out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great River of *Oxus*, which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governor of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*. The *Macedonian* Army suffereth for want of water, inasmuch as when they came to the River of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had lost in any one Battle against the *Perfians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought against women, and not against men; and not against their persons, but their shadows. He sifted on the Banks of this great

great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges or raff, but was forced to few together the hides that covered his carriages, and stoff then with straw, and on them in six days to pass over his Army; which *Bessus* might easily have done, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army a far off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tygris*, and other passages; and yet now, when this traitorous slave had killed himself a King, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a slave. And therefore those that were nearest unto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Cataner*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner, that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chain clofed about his neck like a Mastiff Dog, and to was dragged along to be presented to his Enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*, whose Issues had well-near forgotten their Country language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the Sword, and destroyed their City. At this place he received *Bessus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that delivered him, gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxartes*, *Darius* his Brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand Mountaineers assaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a shot in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh, so he was carried in a Horse-litter, sometime by the Horsemen, sometime by the Foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Erondinus* takes to be *Samarcanda*, the regal City of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compass threecore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* faith, Here he received the Ambassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to serve him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stirred to rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Cataner*, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were resolutely defended against him, all which, after victory, he attacked and razed, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the neck, which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many days after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse.

In the heat of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; upon whose bank he built another *Alexandria*, threecore furlongs in compass, which he beautified with houses within seventeen days after the walls built. The building of this city is said to have been occasion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perfwaded himself, that this new Town was fortified of purpose to keep him under. I do not well understand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such a terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeite sickness for very fear, should nevertheless make suit for peace; neither find I the reason why *Alexander*

(not intending the Conquest of those Northern defarts, but only the defence of his own bank) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a greater matter; and a victory described; in pursuit of which the *Macedon* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Euxetur* his Expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly mistaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdians* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* pass over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarcand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, is near two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdians*, and the way defart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to swim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in *Asia* in that travel.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Asiaticque Scythians*, making some offer to disturb the erection of his new City, which was like to give some hindrance to their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive Arms, easily chased some ten or twelve miles; which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life-time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waste Country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other business than to set up a Monument.

Threecore of the *Macedonians* are said to have been slain, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might easily be in passing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythians* hories one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set down the numbers of such as perished in Battel; yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been to inquisitive into the greatness of their own success, that Writers have been able to deliver such particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawful to set down what we find; especially when it serves to give light to the business in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost, the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatness of *Alexander*) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the regulation of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moscovites*, without any boat) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himself of those *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was slain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flees into *Bactria*, *Alexander* kills, burns, and lays waste all before him, not sparing the innocent children, and do departs, leaving a new Governor in that Province.

To

SECT. XIX.

How Alexander slew his own Friends.

AFTER these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of *Alexander*'s killing of a *Lycon*, and other trifling matters; and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the virtue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmanis*, and decided the Oracle of *Hannum*: for therein he toucht him to the quick, the same being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus* indeed, had behaved as much at the King's hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his life, which the King well remembered, when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet, to say the truth, *Clytus* his infidelity was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgot whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to flay: For the grief whereof, he ture his own face, and forrowed to inordinately, as, but for the exertions of *Callisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repentance: But preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis consilium succedendum non movet; ubi passidit animum nimia res vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit; non facit ebrietas vitia, sed prout vitia; Drunkenness both kindles and lays open every vice, it removes one of the ways that flame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where Wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden break out: Drunkenness indeed rather discovers vices than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dacotæ* also seized upon his Fellow-Conspirator *Dataphernes* and delivered him too. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these petty Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he paid over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacææ*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cobartanes*, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxana*, afterwards his Wife, was one; which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst use any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having fo increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a god; whereof that he might allege the *Macedonians* employed two pernicious Parasites *Hægis* and *Cleo*, whom *Callisthenes* opposed: For, among many other homely Arguments used to the Assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life

life time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carousing Feast :) but that, for the more than many Acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbered among the gods. *Alexander* flood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honour, learning, and a lover of the King's honour, was yet from after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but because he would never consent to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one *Hermolus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation or Trial, to be torn asunder upon the Rack: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth, *Hoc est Alexandri crimen atrocius, quod nulla virtus, nulla belorum faciliarum redimet: Nam puerum qui iuxta Occidit Persarum multa militis, opponit, & Calisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, Occidit Darium: opponitur, & Calisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, Oceanus tenuit vitem, ipsum quoque tenuit vitis claustrum, & Imperium ex angulo Tracia usque ad orientis terminus protulit, dicitur flet Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transferat, ex his que fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus Calisthenis: This is the eternal crime of Alexander, which no virtue nor felicity of his in War shall ever be able to redeem: For as often as any man shall say, He flew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew Calisthenes. When it shall be said, he flew Darius, it shall be replied, and Calisthenes. Wherein shall he said he won all as far as the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unsuccessful Naxos, and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the utmost bounds of the Orient. It shall be said withal, But he killed Calisthenes. Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his Acts make so much to his glory, as Calisthenes to his reproach.*

SECT. XX.

Of Alexander's journey into India. The Battle between him and Porus.

With the Army before remembered, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few days was rendered unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate Fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made Feasts for ten days together. Now when he had drank his fill, he went on towards *Dadala*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolemy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himself the rest. They take many Towns, whereof that of greatest

fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleopatra* the Queen, to whom again he restored it: at the siege of this City he received a wound in the Leg. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himself: he wan also a passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his company, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the sum of *Alexander's* doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephibion*, who (being first before) had prepared Boats for the transportation of his Army, and King's arrival, had persuaded *Cynipis* and other of that part of the Country, to submit himself to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soon upon *Alexander's* coming, *Ombis* presented himself with all the strength of his Country, and six and fifty Elephants, unto him; offering him his service and alliance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abisares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this dis-union to make his own victory by far the more ealie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crown of Gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withal fourscore Talents of Silver money, which *Alexander* not only refused, but to show that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Ombis* a thousand Talents of his own Treasure, besides other Persian rarities. *Abisares* having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Ombis* into his protection, resolved to make his own peace also: For, knowing that his own strength did but equal that of *Ombis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the chance of War gave, he thought it an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himself a Furry and Head of the quarrel. So had *Alexander* now none to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandment, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly Answer; That he would satisfy him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he would take counsel of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to pass over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thousand foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great Troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on this side he had been surelyayed somewhat longer ere he had been *India*. The River was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withal deep and swift. It had in it many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolemy* up the River with a part of the Army, throwing the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawn from his first encamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolemy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedonians*, meant to force their passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his Troops, and advances towards *Porus*, who at first rather believes that *Abisares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come over *Hydaspes* to his aid, than that *Alexander* had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with

with four thousand Horse, and a hundred armed Waggon to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistened, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Darius* had the Vant-guard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their Reins, and other Furniture, overturning the Waggon, and those in them. *Perdiceus* also gave up the reins to his men, and the one and the other were forced to retreat. *Porus* moves forward with the grove of his Army, that those of his Vant-guard scattered might recover his Rear; *Alexander* being followed with *Ephelion*, *Ptolemy*, and *Perdiceus*, took on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenon*, or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to break upon *Porus* his battel of foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beafts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended, but the Archers and Darters being well guarded by the long and strong pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtful fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skillfulness of the *Macedonian* Captains, the Victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: For besides the *Macedonians*, and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own Confederate and Country-people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground other wise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Conquerour, from whom again he received his Estate with a great enlargement.

SECT. XXI.

How Alexander finished his Expedition, and returned out of India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Asps, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in their Travels: or of those petty Wars which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his falling down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no fort be persuaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great Traveller *Mandeville*, who died in the year, 1372, and had seen so much of the World, and of the East-*Indies*, we accounted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friars *Guillelmus* in *Liege*, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence: For an honourable memory of his Excellency, faith *Guiscardiene*.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradis*, *Aceines*, and the rest fall into the main stream, are now posset by the great *Mogul* the ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all the Tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Alexson*, a Ship of *London* directed shipwreck, in the year 1609, and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great city (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Philobates in the Life of *Apollonius Tyanicus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East-*India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* fought by all means to out-fame) when they endeavoured to subdue to them the *Oxidrace*, a people inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their City with Thunder & Lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the Cannon many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before *Alexander's* time. But *Alexander* pierced not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Agremenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfulst King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more enflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the Art he had, could not persuade the Soldiers to wander over those great Desarts, beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many persuasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer at hand, wherunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile potterity, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater Trenches, greater Cabins for Soldiers, greater Horse-halls, and higher Mansions than Horses could feed in. He sent the farthest of Men and Horses to be made larger all Furniture for use; and scattered these Armour and Bridle about his Camp, to be kept as Reliques, and wondered at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journey's end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bignefs: to his greatness it could add nothing save a suspicion, that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Aceines*, and there determined to set up his Fleet, where *Aceines* and *Hydaspes* encounter; where to settle by a fatter monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities: the one he called *Nisaea*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horse *Bucephalus*. Here again he received a fourth supply of

six thousand *Thracian* Horse men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon*, five and twenty thousand Annours garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his Soldiers. About these Rivers he won many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that in assaulting a City of the *Oxidraceni*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; rales like those of *Bevis of Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he pass'd down the River with his Fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a Rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrival of an hundred Ambassadors from a King of *India*, who submitted himself unto him. He treated these Ambassadors upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuousity that could be devised, who, soon after their dispatch, returned again with a present of three hundred Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggon, and to each of them four Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, pass'd through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force; among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Smos* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomy*, (succeeded by King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreamt he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came near to the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden shoofed one upon another by the flood, so on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few days observed well the course of the Sea, he pass'd out of the Rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned; and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesivertus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixth book hath written this passage down the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteen days march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such misery for want of Food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into *India* nor the fourth part returned alive.

SECT. XXII.

Of Alexander's Riot, Cruelty, and Death.

From *Gedrosia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and so drawing near to *Persia*, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hateful enough in it self, yet it always inflamed this King to cruelty. For (saith *Curcius*) the Hangman followed the Fast: for *Al-*

phes, one of his Provincial Governors, he commanded to be slain; for as neither did the excess of voluptuousness qualify his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuousness.

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot, and a thousand horse was brought him by *Cleander*, and his Fellows that had been employed in the killing of *Parmenis*. Against these Murderers, a great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as *Alexander* was perfwaded, that had they not altogether despaired of his return out of *India* they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of this occasion, remembering the virtue of him whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief delinquents, were taken and employed, were delivered over to the Hangman: every one rejoicing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the Ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesivertus* were now returned from the Coast, and made report of an Island rich in gold and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discovery: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalcedonia*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Organes*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race descended from *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an Eunuch in special favour with the King, was neglected; he not only practised certain loose fellows to witness against *Organes*, that he had robbed *Cyrus's* Tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but he assailed the Hangman with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Philotas* to be slain, suspecting his greatness. *Caperas* (saith *Curcius*) esse precepti ad reprehendam supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began headlong to shed blood, and believe false reports. It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, seeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threescore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custom of his Country, being an *Indian*, or sought to prevent the grief and incommodity of old age, it is uncertain; but in this Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing *Alexander's* death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira Darius* his Eldest Daughter, giving her younger sister to his beloved *Ephelion*, and four-score other *Persian* Ladies to his Captains, there were six thousand guests invited to the Feast to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young Soldiers out of his conquered Provinces, wherewith the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus* his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lawfully consumed the moneys in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents; and six thousand hired Soldiers: but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slain. *Alexander* greatly rejoiced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stir: yet he sent commandment that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (fearful of his indignation) all submitted themselves.

themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they relolved that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had relolved to send into *Macedon* all thole old Soldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the rest in *Asia*. He used many Orations to fascinate them, but it was in vain during the Tempest of their fury. But afterward as Whales are drawn to the Land with a wine-drift, when they have tumbled a while, so are the undisciplinate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if *Alexander* had not taken counsel of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have employed him in the conclusion of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* law nothing in this remove, but the King's disposition to send him after *Parmenis*, and therewith. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill affected, though valiant; but there is a kind of Kingly courage compounded of hardiness and under-taking, which is many times so fearful unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves therof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephelion* whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs his Physician, and bestows upon his Monument twelve thousand Talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe *Curcius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gain say) *Antipater* by his Sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Lolla*, who waited on *Alexander's* cup, gave him poison; *Thessalus* (who was of the Conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking Feast for purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink brought him *Hercules* himself, he quitted the World within a few days.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldom found good, by making their Ministers over great and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge himself to be a debt, but is persuaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only reletorative, indeed, that strenghtens it, is the goodness and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; so more than *Cesar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, while he utterly forgot the Art of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful Traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curcius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Trajectories of *Parmenis*, *Clytus*, and *Calpithenes*, having been fo

lately affected) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had relolved to have given him some other great Government in *Asia*: The old Soldiers these returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

SECT. XXIII.

Of Alexander's Person and Qualities.

Howsoever it were *Alexander's* former cruelties cannot be excused no more than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkennells, which others make the cause of his Fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the World, *Aurelius Caesar* found just cause to decide him, as if the well governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have afforded him a matter more than abundant, to busie his brains withal. That he was both Learned, and a lover of Learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first Book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality I know not now to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole City to one of his servants, he, to whom it was given did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionate to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept but the King to give: of which *Seneca's* *Aminio's* vox videtur & regia, cum sit pluriflua. Nihil enim per se quoniam Lib. 2. de quam deest. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare nbi, &c. Lib. 2. de quibus *Plauti* ratio non constabit; habetur personarum & dignitatum proprietas, & cum sit nobis virtutis modus, apud precet quod excedit, ex quo quod desinit; It seems a brace and Royal speech, where as it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it self befitts a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like, without which considerations, no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the person: for whereas virtue is ever limited by measure, the excess is as faulty as the defect.

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man; a disposition, taken by it self, not much to be admired; For I am relolved, that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardiness of Thieves, Kuffins, and Masked-men. For certainly it is no way praiseworthy, but in daring good things, and in the performance of thole lawful enterprises, in which we are employed for the service of our Kings, and Common weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troubles of the World, who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferior to *Cesar*, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked *Sythians* excepted: nor was ever encountered with any Army of which he had not a most mauling advantage, both of Weapons and Commanders; every one of his Father's old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems Fortune and Destiny

(if we may use those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerors. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this Judge-

ment of them: *Quod non minores fieri potest mortalium, quam inundatio, quâ plenum omne perfusum est, quem confusio, quâ magna pars animalium exaruit: They were no less, plagues to mankind, than an overflow of Waters, drowning all the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living Creatures are scorched up.*

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Arideus.

SECT. I.

Of the Question about Succession to Alexander.

THe death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in such safe, as was that monstrous Giant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in Fables of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectual, and harmful chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of Title to succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed unto himself the Kingdom, nor rendering it unto *Amintas*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to man's estate; but only bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper strength, he assured the Crown unto himself. *Amintas* never attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his Reign. Wherefore *Eurydice* the sole issue of this Marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereunto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbade the Reign of Women. But the excellent virtue of these two Princes, had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, nor claiming from their own bodies; and so great were their Conquests, that *Macedon* it self was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix; and no way deserving to be laid in balance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

Alexander having taken many Wives, had issue by none of the principal of them. *Barrise* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with Child. But the balances of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleged in Bar of Heir made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexander's* children.

Cleopatra, a Sister of *Alexander*, Widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Arideus* his base Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Emyrdice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspicion, that either Law or Custom had made that Sex incapable of the Sovereignty: *Arideus* (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsellors having over-laboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what comes next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Persian* brood, King *Alexander's* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the Captains; that going for Law, which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Arine*, *Ptolomy's* Mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he only desired to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass, had

SECT. II.

The Election of Arideus, with the troubles thereabout arising; the first Division of the Empire.

all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Arideus* before himself: and therefore gave such counsel as fitted his own and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it: For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexander's* empty Chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the form of their consultations, or to sit in the Chair such a King as *Arideus*, no wiser than the Chair it self. All the Controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shews of dissembling aspiciers do often take check by the plain dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have failed with *Ptolomy* and the rest, when *Arismus*, another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*, saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthyest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his Ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his own purchases: and those tokens of *Alexander's* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another's construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be enclosed. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the Estate Royal. He was no stranger to the Royal blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that especially since the death of *Ephelbus* (a powerful minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very lately he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a shew of Majesty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present business a foolish over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happiness to have succeeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Soldiers approving the sentence of *Arismus*, he would needs countermand, thinking that every one of the Princes would have intrusted him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Melaeus*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heir to the Crown, the Soldiers ought to be heirs to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Soldiers, who greedy of spoil, thronged about *Melaeus*.

During this up-rear, mention was made of *Arideus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Melaeus* having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great: therefore he produced *Arideus*, commended him to the Soldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in *Alexander's* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vain: for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Pythion*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsel which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leontius* his Protectors. But the child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with six hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the King's Pages took upon them to defend the place where *Alexander's* body lay: but the Army, conducted by *Melaeus*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and enforced them to accept *Arideus* for their Sovereign Lord. Then by intercession of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leontius who was of Royal blood, a goodly Gentleman, and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which continued (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Melaeus*) sent modestly, thinking that every one of the Princes would have intrusted him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Melaeus*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heir to the Crown, the Soldiers ought to be heirs to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Soldiers, who greedy of spoil, thronged about *Melaeus*.

Perdiccas having now joyned himself with *Leontius*, kept the fields intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing between the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authours of ledion

given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyed with *Leontas* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in the Government of the Army) things were compounded according to the King's desire. That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principal place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protected where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexander's* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the Arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as delicious of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such Authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motions and therefore agreed that a general Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Soldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was maliciously laid. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a fower of diffension, and thereby with a public approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redress of these disorders, he halsted his own ruin, by a less formal, but more speedy way. This kind of Muster was very solemn, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of sundry sorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their several Captains. But at that time the great battle of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose belowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them was such, as discovered no jelling palliure, nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custom *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For *Arvidus* was always governed by him, who for the present had him in possession. Two or three days before he fought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the footmen, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were call unto the Elephants and by them slain in the presence of the King (who should have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them that had the advantage, when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he

found no Sanctuary: for thither they fent and flew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Council of the Princes was held; who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves: leaving to *Arvidus* the office of a Victor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the Forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body having been seven days neglected, was opened and embalmed by the Egyptians: no sign of poyson appearing, how greatsoever the suspicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to *Arvidus*, one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly hearse, making a flatly Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coffers of his friends being laid in the ground before that of *Alexander* was belowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building in Egypt.

SECT. III.

The beginning of the Lamiar War.

WHILE these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principal Noblemen, and inferior to none of *Alexander's* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were banished in Greece with a War, which the Athenians more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexander's* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander* not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greeks (few excepted) should be recalled unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, and therefore thought fit to provide, that in every City he would have a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he won by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needful of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Asians* who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by Nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but seemed to bear themselves as men that had done no more than they might well justify by reason: nevertheless to prevent the worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to *Leptines*, a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his own name, and to keep it in a readines for their use. This was no hard thing for *Leptines* to do: great numbers of Greek Soldiers being lately returned from the Asian War in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captains. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certain news was brought of *Alexander's* death: at which the City of Athens declared it self, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed War against the *Macedonians* for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon *Leptines* drew in the *Asians*, and some other Estates, gave battle to the *Asians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and

and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to send into Asia to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, thunning or pursuing their desires afar off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into Macedonia; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into Macedonia to convey the old Soldiers (that was the pretence) and to succour *Antipater* in the Government of Macedonia and Greece. The suspicions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Soldiers, newly to be levied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his own jealousy and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander's* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the King's rigour was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lawful Government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitten Viceroys ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would new repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the King's death by poyson, given by his Son *Iolans*, *Alexander's* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth until opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his Son *Callander's* great cause of much fear he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present, *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captains of Companies lying near, solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in Macedonia there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horses, which Muster was of raw Soldiers, all the force of the Country being employed in Asia. The *Thessalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horse-men of Greece, furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With these forces did *Antipater* in Thessaly try the Fortune of a Battle with *Leptines*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the Greeks, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leptines* had of Athenians, *Asians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signiories, and of some *Thyrians* and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted

unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own Country; therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leptines* follow him, prelent him battel again, and upon refusal close up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprise that ever was undertaken by that great City of Athens.

SECT. IV.

How Perdiccas employed his Army.

KING *Arvidus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatness consisting in a bare Title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope for that unsettled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*, yet about the same time he either married *Nices* the daughter of blind their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Arivantes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the Persian Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his fore-fathers, even from *Pharnaces*, the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who married *Atissa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had indeed been oppressed by the Persian: but what Fortune took from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithful Princes had much encreased all. But now in the late Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the Persian room. This he did not: neither did *Alexander* call him him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that inland Kingdom, surrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* Conquest, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of sure retreat, under the Government of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred Cappadocia, fought with *Arivantes*, who drew into the field 30000 foot, and 15000 horse (a strong Army, had it not encountered a stronger, and better trained) won the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he use the victory: for having taken *Arivantes* prisoner, with many others, he crucified them, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon, and so delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most. Another part of his forces he had committed to *Pythion*,

thon, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most affluant. *Pythion* was to fuddle the *Greeks* rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. About twenty thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse they were (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander* to bridle the barbarous Nations, were from weary of their unpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived: And therefore took advantage of the present troubles to seek unto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more desirous to make them his own, than to destroy them; which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giving the spoils of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyed it upon *Pythion's* Captains (his own creatures) that they should see his commandment executed. These directions for use of the victory, might have proved needless; so uncertain was the victory itself. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without necessity to a hill not far off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the day to *Pythion*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas* offered composition to the vanquished, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being Master of these Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himself as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companies, whom needless fear without great loss had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation, all the greatness whereof *Pythion* might think himself assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the Letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoined to give assistance to that business; and by virtue of the precept given unto him, *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all those poor men who had yielded themselves; leaving *Pythion* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himself Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for fear of opposition. How it succeeded, will appear when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

SECT. V.

The Process of the Lamian War.

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himself without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leotibenes*, and would have yielded unto any terms of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of Victory, do seldom limit their desires. *Leotibenes* would him without further circumstance to submit himself to discretion. This was

too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremity, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingering War the *Thracians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or having business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to fallly upon their enemies to their great loss: for many were slain, and *Leotibenes* himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals waited, and they were not strong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was nearest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, against *Senthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field above four times that numbers and though *Lysimachus*, not without loss, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leontas* was earnestly solicited by *Antipater's* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the Government of *Thyrgia* the lefts, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; whether levied out of his own Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his Wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. *Antipater*, chosen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leotibenes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should join in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Thracians*) the advantage of *Leontas* in horse, by the odds of two thousand *Thessalians*; in other things he was equal with him, in case he thought himself Superior, in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he won a great victory (chiefly by virtue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leontas* himself; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marshy piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had fought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexander's* Captains which died in battle; but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did never any thing fuitable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flee. They betook themselves to high grounds for refuge on horseback, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following, *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the

the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battle. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage; which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchedness incorrigible in an Army of Volunteers) was very excusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the work.

But now the fatal captivity of *Greece* came on, of which the never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Thessaly*, joined himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leontas*, *Antipater* and *Craterus* being joined in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antipater* labour to avoid the necessity of a battle, until such time as the Towns confederate should return unto the Camp those bands which straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and *Antipater* so urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the *Thessalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until such time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of an hundred and thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made: For the *Greeks*, as not subject unto the full command of one General, and being every one desirous to preserve his own Estate and City: concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle Artificer, and well understanding their aptness to division, refused to hearken to any general composition, but willed every City to deal apart for itself. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected: the *Greeks* chusing rather to abide the coming of their assailants, whose unreasonable carelessness betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Towns in *Thessaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present calamity.

SECT. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes his death.

THE *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soon followed severally, and sued for peace: the gentle conditions given to the most forward, in-

cluding such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Illyrians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult, and their fear was not great; the fear of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who fate still at *Athens*, deviling upon courses of procuring the War to come, which came to their doors before their consultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartless as friendsless. All that remained was to send Ambassadors, desiring peace upon some good terms: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chief of this Embassy: *Phocion*, as the most honourable; *Demades* as a strong persuader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners and virtues; but all these ornaments confining in speculation and therefore of less regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leotibenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertain a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the Government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democracy. But the rascal multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarr'd from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out, that this was a meer Oligarchy, the violent usurpation of a few encroaching upon the publick right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them Lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying his own suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others, to be slain. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, been forborn, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very mild; whereas now, all such as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendered their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the Learned Arts find in all Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blench any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (cleave with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswaded him to leave the place; but not so prevailing, he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes* intreating a little respite, as it had been to write somewhat, secretly

secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and to die's rather chusing to do the last execution upon himself, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battle, howsoever valiant in persuading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great sums given him by the *Perfians*, to encourage him, in hiding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (we think) in taking from the *Perfians* which loved not his Country, great rewards, for speaking such things as tended to his Country's good; which he did not cease to procure, when the *Perfians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucius*, who tells us, That it was *Antipater's* purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of *Phoenix*, a virtuous man, lover of his Country, yet applying himself to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free men, yet favourable to the vanquished, he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

SECT. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Ætolian wars into Asia. The ground of the first civil war between the Macedonian Lords.

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Thiba*, the Daughter of *Antipater* to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Ætoliars*, whose poverty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fastness, into which they conveyed such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for War; with the rest they fortified the frontiers of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the place, which the *Ætoliars* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut up all passages, and utterly debarr'd them of relief, then were they put to a miserable choice; either to defend from their strong holds, and fight upon equal ground, with unequal numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yield themselves to the *Macedonians*, who, incensed by the loss of many good Soldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn enemies in places which might

give confidence to Rebellion. In case of extremity much fineness of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only which at the present is in hand. These *Ætoliars* did not as yet wait meat; but their enemies daily molested them; wherefore as they thought upon nothing but fighting, Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such news came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* Camp as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætoliars*, giving them whatsoever conditions they would ask: yet with purpose to call them to a severe account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death or by captivity, when once they should have fettled the affairs of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is diffuser; in whole high Council it was ordained, that that poor Nation should continue a troublesome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate to let the *Romans* (conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it served merely as an introduction to all the civil Wars ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiatick* Expedition, which did for the world in an uproar, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexander's* Captains the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient prebendancy, and the present rule which he bore in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander*, and of the whole Army. Next unto these had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his presence at the King's death did make equal, or superior, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have comforted with these two, and to have been with them a third partner in the Government of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipater's* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wing and soar quite another way. *Aridus* was a very simple man, yet served well enough to wear the title of that Majesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become Proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the days of *Alexander*: the desire to seem terrible, being very familiar with great Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who had all other means of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery lustre to their Actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Pisidians* were the next who felt the wrath of the counterfeits *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children sold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians*, by this example grown desperate, when after two or three days trial they found themselves unable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses, and fet the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and silver; but *Perdiccas* had

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SECT. VIII.

Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, and his death.

Perdiccas, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length resolved to set upon *Phlomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his use, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Phlomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Phlomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soon enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad course and made it worse with ill handling.

Phlomy by his sweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of infidelity, which never fails to be rewarded with hatred, which is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole story of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a willful man) tired his followers, and waited them in hard enterprises without success. His most forcible attempt was upon a Town, called the *Camels Wall*; thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for *Phlomy* preventing him, did put himself into the place, where behaving himself not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Soldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with loss, after a vehement, but vain assault, continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journey (which was his last) and came to the divisions of *Nilus*, over against *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to pass over his Army into an Island, where he meant to encamp. The current was strong, the water deep, and hardly fordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the passage, to break the violence of the stream, and his horsemen beneath it, to take up such as were carried away by swiftnels of water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; so that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the rising of the water, or by fitting away of the ground (the earth being broken with the feet of so many Men, Horse and Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repass again, as well as they might for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the River, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim, recovered the Camp; many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Soldiers against their General, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Phlomy*, which did set

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them in an up roar. *Ptolomy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of Funeral to the dead carcases, which the River had cast upon his side: and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Soldiers, but made the Captains fall into mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make war upon virtuous and honourable a person, to fulfil the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Pythou* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the Victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Pythou* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governour of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentry (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entered the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ran upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgoverning authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as himself; yea, peradventure Master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused himself of things past, as not having been Author, or given cause of the War, and was easily believed: the favour of the Army being such toward him, that needs they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refused. It was an Office fit for one that would seek to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already, wherefore, for his own quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Pythou*, and to *Ariseus* the Captain, who having had some Companies of Soldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexander's* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the midst of these businesses came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three days sooner, had been entertained with joyful acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

SECT. IX.

Victories of Eumenes in the lower Asia.

Before we proceed in the relation of things happening about the person of the King, it is meet that we speak of those businesses in the lower Asia, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilst *Perdiccas* was occupied in the Egyptian Wars. *Alcetas* the Brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer that he would not; alleging the backwardness of his men to bear Arms against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedence given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when belied upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortify himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he sailed out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about six thousand Horse, giving many privileges to such as were fervent; and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the Hellespont) for the invasion of his Provinces, he wished *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him Battle. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conquest of Asia, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For, though his foot-men, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Battels; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cried for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their society, who contrariwise offered himself as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withal his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a Scribe (at which toothill railing they laughed) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any Macedonian in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won; for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aid against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend

to his motion: good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of *Alexander's* vanities, when others (imitating their King) had took them selves to the Persian fashions of garments and customs, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behaviour, and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Soldiers, who beheld these new tricks of Asia with disaffected eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. So *Antipater* took the way toward *Gallia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to join with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* used great solicitude, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captains, after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espial upon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battle, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: yet the Army following him were such as much exceeded his own foot-men, but was inferior in horse-men, and thought it more unsafe to keep the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which disoperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pizres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to join with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised and hated among them, (as having been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plain field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Premptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpet should be admitted, and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him, had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians* and *Persians*, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should run upon the enemy, and give him no leisure to lay, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own person; but placing himself in the right wing of his Battle, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeys, which overhastily they had made, seeking the deceitful issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprising them as enemies) to discover himself to his old friends, and fellow-souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phenix* a *Tendian*, and *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who, mindful of their instructions, began to give battle upon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to re-

dem, he had his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the spoil to themselves; but the Bear, whose skin he kills, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battle was fought, gave most advantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, who, as soon as they had discovered one another, could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up; but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, where-with he boughed the other, causing him to fall down and fight upon the knee. In this conflict they received many wounds; but *Neoptolemus* giving flight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and there was being half-dead, half-alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose revivings he requested, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the spur, and seek shelter behind the Battels of their foot. They were nothing butly pursued. For *Eumenes* paired himself to carry succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly born himself a while, and sustained the impetuous of *Arabians* and *Phenians* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely that he might have either carried the day, or preferred himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slain) did. But whilst he fought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his Horse, or his falling from his Horse, through force of a wound received, upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having always loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled towards *Antipater*.

This Battle fought within ten days of the former, won to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Soldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the news. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as fussy as any pretended greater heaviness. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giving to them the spoil of such Towns as were ill affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meek motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easy to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulness, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their faithfulness; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late revolt,

than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

SECT. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice the Queen, and Python the Protector. Python resigns his Office, into which Antipater is chosen.

Python and *Ardeus* being chosen Protectors of *King Arideus*, and the children of *Alexander*, took the way to *Asia* the less, conducting the Army thither *Syria*. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so important a Charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to *King Arideus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking her self able to support the weight which fortune laid upon her feeble husband, being due to her own title. Her mother *Cyna*, Sister to *Alexander*, by her Father *King Philip*, was married (as hath been shewed) to *Antipater*, who was the right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of *King Perdiccas*, *Philip's* elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Ceria*, Queen of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago*, like unto her self, had slain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the same womanly Art of War, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the final contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, (as once he had fought to do) or whether the Queen did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrel with him; quarrel she did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Army having taken off such a rank-ride as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reign'd with a twined throng. *Python* bearing himself upon his Office took upon him to give directions in the King's name, which the Queen did oftentimes control, using the same name with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python* feeling this, would needs resign his office, whether upon weariness of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queen into envy, is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthiest man in the Camp, he should be intrusted to retain the place, and have his Authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing sorry at this course; for now he thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; choosing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexander's* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no Lord, save only the King their Sovereign. Yet the failed of her purpose, being hindered (as may seem) by three

things: the apparent weakness of her husband; the growth of *Alexander's* children, who (though born of our-landish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightiness of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand, arrived in few days at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her self content, *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work by any close devices as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governors of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better; yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting other in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done again, *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Asiana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Government of *Asia* during that War.

SECT. XI.

Antigonus Lieutenant of Asia, wins a Battle of Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

Here begins the greatness of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole *Morichy*. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetes* the Brother, and *Attalus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army employed in the publick service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business. The first of these which he undertook, was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetes* and *Attalus* refused to join, having unreasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all ways of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with Letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those Letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains as he thought most likely to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carefully to himself, that he and his were surprized, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, referring it for the time of execution. Upon consideration of the reason which this false man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus* presented battle to *Eumenes*; in the best wise of *Apollonides*, General of the Hosts to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him, but was closely followed by some whose company he desired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traitorous practice had brought upon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the Troops of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the loss of his Battle, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it, very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet

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one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battle had been fought; there he buried (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and to went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the news which *Menesander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menesander* in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and laden with the spoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but tearing left such a purchase should prove a heavy burthen to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menesander* to flee to the Mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this flight, setting them to bait their horses. This *Menesander* extolled him for this courtship, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not been born to do this out of any good will to them; but of mere civility had avoided those precious Fetters, which would have hindered his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burthenome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves, and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*, where again keeping about him no more than necessity required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little Fortrefs in *Lycania* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessities, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love, *Eumenes* required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipater's* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the Siege, took his Journey into *Pisidia* against *Alcetes* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetes* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his coming, so were they too adventurous in fighting at the first fight upon all disadvantages, and their folly was attended with fatal event. *Attalus* with many principal Captains was taken; *Alcetes* fled to the City of *Troas*, where the love of the younger fort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their ears against all persuasions of the ancient

men, they needs would hazard their lives, and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governors of the Town having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to fall out; and using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon *Alcetes*, who unable to resist, flew himself. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the Carcasses with solemn Funerals, having once been minded to let on Fire their Town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality. But, to make an able General, one virtue, how great soever is insufficient.

SECT. XII.

Protolmy wins Syria and Phoenicia. The death of Antipater.

Whilst these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Governments in the present, than to contrive or enlarge them. Only *Protolmy* looking abroad, saw all *Syria* and *Phoenicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seem) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from Alliances, and vainly relying upon the Authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintain him in his office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexander's* Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing at first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* Expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Son *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with the office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being fourscore years old, having always travelled in the great affairs of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the Successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities, he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophical behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had been much mollified by *Olympias*, *Alexander's* Mother; whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstain from coming into *Macedonia*, or intermeddling in matters of State; yea at his own death he gave especial direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by sorrowful experience approved to have been sound and good.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

Of Polyperchon, who succeeded unto Antipater in the Protectorship, the insurrection of Cassander against him.

Polyperchon was very skilful in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in to high an Office as he undertook, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as of a second wit, sifter to assist, than commander in chief. At the first entrance upon the Stage, he called to council all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queen Olympias was revoked out of *Epirus* into *Macedonia*, that the presence of Alexander's Mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring, that the Governors of Provinces abroad should keep greater Armies, than were needful or safe to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the limited bounds of duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of fight, whilst present difficulties lay unregarded in their bosoms. Cassander, the Son of Antipater, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in Polyperchon, for which his Father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and Polyperchon, as was in their fortune. He was left Captain of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the Title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as Camp-master, or Lieutenant-General to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare it with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his Father was by his own assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principal Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principal authority, in those Commonwealths, whose forms had been corrected by Antipater, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascally multitude, covetous of re-gaining the Tyrannous power, which they had formerly exercised over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, Cassander had the secret love of Queen Olympias, who had in private rendered him such courtesy, as was due only to her Husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; because he saw Polyperchon much revered among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made show of following his pleasures in the Country, and calling many of his friends a-

bout him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and met free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an Army, before the business was set on foot; and to do this, opportunity presented him with fair means. *Ptolomy* had by line force, without any commotion, annexed Syria to his Government of *Egypt* and *Greece*: this was too much either for the King, to trust him with, or for him to part with. Antigonus upon the first news of Antipater's death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself Lord of all Asia. These two therefore stood in need of a Civil War, which Cassander well noted, and presumed withal, That the friendship which had passed between his Father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellepont*, that he might in much advance the business with greater speed. Much persuasion is needless in winning a man to what he desires. Antigonus coveting nothing more, than to find Polyperchon weak, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) Cassander did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to abstain him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomy* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. Antigonus on the other side repayed him with the same coin, saying, That for his own sake, and for his dead Father's, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner of succour. Having thus teased one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common means, leading to their several ends.

SECT. XIV.

The unworthy courses held by Polyperchon, for the keeping down of Cassander.

Great necessity there was of timely provision. For Polyperchon needed no other instructions to inform him of Cassander's drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in Antigonus and Ptolomy, to the strengthening of Rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of Cassander was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumflectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principal Men, into whose hands Antipater had committed the supreme Authority, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of Cassander's friends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in Polyperchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went against to dishonour the Father's actions, whose only bounty had enabled him to do it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held re-

strain-

strained from stirring against the *Macedonians*; and in opposition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in Man's Body, through sickness newly issuing from one branch, a finger is vexed more by inflammation of his next Neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodies politic, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to pass, that contrary Religious are invited to help against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to a part in civil wars, and ancient hatred called to counsel against injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty; she hath taught the arm to set it self unto manifold loss in defence of the head: They are depraved affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greeks* were presented with a vain show of liberty, ran under the King's name: but so, as one might easily discern, that Polyperchon had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they should follow such directions, as Polyperchon gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindness as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have come other root than the pretended good will, and was of it self too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often subdued Rebels.

SECT. XV.

Of the great Commotions raised in Athens by Polyperchon's decree. The death of Phocion.

Nevertheless the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and fought how to put it in execution without further delay. But Nicanor, Captain of the Garrison, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a truly follower of Cassander, was by him thrust into the place, and Meniskus (that was Captain there before) discharged, when Antipater was newly dead. His coming to Athens was no way grateful to the Citizens, who soon after hearing the news of Antipater's death, cried out upon Phocion, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertising them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Far more grievously would they have been offended, had they known the intractions which Cassander had given to Nicanor, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should find means to thrust some companies into *Piræus*, and fortify that also,

which was the principal Haven, against the High Town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability: But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their Council, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the King's Proclamation: whether upon Phocion's word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with Cassander in the War, which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise, they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the other's demand; the *Athenians* (who did always measure Justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with Demetrius, a Captain following Polyperchon, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take Nicanor Prisoner. But Phocion, who then governed Athens, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politick dishonesty did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of Cassander, but procuring his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*: which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himself therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now master of both. Alexander, the Son of Polyperchon, came thither shortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shews, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epitiles of his Father, and of Olympias the old Queen. Olympias taking upon her to command, before the dust well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had preposterously charged Nicanor to restore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would first consider more of the matter. Polyperchon had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendered unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) so far from purposing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them have themselves. The commodity of their Havens was then, as he would rather get into his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather withheld in theirs, than in Cassander's. His Son Alexander, notwithstanding that he made fair show to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in commending with Nicanor, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the business. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured out upon Phocion, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult; banished Men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could invent against things past, a most likely man to find some remedy for the evil threatening them. In this hurly-burly was Alexander devising how he might come to some good point of composition with him; when Nicanor held much privy conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproar in the Town was so far encreased, that

Phocion

Phoeon with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Country of *Phoeia*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phoeon* with his companions, hoping well that the Letters which they brought, and their own deserts (having always been Friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Country gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocence. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polysperchon's* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil hour) who promised to himself and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon* was an unfaithful man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet either for want of Judgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good success. For fear of *Cassander* he had offered wonderful kindness to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and seek how to get into his own hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast locked up: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering between the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece*, began to cast their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wisest way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be Master of that City. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* Ambassadors come, reading (as one may say) upon *Phoeon's* heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the King's presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exterior shews of Majesty; yet all too little to change *Arideus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others do. For beginning of the business, *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and slain. This was enough to testify his hearty affection to the Commonalty of *Athen*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Ambassadors he then bid to speak. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phoeon* and the rest were pronounced guilty of Treason; but to give sentence, and do the execution upon them, was (for honours sake) referred unto the City of *Athen*, because they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to *Athen*, where the rascal multitude, not suffering them to speak for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phoeon* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the less regard. Five and forty times had he been chosen Governor of the City, never suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent, so well was his integrity known, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same virtue. He was a good Commander in War,

wherein, though his Actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the City repent of having followed his counsel: nor any private man of having trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signs of his love) sent him two hundred Talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of four Cities in *Asia*, any one which he would chuse. But *Phoeon* refused all these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust upon him; relying well contented with his honest poverty: wherein he lived about fourscore years, and then was compelled by the unjust Judgement of wicked men to drink that poison, which by just Judgement of the righteous God, so infected the City of *Athen*, as from that day forwards never brought forth any worthy man resembling the virtue of their Ancestors.

SECT. XVI.

Of Polysperchon his vain Expedition against Cassander.

Not long after these things were done, *Cassander*, with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entered into *Pirens*; which news drew *Polysperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Army but so ill victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enemy; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and made new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himself unable to drive *Cassander* out of *Athen*, he left his son *Alexander*, with such number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further encroaching. The greatest part of his Army he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Country sure to himself, wherein *Cassander* had many friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. First, he began to fight with Edicts, retorting the Democracy, or popular form of Government. He commanded that the principal Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, should be either slain, or driven into exile. This Decree took immediate effect in most places: the vulgar sort being very ready to seal the Charter of their freedom and authority, with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chief Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polysperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution. For *Polysperchon* coming thither with all his power, did so much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner Wall, to bear out the next assault. The Assaults having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much pains to clear the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence

SECT. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himself an absolute Lord; and thereupon treats with Eumenes, who is disappointed him. Phrygia and Lydia won by Antigonus.

Antigonus was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townsmen perceiving their drift, prepared boards driven thorow with long nails, which they used as gall-throgs, bestowing them slightly covered, with the points upward, in the way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they let any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light armed men to beat upon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnished for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athen*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lie before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admiral, to Sea, to join with *Arideus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus* and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring himself of the Victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wafted over the Straits in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drove his men, that lay securely on the Land, headlong into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving, did assail them so lustily that few or none escaped them.

This loss at Sea, together with his bad success by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good faculty in penning bloody Decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosoms, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Country left in a combustion, uneasy to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himself Lord of *Asia*.

Antigonus had in *Antipater's* life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in fact he began his advancement of his purposes came the news of *Antipater's* death, even then, when all the business in *Asiada* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Army remaining, gave only the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it left, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years which he might abide, work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Cattle his men and horses might grow feckly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lusty. But when he had continued thus up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great fidelity of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity thence unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himself, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon forth he sent him an oath, which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora* and enjoy his perfect liberty. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*, which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Deorum*, than upon any loyal intent, the binding words and sum of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reversion of duty, to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unbecomely to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the mastery; and being assured that his voluntary alliance, which way loever he gave it, would be more acceptable and far more honourable than the court's propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming; but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it self, when he came to take it, he made show of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too circumspect in their

testifying in their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay encamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea side, to remove some of the Governors of the Provinces, behaving himself according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of War. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justify his proceeding. For, if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doing on his death-bed bequeathed unto him as a Legacy, without consent of the Prince and Souldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the Lieutenantship of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in presence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith fatigued, he had threecore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirty Elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Arideus* Governor of *Thrace*, who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and fought to have won *Cizaus*, a fair Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the Country. *Arideus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Citrus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and fought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished; and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

SECT. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes having authority from the Court, raises great War against Antigonus in defence of the Royal House.

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all *Asia* the less, was able to have entered *Macedon* and seized upon the Court; which that he forbore to do, it proceeded (as may seem) from some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousy in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polyperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation: It would ask more time than he could spare; and the envy which followed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royal house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected.

Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, made great haste towards *Cilicia*, hoping to surprise him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of these few that continued faithful to their dead Master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Army, and make War upon *Antigonus*, taking of the King's treasure, as much as he should need. Other Letters also there were directed to all the Governors of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyrsphides*, or Silver-shielded bands, commandment was given to beat his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this Authority was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*, and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the war to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire scarce any one could be found among the Noblemen, in whom *Alexander's* Mother, Wives, and Children, might repose firm confidence. Saving only this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Perusia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

SECT. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Arideus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death.

NOW, forasmuch as in this present War all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new face upon the State, by the extirpation of the Royal house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the War it self, to shew briefly how the great Ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses, which overthrew most of them, and out of their ruins built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main Controversie of the Title to the Crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Arideus the King, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polyper-

Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdom, and become Governor to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband stand serve as a Stale, keeping the Throne warm till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexander's* malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deciding one that adorned him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him to resolve, both to suppress the lineage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent, who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wife, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Pholomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have sufficed them to see it.

Pytho and *Selenchus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Eusegetes*, and some others, with much ado hardly made resistance until such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with step dames) hated the children of her Husband by his other Wives. It was thought that she had given poison to *Arideus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now the considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to join with *Polyperchon*, and let up as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Arideus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent he procured men among her kinsed in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polyperchon*, who, journeying with her, entered into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to let aside all other business, and come to succour her. She her self by entreaties, gifts, and promises, drew to her party as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, until she thought her own side strong enough; and then taking her Husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queens met armed; as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke fricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias* coming to mind her former Estate; and the victorious Reigns of her Husband and Son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her self thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made Prisoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as

well, and upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not flit to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Arideus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them throw a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Arideus* to some barbarous Thracians; who took away his life by cruel tortures; to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poison, willing her to chuse the instrument of her own death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her neck to the Halter, having spent her last curles not in vain. *Nicanor* the Brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then chide out, all whom he commanded to be slain. His Brother *Idolus* was already dead and buried, the accused of poison given to *Alexander*, and thereupon he caused his Tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had quite contrary to *Antipater's* charge given on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the Government of the Empire.

SECT. XX.

How Cassander was revenged on Olympias.

1. I.

The great Expedition of Cassander. Olympias shuts her self into Pydna, where Cassander besieged her. Eacides King of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias is forsaken and banished by his own Subjects.

Cassander that that time lay before *Teges*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never failed to take the City, nor to give order for the state of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon* were there with an Army) but commending with them of *Teges*, he wished his associates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return; and so in all haste he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy desire of just revenge. The *Atolians* had taken the Straits of *Ibermople*, in favour of the Queen and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passages; but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing some under *Galas* a subtil Captain, to hold *Polyperchon* busied; who then lay encamped near to *Perthibis*, with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity took more care how to appear Majestical, than to make her self strong. To this end she made a solemn progress to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of

the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander*, by his Grandmother's delinquency: who during his minority, kept his Sovereign power in her own hands. But all this pomp served to little use against the violence of the enemy, that soon presented himself before the Walls; only it fed the besieged with a vain hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soon appeared a fair likelihood, which as soon vanished and went away in smoke.

For *Antiochus* King of *Epirus* made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias* his Cousin, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was also shut up. Nevertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this Expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by *Cassander's* men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The King's impatience urging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, broke out at length into such terms, that when he had raged in vain against the multitude, his Authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in foreign Countries, a banished man, his people joyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to War.

Pydna in the mean time was closed up strictly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left: no memorable service being done there, whilst great Actions were managed abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias her story. Polyperchon defeated. Extreme Famine in Pydna. Olympias yields to Cassander.

Now, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes*, and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her destiny; which grows the faster upon her, because the may discern it coming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our Narration, by inserting her Tragedy in the midst of things not manifestly coherent with it: we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not, therewith be distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polyperchon*, was in like manner disappointed as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirots*. For *Callas* who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of the Army with money, leaving him within a little while to slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other business of War, than a swift retreat. When Famine had so far prevailed in the City, that the Horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead Carcasses of their fellows, and saw-dust being given to the Elephants for Provender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave (who could not deny it) others without asking leave, yielded themselves to the enemy,

and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in space, and submitted to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortality was so great in the Town, that the living were extolled with the noisome scent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her self of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her success was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Gaol, out of which she should not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who having fetched her Galley out of the Haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Arrianus* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the success of some petty services where-in he had prevailed) began to promise himself great unlikelyhoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassander's* favour, very earnestly required him upon his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seek Innovation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, and her Conditions.

When *Eumenes* had now heard sorrowful tidings of all her friends, the her self was called into question, and accused in an Assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so styled in her affidavit, which in time of prosperity she called Justice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The fate was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slain. But it was at *Cassander's* instigation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, and tell her own tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men, as hated her most, who took away her miserable life. She was Daughter, and Sister, unto two Kings of *Epirus*: a Wife and Mother unto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other Ages; a stout Lady, and of unprovable chastity; but her ambition was boundless, her hatred unappeasable, and her fury in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse conditions made her Husband seek other Wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him and them. She was thought privy to her Husband's death: after which, very cruelly, she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, having first murdered one of her two children in her arms, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a Copper-bason. For

For these things, her Son *Alexander* (otherwise loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more severe unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them, their wills, permitted her to live, and fulfil the rest of her wickedness (which was his justice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which, he rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

† IV.

Cassander celebrates the Funeral of Arides and Eurydice; and seeks to make himself King of Macedon.

After her death, *Cassander* gave honourable burial to *Arides* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking fur-

ther into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Lady *Thessalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the Daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his Wives; that by her he might have some title to the Crown. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young Son to close Prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to increase his fame, and purchase love, built a City, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it unto the old Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the reparation of *Thebes*, wherunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Asia*, for the titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordship which Antigonus got in Asia.

SECT. I.

The Journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wife dealing with those that joynd with him.

Eumenes, having joynd unto his company the *Argyraspiders*, made haste into the Eastern parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his Commission, and strengthen himself against *Antigonus*. He took his journey through *Calosyria* and *Phoenicia*, hoping to reclaim those Provinces, the rest of *Syria* usurped (as hath been shewed) by *Ptolemy*, to the King's obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his pulling forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readiness of the people, to return their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which Impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the less effectual. The Captains of the *Argyraspiders* were so froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that they might more easily have dealt with open Traytors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolemy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the King's Warrant; which *Pytho* and *Selenus* refused to

obey; not as rejecting the King's Authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Cratæus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylon*; in such wise that *Selenus*, having in vain assayed to hinder him, by opening the sluices of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Pencester* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former desire of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the Authority given him, to take what he pleased of the King's treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those, who had most power to do good or hurt.

SECT.

SECT. II.

How Antigonus coming to set upon Eumenes, was driven off with loss.

A Ntigonus, hearing that Eumenes lay in the Province of *Sufa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the King's treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the countries, with intent to give them battle. Eumenes had fortified the Castle of *Sufa*, and was retired back toward *Perfa*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good counsel kept upon Antigonus, to observe which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* it fell, he was to pass over *Coprates*, a great River, and not fordable, which he thought to do by small Vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when Eumenes, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, to see their demerour: and hindring them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drove them head-long back into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned: very few escaping with life, except four thousand that yielded themselves prisoners in fight of Antigonus, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made Antigonus glad to fall off, and the heat power of the Dog days, breeding dangerous diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Pytho* with him (leaving *Seleucus* to besedge the Castle of *Sufa*) and seeking to go the nearest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media* with his Troops, that were quite heart-broken.

SECT. III.

Of Eumenes his cunning. A Battle between him and Antigonus.

AFTER his departure, Eumenes with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their business. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which Antigonus had left behind him; to which also the Captains of the *Arsyaspides* or *Silver shields*, were very inclinable, as desiring to draw near to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose Dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it self into parts.

When they came into *Perfa*, *Peucestes* ruling there, treated them royally, and fought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himself. Eumenes perceiving whereunto those doings tended, forsake him a while to keep good cheer, till the

time of Wardrew near. Then did he feign an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governour of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himself: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent over a great Army under *Polyperchon*, to join with Eumenes. These news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all mens minds a great willingness to obey Eumenes by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being far the most sufficient Commander, as they found soon after. For when Antigonus, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, Eumenes, by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battle in that disorder. But Eumenes, when the rest of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the sudden did call his men into good form, that Antigonus, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to his Captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake Eumenes: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a Battle. Eumenes had more Elephants than Antigonus; otherwise, he was inferior in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The Battle was fought with variable success, and great loss on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the Victory was uncertain. For Eumenes could not force his men to lye far from their carriages: by which means Antigonus (who had a more absolute command over his) encamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the sign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it, to do the like. But a greater sign of victory had Eumenes: For he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Country round about; whereas Antigonus was glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

SECT. IV.

Of divers stratagems practised by Antigonus and Eumenes, one against the other.

THUS did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a great length, each part having stout Souldiers, and skilful Generals: but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindered by the equal authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best, Antigonus grew daily weaker; in men and reputation, so that to repair himself he could find no way faster, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in wintering places, quartering far asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Between him and them, the way was not long, being only nine days journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderness, hardly passible. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring twenty five days journey, he forsake; partly for the length, partly and chiefly, because

SECT. V.

The conspiracy of Peucestes and others, against Eumenes his life.

BY these means Eumenes won great honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a most expert General, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Captains, giddy of their own much insufficiency, were so transported with Envy, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serve to counterpoize great virtues; (the sense of evil being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimony, will think it a part of wisdom to find good reason of the evils done to virtuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than virtue it self. Eumenes, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesy, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and carefully by all gentle means to win their love, that seemed to bear him any secret ill affection. It was his meer virtue that overthrew him, which even they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slain, before the battle were fought with Antigonus, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be governed by his direction. Of this Treason he was quickly advertised by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he used to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for fear of losing their own. Considering therefore, and discouraging with himself of the villain intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind; being doubtful what course he had best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royal blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with Antigonus, had been against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore either to lose the battle willingly, or to flee into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himself among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards look to himself as well as he might.

he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbade unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them discovered afar off. This commandment had been well observed four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being near to their ways end. The light of these fires gave notice of their coming, which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captains, they were loath to withhold the sudden danger, that in all haste they betook themselves to flight. But Eumenes, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make Antigonus march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could scarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of Antigonus: there he chose a convenient ground to encamp upon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Army had been present. This was a sorrowful spectacle to Antigonus, who thought himself prevented of his purposes; and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painful journey. Therefore he resolved to turn aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serve to refresh his Army. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready Eumenes would be upon all advantages. But after a while considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himself, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that Desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the Hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been so deluded. Therefore he went against these Troops with great fury, meaning to take sharp vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much business, and long stay. All the Army was come, save only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than four hundred horsemen in his company. Antigonus hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent above two thousand Horse, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spur. Neither knew they, who fate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them, for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave Troops of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue; and charging the Assaults upon the back, drove them to seek their own safety by speedy flight. These were sent by Eumenes, who though he knew not what his Adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to do: and therefore, playing both games himself, provided the remedy.

SECT. VI.

The last battle between Antigonus and Eumenes.

THE Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Silver-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to think of being beholding to him for the Victory. Yet he ordered the battle so well, that without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joining, a horseman from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedness in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vain. For the *Silver-shields* were men of threescore or seventy years old, and strengthened more by continual exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight.

Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most ancient and best regarded of all *Alexander's* Souldiers) grew very penitive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their own cause, and fearing that the threatening uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himself, and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did set forward courageously against the Enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battle, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traytors, his Companions, of all means to make head against him on the sudden; and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he should no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto *Python*, he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and Elephants, under one *Philip*, a honest man and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retreat, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joined very fiercely. *Antigonus*, labouring to make himself master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first burnt presently defeated by the *Silver-shields*, who flew above five thousand of them, losing of their own not

one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so over-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was fain to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himself out of the battle, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush among his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himself. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspense, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandy mould, through the trampling of Horses, Men and Elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of Horse, that passed undiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battels, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himself no farther than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have surprized those which came to surprize them, and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event; and *Eumenes* was so over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not possibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himself every way overcharged, began to give back, and withdrew himself and his companies in good order, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The *Antigonus* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were all content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loss of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to hear how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoils of the enemies. *Peucestes* not only refused to join with him, but immediately withdrew himself into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing somewhat more, and therefore taking half his horsemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to set upon the *Silver-shields* in their retreat; which yet he forbore to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battle ended, wherein

wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot; but the spoil which he got, by surprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

SECT. VII.

How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus and slain.

EUMENES, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much less able to draw their Carts after him, through that great Wilderness, over the high Mountains.

But these persuasions availed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to flee or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore *Tentamen*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-shields* (who had in former times readily consented unto traitorous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Anigens*) finding, as he thought a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore unto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their services, in the Wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtle man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of far greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make War against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than sorrow of their loss, which they said they would redeem by another fight; in the midst of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they halted him away; and, stopping their ears against all persuasions, would not yield so far as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himself, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The press of men, running out of the Camp to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was fain to send a guard of Horsemen and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not suddenly resolve either to kill or save. Very few there were that sued for his life, but of these, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was one, the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly, thinking, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So, after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded that

it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keep it a while in his own power, to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to have him live his friendly halt of other business made him do it by the sword).

To this end came all the travel of that worthy General *Eumenes*; who had with great widom, fidelity and patience, laboured in vain to uphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his Government of himself, in all his changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his virtue, industry and wit, were cast away; in leading an Army, without full power, to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gesser de Coligny*, Admiral of France in our days, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the massacre of Paris: That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye a thousand times.

Antigonus himself gave to the body of *Eumenes* Honourable Funerals; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betrayed to worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into far Countries, under pretence of War, but with a pivity charge, to confuse them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or to much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the shores of Greece and Macedonia.

SECT. VIII.

How Antigonus slew Python, and occupied Media. How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himself Lord of Persia, carrying away Peucestes.

THE two Armies being joined thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the Winter: the common Souldiers idly; the principal men intently bent unto the business ensuing. *Python* began to consider his own delinquencies for the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the strength, and riches of his Province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as *Antigonus*, unless it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easily to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course he was driven by necessity to trust many of whom he stumbled upon some, that were unscrupulous, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as brothers of diffidence between him, and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his own business calling him into the lower Asia. These reports coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatest with *Alexander*; his Authority

thority in that Province where they lay, whether he was Governor, and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintain, even an offensive War. But what need had he to use the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing, less than to yield to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to dye, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way: but swam carefully thorow the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this business was ended, he appointed a new Governor in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captain, to suppress all commotions: thinking alike that the power and authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced, at his own pleasure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his own creatures, except such as lay too far off to be dislodged easily.

Ptolemy, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences; but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and flattered with goodly words of promise, that never after took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

SECT. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this Vilitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenour of good will to *Antigonus*, & now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Castle of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendering unto him that strong Place, and

all the Treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear of good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the Treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made up five and twenty thousand Talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large Dominion was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Sovereign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus*, with all possible demonstration of love, and honoured with presents befitting the Majesty of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, That it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful, who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to press him, thus; but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue, as *Pythion* and *Peneus* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Ptolomy's* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppress all, that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without battel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange Prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battel. *Antigonus* believes may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldeans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the Destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he took his journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand Talents more of the King's treasures, and calling up his accounts, found his yearly in-come to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the great War between Alexander's Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.

SECT. I.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their Demands, and his Answer.

His great riches, and the rest of his Power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied and suspected, whereby he was quickly embarked in a new War. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Ambassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparations against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army should prevail more than a fair message. Therefore, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountered by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoice at his victory obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which War, so far as they were his Confederates, must have endured great loss, with hazard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equal division of the treasures that were in his hands (a thing easy to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might well be to every one's liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellespont*; to *Lysimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late War, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem Peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with calter conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for fear only, lest he should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore he roundly answered the Ambassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their Government, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*, and the council of Estate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one that had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those days command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equal share of my Treasures; but (for his Father's sake) desired me to pity him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now pretumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, How can he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well, but his conscience told him that he had deferved ill: else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justify. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomy's* proceedings, and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

SECT. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the War.

When the Ambassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europe*, as soon as he was

entred into Syria, let his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea coasts, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giving him also charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia*, some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into Greece and *Cyprus*, not unprovided of money; to draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to make himself the strongest by Sea, to which purpose he rather hastened, than forsook his journey into Syria, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their natural Lord; his other Provinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obediences, than to confront a Foreign enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on work in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Joppa* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong City of *Tyrrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it self upon compulsion, that *Ptolomy's* Souldiers might depart with their Arms, which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilst these things were in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of Egypt, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to encrease, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Selenus* had the chief command.

Selenus passed with an hundred sail along the coast of Syria, in full view of *Antigonus* and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*, the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the Egyptians with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by Sea, encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the Son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painful and learned Writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily employ in their quarrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous War, chusing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

SECT. III.

How each party sought to win the assistance of Greece. Antigonus his declaration against Cassander. Alexander the Son of Polyperchon revolted from Antigonus who had jet him up.

IN the mean season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the people of Greece, whose aid, which way soever inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand; and caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to row himself again, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the Greeks and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, Mother to the great Alexander; and not herewith contented, had thrust up in close prison the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexander's* Wife, and his Son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thesalonica*, daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to join with him in marriage. That in manner despite of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olympians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a Decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her Son; and should yield obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himself was understood) or else should be reputed a Traytor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should be restored unto freedom: this he did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was persuaded, that not only the Greeks would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*, but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardless of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithful of all others to the Royal Blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vain shews. His undertaking for the liberty of the Greeks was more effectual, and got easier belief, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolomy* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himself that valiant Nation, which afforded

afforded men far more serviceable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all for ease, deceived himself, not without great cost. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon* five hundred Talents, willing him to set the War on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appear that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassander's* men had with much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrary faction, and he himself perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them, that were not like to continue long his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seem best assured; he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not assure himself to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deal with *Alexander* about the matters in controversy; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skillful in setting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to have them weary themselves, whilst he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronger. It therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his purse the five hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*; provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a sure and faithful league with *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise he might well persuade himself, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in half be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, so filling himself, but not acknowledging by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars, among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent; which he did not carry very secret of making himself absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soon entreated to accept of good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that League, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subject unto no man's controul.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the *Sicionians*, who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battle by *Cratepolis*, *Alexander's* Wife, a discreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Husband's death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed those places the held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

SECT. IV.

The Aetolians rise against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A Fleet and Land-Army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Ptolomy's Lieutenant. In what terms the War stood at this time. Antigonus draws near to Greece.

Antigonus when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander*, and his other adversaries in Greece, by stirring up the *Aetolians* against them: likewise he laboured to win to his party the Islands in the Greek Seas, by whose alliance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the success which he expected. The *Aetolians*, a factious Nation, and always envious the greatness of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gains equalled not their losses. *Cassander* was some of their own Country, fortified the *drepanians* against them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Lyrans*, whom he vanquished in battle, to forsake their side, and bind himself, to bear no Arms against *Cassander's* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Islands were drawn to joy with *Antigonus*, so the Fleet of the *Rhodians* under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, palling along the Coast of *Asia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilas* marching on the shore for mutual assistance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomy's* Navy. *Polyclitus*, who in *Ptolomy's* behalf had been sent into *Peloponnesus* against *Alexander*, finding no need of his service in that Country, because *Alexander* was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surprized. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, wherinto *Perilas* falling, was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all haste to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilst he with all his Fleet were intensive only to that business, *Polyclitus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about some composition. First, he sent Ambassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yield to the demands of *Ptolomy*, so the party was vain.

Hitherto each party seemed to have indifferently sped in the War, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good success of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did seem to make a mends to *Ptolomy* for his losses in Syria. Likewise the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Aetolians* and him; as also those petty skirmishes that had been in *Asia* the less, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but adverse to him, and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the loss of his men,

men, money and ships, no otherwise than as the pairing of his nails, that were left long enough, and would easily grow again, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and strengthened the body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoise the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long, wanting to them, that want no money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Asia* the less, wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himself. To prevent this, and to be nearer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affairs did seem to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in Syria, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains, as Alliances, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

SECT. V.

How Lyfimachus and Cassander vanquished some enemies, raised against them by Antigonus. The good success of Antigonus in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against Cassander.

THE coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the process of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to think upon molesting him in *Asia*: they themselves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* side. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joining with some Towns that rebelled against *Lyfimachus*, brought also the bordering *Sythians* into the quarrel. All these relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aid. The *Ætolians* likewise took courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Æscander*, lately restored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Alliance. But *Lyfimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirm themselves. He suddenly presented himself before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return unto their former duty. He fought a battle with the *Sythians* and wild *Thracians*, and drove them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his Victory slew *Pausanias* in Battle, whom *Antigonus* had sent over with an Army's and all his men he did either put to ransom or fill up with them his own Bands. The like success had *Philip*, *Cassander's* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he waited their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to help them; and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and killing *Æscander* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drove the *Ætolians* out of most of their Country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as Prisoners to *Cassander*, the principal Authors

of the King's restitution, and of the present War. Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his Adversaries with painful travels; after which they remained only *Gavres*. *Antigonus* himself at fair leisure won all *Caria* the whitts, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of Greece, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Cassander's* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassander's* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made them as if he would pass over into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of Greece so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any foreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassander's* departure, entered the Country, drove his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governor of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; won the Cittadel of *Thebes*, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old ruins by the mere power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some heinous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men ready to thank the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them incapable of being any thing.

SECT. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. A great Battle at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus won, against Demetrius the Son of Antigonus.

AS the presence or nearness of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Asia* and Greece, so the designs of his enemies, taking advantage at his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceding he had over-topped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away Prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governor of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran along the Sea-coasts, waiting a great part of *Caria*,

Caria and *Cilicia*, with the spoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned loading to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the success, wherewith his Father's subjects were oppressed, made all hast out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his hortes, and light-armed foot with him, because the business required expedition. But in vain did he tire himself and his followers, in halting seeking of ene, that by launching out into the deep, could in a few minutes decide the labour of so many days, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the success. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightened his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon those maritime Countries, or make towards Syria, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a Royal Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of Syria. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chafe out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be belovied in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. He had scarce refreshed his men and hortes in Syria, when the news arrived of *Ptolomy's* coming with a puissant Army, to give him battle. Hereupon he called to Council his principal friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future, being a young man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*. This counsel seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present business. For *Demetrius* considering himself to be the Son of *Antigonus*, and now General of his Father's Army, thought his own Title weight enough to be laid in balance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found he much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore persuading himself, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serve to adorn the victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to Trial, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Soldiers with hope of spoils and rewards, he abroad the coming of the enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome journey over the *Desarts* of *Arabia*.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Province as Egypt, came so well provided of all necessities, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battle was presented them, which conveniently they undertook. In all things else they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided: But how to deal with those Beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Palisado, fast and strongly together with chains, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seek to break upon it without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces (which besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that year, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling ex-

pectation) they disposed in such order, as best answered to the form, wherewith *Demetrius* was embattled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part striving more to win honour, than to satisfy any other passion, as having little cause of hatred or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no necessity would needs fight a battle with disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. He had committed himself to Fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight he was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unless it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loss of his Elephants was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of War hardly to be relied on plain ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoil amongst *Ptolomy's* men. Afterward seeking to break the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the horsemen of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all must lie upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had driven so long in vain to make his men abide, that he himself was likely to be lost; he was fain to give place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battle. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods, as in haste they could pack up. This foolish covetousness was their destruction, and the loss of the Town. For, whilst they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the streets with tumult-horses, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch others to carry out what they had already laden, *Ptolomy's* Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods, and the City altogether.

This Victory restored unto *Ptolomy* the best part of Syria, a Province more late in those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatness of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered resistance. In *Calabria* and *Phœnicia*, some Towns held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captain, who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

SECT. VII.

How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made himself Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The Era of the Kingdom of the Greeks, which began with the Dominion of Seleucus.

While Ptolemy followed his business with such prosperity, Seleucus took leave of him, and went up to Babylon to try his own fortunes which he found to be favourable, that recovering first his own Province, he became at length master of the better part of Alexander's purchases.

This expedition of Seleucus was very strange, and full of unlikelyhoods. His train consisted of no more than eighteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the highest Asia. But little force is needful, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of Seleucus was enough; whom the Babylonians had found to good a Governour, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to Antigonus his own son, withing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a Countenance of War, which by easy compulsion they left off, and followed new Engagements. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to Seleucus. In a defence so general, it was not a fair course for the Antigonus, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that Antigonus held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. Seleucus quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had belovied in Media and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore when the Victory at Gaza had opened unto Seleucus the way into those parts, he found little impediment in the rest of his business. Having now gotten what he fought, it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings: for his forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. Nicator, to whom Antigonus had committed his Army in Media, joyning unto himself, out of Persia and other Countries, all needful help, came, with ten thousand foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive Seleucus out of that which he had won.

Against this power, Seleucus had only four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large Conquest of unwearlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were near to the River of Tigris, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected, into certain marshes not far off: where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. Nicator thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrival; the Satraps, or Lieutenant of Persia, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain; he himself was driven to flee for his life into the Deserts, and the whole Army yielded unto Seleucus: whose gentle demeanor, after the Victory, drew all Media, Susiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This Victory of Seleucus gave beginning unto the new stile of, *The Kingdom of the Greek*, an account much used by the *Greeks, Chaldeans, Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first year of this *Era*. The authority of that great Astrologer Ptolemy, from which there is no appeal, makes it *Pal. M.* plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth year of *mag. lib.* Nabonassar, was the fourscore and second year of *mag. lib.* Seleucus. Other inference hereupon is needless, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, that *L. Caesar*, the first of these years was reckoned complete, at *Babylon*, together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after Nabonassar. With the observation of the *Saturn*, recorded by Ptolemy agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to have been placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldeans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from Nabonassar the five hundred and nineteenth; from Seleucus the fourscore and second year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh Olympiad. These observations of the celestial bodies, are the surest marks of time from which he that willfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembered factions) if they seem to be here-again, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the several Authors of the new Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accounts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by Ptolemy, may apply the other suppositions thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

How Ptolemy lost all he won in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience performed unto the Macedonians, by those that had been subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius with ill success.

IN a happy hour did Seleucus adventure to go up to Babylon, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he stayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, Ptolemy could have spared him none at all. Demetrius the son of Antigonus, having lost the battle at Gaza, received from Ptolemy all his own goods, his Pages and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous discharge, to this effect: That no personal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his confederates held with Antigonus; but only terms of honour, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, should not be forgotten.

This noble dealing of Ptolemy, did kindle in Demetrius an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troops; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to lend a new supply, wherewith he might redeem his honour lost. Antigonus upon the first news of this overthrow, had said, That the victory which Ptolemy won upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet lest after that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own reputation, he was content to make a stand in Phrygia. Ptolemy hearing of Demetrius his preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in Calogryia; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army under Ciles his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when Ciles too much under-valued the power of such an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this consideration he passed on without all fear; as one that was already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength to make resistance. When Demetrius was informed of this careless march; he took the lightest of his Army, and made his journey with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon Ciles unexpected, and was on the sudden, without any battle, Master of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repair the credit of Demetrius, which his loss at Gaza had much ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of Ptolemy, with equal favour, in restoring to him Ciles, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was Ptolemy so weakened by this loss, nor Demetrius so

emboldened by his Victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon issued. For Demetrius feared the coming of Ptolemy; and therefore he fortified himself in places of advantage: Ptolemy on the other side was loth to engage himself in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive that if the coming of Antigonus found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole citate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing slow in his way towards Syria; whether he made all haste, not so much to relieve his son as to embrace him. For he rejoiced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himself, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to encrease the reputation of this late Victory, he brought such forces, as might serve to re-conquer all Syria: meaning that the honour of all should be referred unto the good foundation laid by his son; whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolemy had now less reason to encounter with Antigonus, than before his coming to have assailed the Camp of Demetrius. Yet he made it a matter of consultation, as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains advised him to retire into Egypt, alledging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that cause; not without remembrance of the good success against Perdiccas, in the like defensive War. So he departed out of Syria, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any sudden passion of fear: and he departed at fair leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principal Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell presently to Antigonus, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easy was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himself Lord of a great Province.

We may justly wonder, that these Kingdoms of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many other Nations (which the victory of Alexander had over-run with so hasty a course, as gave him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not only by himself, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority between the King of Israel, and those of Damascus; between Egypt and Babylon; Babylon and Ninus; the Persians and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in those people; which are now so patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again recovered by contentions Matters: as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider, how the several States of Greece (many of which had never possessed so large a Dominion, as might cause their spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather than servants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted that most of these Countries had always been subject unto the rule

SECT. VII.

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This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelyhoods. His train consisted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the highest Asia. But little force is needed, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found good a Governor, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, withing them all to speed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a Countenance of War, which by calm compulsion they left off, and followed new Engagements. This added courage to the people, who came in space, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so general, it was not a fair cause for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This Cause, believe, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

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Against this power, *Seleucus* had only four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large Conquest of unwelcome Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were near to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected, into certain marshes not far off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprise, the first night of his arrival; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain; he himself was driven to flee for his life into the Desarts, and the whole Army yielded unto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanor, after the Victory, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke or trickery.

This Victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new title of, *The Kingdom of the Greeks*, an account much used by the *Greek*, *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long dispute about the first year of this *Persa*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it *Pto. Ant.* plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth year of *Nabonassar*, was the five hundred and second year of *Seleucus*. Other inference hereupon is needless, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, That the first of these years was reckoned complete, at *Babylon*, together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after *Nabonassar*. With the observation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolomy* agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Buning*; finding the same Planet to have been placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldeans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth, from *Seleucus* the four hundred and second year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These observations of the celestial bodies, are the surest marks of time: from which he that willfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembered factions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note, that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between additions, related by the several Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accounts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other suppositions thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

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SECT. VIII.

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This noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of acquiring him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troops, drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertising his Father of his misfortune, he begged him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeem his honour lost. *Antigonus* upon the first news of this overthrow, had said: That the victory which *Ptolomy* won upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own reputation, he was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in *Calycedonia*, thinking it enough to spend part of his Army under *Cilix* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilix* too much under-valued the power of such an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately favoured his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in letting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this conscience he passed on without all fear; as one that was alone, that would issue out of their places of strength to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless march; he took the light of his Army, and made his journey with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilix* unexpected, and was on the sudden, without any battle, Master of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loss at *Gaza* had almost ruined; but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equal favour, in restoring to him *Cilix*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomy* so weakened by this loss, nor *Demetrius* so

emboldened by his Victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon issued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; and therefore he fortified himself in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other side was loath to engage himself in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive that if the coming of *Antigonus* went to his entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his life; which, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haste, not so much to relieve his son as to embrace him. For he rejoiced exceedingly, that the young man had for so well acquitted himself, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to encrease the reputation of this late victory, he brought forth forces, as might serve to reconquer all *Syria*: meaning that the honour of all should be referred unto the good foundation laid by his son, whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolomy had now less reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have assailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains advised him to retire into *Egypt*, alleging many good arguments to that purpose; which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that cause; not without remembrance of the good success against *Ptolemæus*, in the like defensive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any sudden passion of fear: and he departed at fair leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principal Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easy was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himself Lord of a great Province.

We may justly wonder, that these Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations (which the victory of *Alexander* had overrun with so hasty a course, as gave him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not only by himself, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority between the King of *Israel*, and those of *Danabur*; between *Egypt* and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Ninive*; the Persians and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in those people; which are now so patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again recovered by contentious Masters: as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider, how the several States of *Greece* (many of which had never possessed so large a Dominion, as might cause they to sit to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud Conquerors were glad to offer, desiring to have them rather friends than servants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted that most of these Countries had always been subject unto the rule

rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Perfians* long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of foreign Masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perfian* Empire: so that wanting within themselves all sovereign power, or high authority, the life and spirit of every Estate, they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Perfian* Satraps, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains after the death of *Alexander*, strive to lay hold upon those Provinces, which had many ages been subject unto them, and fence four years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to fright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossess them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein who is not satisfied, may find no less reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirm it. For we seldom read, that any small Kingdom, prevailing against a far greater, hath made to entire a conquest in the compass of ten years, as left unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel: especially when such disorders, or rather utter confusion hath ensued, by the fury of civil War among the Victors.

The cause why the *Macedonians* held so quietly the *Perfian* Empire, is well set down by *Machiavel*, and concerns all other Kingdoms: that are subject unto the like form of Government: the sum whereof is this: Wherever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of slaves, there is the conquest eate, and soon assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the *Turkish* Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader should prevail so far upon Turkey, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he useth not to suffer alive) were taken or slain: the whole Empire would quickly be won, and easily kept, without any danger of Rebellion. For the Bassoos, how great soever they may seem, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gain should not countervail, all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it was not enough for him that would make a Conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children: though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by far the strongest in the field.

For, besides the Princes of the Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men: who are mighty in their several Countries, and having certain Royalties and Principalties of their own, are able to raise War in all quarters of the Realm: whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always stir up and inflame them: so that until every one's piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not complete, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance.

But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The Turk on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful loss of a battle: which done, the Traitor hath spent his fling, and must either flee to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependents at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by virtue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves, against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is not scarce any one among the *Turk's* Bassoos, or Provincial Governors, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom defended, nor any one among them that by the loss and utter ruin of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerour, who hath no other device painted on his Ensign, than the picture of slavery.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Perfian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon mere favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joyined with *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Perfia*, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not meddling with affairs of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Perfian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the King's Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves; it is easily to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own Brother *Mastiues*, which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satraps*, or Governors of the Provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the King's will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Perfia*, may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people, a matter no less avoidable, in making easy and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is

is the cause alleged by *Machiavel*. For as *Esop* his Aes was not easy to run from his enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master could him daily to bear: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their own Princes, are not greatly fearful of a foreign yoke: Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that, whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gassoians* bear such faithful affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildly than the *French*. This enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction, in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they won, they were out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had been subject unto the posterity of *Alexander's* followers, to serve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly: for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameness, which we find in those that had been Subjects of the *Perfian* Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the *Perfian*. Such were the *Sagadians*, *Badrarians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army, thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell upon the *Nabatheans*, at such time as they were buied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians* for Mirrh, Frankincense, or other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred Talents of silver, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their coming was sudden and unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabatheans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made fable slaughter, that of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, only fifty horse escaped. To revenge this loss, *Demetrius* was set out with a great power: yet all in vain; for he was not redified by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vast Wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the *Nabatheans*, he viewed the Lake *Alphaites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphur. With this good Husbandry of his Son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the work: but they were slain by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill success accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against *Polony*: when the news of *Selenus's* victories in the high Countries, married all together. For neither was the loss of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the War into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria*, and the lower Asia should have been exposed to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius* with fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, was sent against *Selenus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his Son did less.

Selenus was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about

Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity of fight, some places they fortified and kept: *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without sitting in Garrison more men than he could spare, neither did he get much; and therefore, by burning and spoiling the Country: which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were acknowledge to be long unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seem) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to ensue, when want of necessities should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become less terrible to the enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make show of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himself with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprise and went back to his Father.

SECT. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander was destroyed.

THESE ambitious heats, having thus wearied themselves with unfruitful travel, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but meer desire of Empire, had moved them to enter into the War; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dullness growing upon the slow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, Of retaining the Provinces which every man held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a false colour to the business; That the Son of Alexander by *Roxane*, should be made King when he came to full age; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty. The advancement of young Alexander to his Father's Kingdom, seems to have been a matter forcibly extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discovered a purpose, to have made himself Lord of all. But this indeed, more nearly touched *Cassander*. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keep them in a fort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners taken in that War, wherein they had been the old Queen *Olympias* taken and murdered, that fought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the *Macedonian* turn their favourable expectation, towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince moit

still have pollution of Macedonia: whereby *Cassander* shall be reduced to his poor office, of Captain *over a thousand men*, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Ardenus*; or better, as being acquainted with their own strength. He, in the mean time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, *Of restoring the Greeks to their liberty*. This liberty had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse: but never took effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any Town of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Country: which if he should let free, he must be a poor Prince: if not, there was matter enough of quarrel against him, as against a Disturber of the common Peace.

In the mean season, the Countries lying between *Exphates* and the Greek Seas, together with a great Army, and money enough to entertain a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage do many men contend against one that is equal to them all in puissance. *Cassander's* friends had left him in an ill case: but he could not do without: for, where every man's help is necessary to the War, there may any one make his own peace: but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects unto any man, much less to the Son of an *Asiatic* woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the Child and his Mother to be slain: freeing thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his Government, which he must have done when the Child had come to Age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular beauty, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, he had used the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloody malice, upon *Statira* the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custom of those Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For having by a counterfeit Letter, in *Alexander's* name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, he did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by God's just vengeance, were the and her Son made away, in the like secret fashion: even at such time as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward show, as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of War, wherein every one perfwaded himself of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Tymonachus* and *Selenus*, that had work enough at home) began to rouse themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own

Rock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was careful in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of Greece: yet did the same argument minister unto *Ptolemy* matter of quarrel, against both him and *Cassander*, *Ptolemy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an Army into *Gilicia*, where he won four Towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea, with a strong Fleet, he ran along the Coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that Voyage allured unto him a Nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his services) whom finding shortly, as false to himself as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the Greeks at liberty, appeared not so plain, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the last an Expedition into Greece itself: where having set free some little Islands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long-desired work, that *Gratiola*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchon's* Son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolemy had conceived a vain belief, that the Greeks, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart and rise up in Arms; whereby with little labour their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long servitude had well-near extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursuit thereof; but sat idly still, as willing it to fall into their mouths.

The Lacedemonians, about these times, began to fortify their Town with walls: trusting no longer in their virtue (for both it, and the Discipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territory.

The Athenians were become as humble servants, as they had been insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were days in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governor; and he governed them with much moderation: but, in spite of their hearts, as being set over them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principal Cities, it is easy to gather how the rest of the Country stood affected. *Ptolemy* could not get them to set for their helping hands to their own good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of money and victuals. Credit is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thralldom; as judging the commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight than the loss that *Cassander* should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the business he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in his own possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolemy* into Greece, *Cassander*

fander had been held occupied with very much work. For (besides his pains taken in Wars against barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himself the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: making his own advantage of their discontentments. By the like skillful practice he freed himself from a greater danger, and made these murderers which he had committed from the like odds, by teaching his enemies to do the same. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made to great a stir in the reign of *Ardenus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand another Son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Father's Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Basine* the daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*; but had been less esteemed than the Son of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his Brother had moved such compassion, and the regard of his being *Alexander's* only living child, had procured unto him such regard, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyed with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not been most false. *Cassander* had raised an Army to withstand his entry into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Army, whose willies he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polyperchon* himself with gifts and promises, and wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the Old Villain was contented to murder his Pupil; chusing rather with many curses and foul dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Army; than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travel, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Sovereigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been asleep; though his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present to retain his own: And therefore took order for the recovery of those places which *Ptolemy* had taken partly to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see *Cassander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerful, or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolemy* sweat in a busie War against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perfwaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies and Treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits he demeaned himself among his followers, looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused to many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their own should have depended. Against this envy of his men, and malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra Sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardis*: whom he had great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever the discovery of much unwillingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means: either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her Brother in *Asia*; hoping belike to find a new Husband in his Camp. But neither any of those brave Captains, that were, in times following to hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a lusty widow, suffered her blood so far to prevail against her honour, that she supplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a Jest: saying, That she was his Sister, and must be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been: then did many seek to obtain her, while the her self desired only a proper man, with whom the might lead a merry life. To this purpose did the ivyite *Leontas* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death ere he came to her preference. Now at the last, after long tarrying, she had her choice of all the great Commanders, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, being all her earnest Wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already: *Ptolemy* had many Wives, and many Concubines whom he respected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindered not his suit: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her journey from *Sardis* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to stay, until his Master's further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the cause taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady less respected than *Alexander's* own Sister) did well testify. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a Title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of *Sardis*, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death as mischievous conspirators against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least in his own opinion: but the world was less foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, we need not ask: for seldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing less than the execution of God's justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerful, but mercilefs Princes. Wherefore the ambitious flames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soon after cast down, overwhelming themselves or their children, with the ruins, as the sequel will declare.

SECT. X.

How Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, gave liberty to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of Callander out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

None being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superior, should freely proffer themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill-belcomed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear: neither seemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crown his last action with such a title, as he had attained unto greatness by that foul murder, the infamy whereof he was careful how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royalty, whereof in seeming modesty, he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty sail, and fifty thousand talents of Silver, unto *Demetrius* his son: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in letting the Country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entered the Haven; it being thought that a Fleet of *Polomy*, *Callander's* good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius* *Philareus* forsook the Town, and withdrew himself to *Thebes* under safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Callander*, and so restored the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seem no better than meer trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great persons as well disclosed, as by their great actions, because in matters of importance, they commonly strain themselves, to the observance of general commended rules; in the lesser things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Cratippida* lay in *Petroe*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that he might by his means better her estate, and recover her

Towns of *Sycon* and *Corinthus*, detained by *Polomy* to whose Lieutenant in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the surrender of them. Yet the only business pretended was love. He being advertised thereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop also he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the business was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reason, by taking his dear son prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift, than to muffle himself in an old cloak, and creep away disguised; leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medley of conditions; especially an extreme dissoluteness in wanton pleasures, and a painful industry in matters of War. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adversity made his valour more active: prosperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he liked. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her Wheel, till she had wound up the thread of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assail *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*: which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the City. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and won the place in two days. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the City, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom it was given their liberty, with promise to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowlier, than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the virtues of their Ancestors had suited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their City, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius*. The *Athenians*, they called them by the names of the gods their forefathers, ordaining that every year, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Ambassadors, but *Theoroi*, or consultants with the gods: like as they were, whom they sent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter*, or *Apollon*.

It

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being too gross. Hurry they not only corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take upon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*, unless he would seem to approve their vanity, in loading them with more than humane honours. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theoroi* or Consultants came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corn and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather too weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

SECT. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius against Polomy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

From this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a business of greater difficulty: meaning to employ his service against *Polomy* in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a General Council, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garrison out of *Inchros*, committing their liberty again, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the *Greeks*, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pitiful Tragedy had lately happened in *Cyprus*, through the indifference of *Menelaus*, *Polomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicoles*, King of *Paphos*, was entered into some practice with *Antigonus*; yet not so far that he thought himself past excuse, by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrounded *Nicoles* his house with Soldiers, required, in *Polomies* name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to clear himself; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the unhappy King to rid himself of life: and his death struck such an impression into his wife, that he not only drew her self, but persuaded the wives of her husband's brethren to do the like. Altho those brethren of *Nicoles*, unto whom *Polomy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this calamity, did shut the Palace, and flinging it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserved the blame, for

his rigorous proceedings, yet it is to be thought, that much dislike fell also upon *Polomy*: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection even upon those that gave the further removal occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Polomy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him, either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not have the rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to leave his wife within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much less to retain possession of the whole Island. His greatest help at the present was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good usage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and enrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the first opportunity. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of battery, if *Polomy* had not halted to the rescue.

Polomy brought with him a hundred and forty Gallies, besides two hundred Ships of burthen, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible cheer, when it was described afar; though more than half of it was unfit for service in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Polomy* sent unto *Demetrius* a threatening message: willing him to be gone, unless he would be over-welcomed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaid him with words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape upon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sycon* and *Corinthus*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Polomy*; better stored with weapons fit for that service; and very well furnished in the prow, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of these Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, lest *Menelaus* with them should set upon his back: in which case, it was very likely that all would go very ill with him. Against this mischief he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to give what assistance they could, with the rest of the Fleet, unto to Sea against *Polomy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtful success. The generals were not ranged opposite one to the other, but held each of them the left wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed against the squadron wherewith he encountered, but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victory in one part was such, as could others to fall out of order, and finally drove all to betake themselves unto speedy flight. As for *Polomy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate those

those of his own which needed him in another : wherein he found his loss over-great to be repaired ; by contending any longer against the fortune of that day ; and therefore he laboured only to save himself, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battle no unusual accident ; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the skill in Sea-services, which the *Greeks* and *Phoenicians* that were with *Demetrius*, had above those which followed *Ptolemy* : partly, the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no less, than in the quality of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundred Ships of barthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolemy's* Army, did not more encourage his men, and terrify his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the night they fell off, and stood aloof. For though it were fitting that they should do so, yet a multitude, prepossessed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very flight occasions to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, issuing with his Fleet out of *Salamis* should charge the enemy in the stern, was utterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten Ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven ; which they manly performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight : especially of the assailants ; whereas on the contrary they finding that some part of their fears are vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatever the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolemy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight : all the rest of his Fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer thrive against the violence of fortunes ; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Soldiers, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the *Egyptian* by Land ; none of them repaying any more confidence in *Ptolemy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the life of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great ; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till

he was advertised of the issue. In this mood *Antistodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good news. *Antistodemus* had betrothed himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand : He caused his Ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore ; he himself landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the Ship, and so all alone went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedily word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and lustily forward with a great throng at his heels (that served well to set out his Pageant) until he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and heard the news. Then did *Antistodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voice salute *Antigonus* by the name of King ; uttering the greatness of the victory (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it, with silence) in the hearing of all the people ; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of his long suquence, wherein *Antistodemus* had held him, said, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diadem, which his friends did set on his head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume : wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noised a broad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings ; it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolemy* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a Fleet ; therefore they salute him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldness enough to put a Diadem about his own head. *Selenus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King ; but now he used the title indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own name : whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Master's house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others ; until all Alexander's Princes were consumed.

SECT. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill success.

ALl the rest of these Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himself, as becoming his greatness : which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new Titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolemy*, and make him an example to others : who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an Army of eighteen thousand foot, and eight thousand Horse, with fourscore and three Elephants : as likewise a Fleet of an hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person : of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the Seamen advised him to stay yet eight days longer, and expect the coming of the *Pleiadæ*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolemy* should make, rejected this counsel ; imputing it rather to their fear than skill : wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was soon changed into *Selenucia*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more hast he made : thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He caused his Soldiers to carry ten days provision of victuals ; and had many Camels laden with all necessities for passing over the Deserts, over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Gassius*, which is near adjoining to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the shore, in ill case, and many Ships wanting. It had been forely beaten with foul weather, wherein some were lost, others driven back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recover : *Demetrius* himself, with the best and strongest Vessels, did so long beat it up against the Wind, that all his fresh water was spent ; in which extremity, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom those over-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Soldiers received relief. After these painful travels, there followed a War no less painful than to little purpose : for *Ptolemy* had fortified all the passages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he assured himself either to end the war there, or if his guards should happen to be forced, yet could it not be done but so much to the weakening of the Assailants, as he should afterwards, with a second Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* fought, was to come to blows speedily : *Ptolemy* on the contrary, to

beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it : and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers, raised upon the River, in vain, *Ptolemy* stayed the faith of his Soldiers, with good success ; for, with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments upon the passages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to return, *Ptolemy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments ; but in all likelihood with the same ill success that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forced retreat, he secretly practised the advice of his Council, upon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeed less prejudicial in such like cases, that errors, dishonours and losses, be laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on Kings ; on the Directed, than on the Directors : for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vassal. Charles the fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the loss and dishonour he received in the invasion of *France*, by the way of *Provence* to *Antony de Leva*, whether justly or no, I know not ; but howsoever, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave Captain his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtful enterprises, is rather a testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the giver ; for the ill success is always cast upon the Counsel, the good never wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not only been disswaded, but held, in a kind, by strong hand, from hazarding their own persons, and yet have those kind of Mutiniers never been called to a Marshal's Court.

SECT. II.

How the City of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

His departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead Caracass, and a great deal of joy in Egypt. *Ptolemy* held a solemn Fast, and sent Messengers abroad, laden with glad news to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: triumphing all that side, with the report of his late victory, though it appeared but in a defensive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the joys of his enemies for witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare favours by the late bargain, and himself, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retreat. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another fashion: for that which he could not cleave asunder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to tell the Tree it self with the monarchy. To effect which, he resolved (having the great ones to grow a while), to root up the Dependents of his enemies: Dependents, whom the fore-named Confederates should be forced either to relieve, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provision promised him victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty being well governed, and having long held it self in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the Trade of those parts, and therein a great deal of riches to it self; to maintain which, and to enlarge it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which it not only beat off all Pirates and petty Thieves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the Neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacy.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that fought them, and so stand friends and apart; or join themselves to some one, and thereby forego the peace, by which their greatness had grown their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both because the greater part of their Trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus*, his disposition, greatness, and neighbourhood, was fearful unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, taking some of their ships, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the War against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatness of the enterprise, he employed his Son *Demetrius* against them in their own Island, who brought such terror upon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by fear, and not by love; raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ships of War as himself pleased.

These conditions, more properly to be imposed upon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, resorted unto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bondmen, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the fair conditions offered (as the *Rhodians*, the fearful ones prolonged unto them) make preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in future, he set in hand with his engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he did never think himself a greater Artisan, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave sallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extrem, if *Ptolemy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Ambassadors, gave over the siege: a hundred hostages they gave him for performance of the Peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the City.

Henceunto *Demetrius* was brought by the usual policy of War, and State: for while with the flower of all his Father's forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from his; neither did *Cassander* make the War as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded Army, which he himself led as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered *Athen* itself. On the other side (though with less success) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, advised the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to dispatch their Ambassadors towards *Demetrius*, and advised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by setting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Island, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*; but for *Ptolemy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a god. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hammou*, gave the same far answer for *Ptolemy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander*'s Masters; for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, so was *Ptolemy* at this time Lord of the soil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexander*'s Captains, could not content themselves with the title of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

SECT.

SECT. III.

How Demetrius prevailed in Greece. Cassander desires peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War against Antigonus.

Demetrius, coming with a strong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drove *Cassander* out of *Attica*, and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the Straits of *Thermopylae*. Herein his reputation did much avail him; which was to great, that six thousand of his enemies soon revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatness of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those Straits, and giving liberty unto the people, he bestowed upon the *Athenians* those pieces, which had been fortified against them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like or more easie success: for he suddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Syeion*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The Town of *Syeion* was translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his own name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himself to his pleasure. At the *Libanians* games he caused himself to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he deified all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, save himself or his Father, should usurp the Name of King. But in his behaviour he was so far unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserved none other name than of a drunken *Pallid* and. Yet were the *Albanians* as ready as ever to devise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and just with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great fear, lest the War should fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent Ambassadors; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves: neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lysimachus* knew that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joint forces they should all together set upon the common enemy.

Henceof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a Stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindered the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay at that time in the Town of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some state

ly games and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepontus*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while he himself with the rest, should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* palling the *Hellepontus*, began to make hot war upon the Subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to join with him by fair means, winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compel him to come to battle. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himself the whilst from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off, and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soon in a readiness. The Winter also did hinder his Journey: which informed them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspense, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so froward, that he refused to yield upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew near with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolemy*, that was joyed with his forces.

To help in this needful case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his Father's letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, upon reasonable terms: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Country; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependents: for one Article of the peace was, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found means to clear himself of all incumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each of them might freely apply himself to the trial of the main controversy in *Asia*.

SECT. IV.

How Antigonus was slain in a great battle at Ipsus, near unto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

Seleucus, with his Son *Antiochus*, joining with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all considered) not inferior to that of the Enemy. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but especially in the Civil) they were rather unanswerable than unequal to their Adversaries: for *Antigonus* had of a long time kept them under with a mauling spirit, and had been repented a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander,

mander, having given proof of his worth in many great services at all kinds, and enriched the art of War with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Selenus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, and feaſtly ſtoſt him away from him to ſave his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journey; and *Lysimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wild *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation of that which was yielded to their oppoſites: yet fo, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that Fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Soldiers, on both ſides, were for the moſt part hardly and well exerciſed: many of them having ſerved under *Alexander*; though of thoſe old Companies, the long ſpace of two and twenty years had confirmed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Selenus* were either perſwaded, that in this battle they muſt either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcern no other neceſſity of fighting, than the obſtinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about threeſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and threeſcore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were fix thouſand horſe of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helps, though they little had availed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himſelf, either troubled with the unexpected greateſts of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſive, communing much in private with his Son whom he commended to the Army as his Succedor: whereas in former times he had never been ſo joind, as towards the hour of battle, nor had been accuſtomed to make his Son, or any other private to his council, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deſired, I hold it needleſs to recount. *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt near to the place of battle, a buſie goddeſs in many great lights: and therefore likely to have been thruſt into the ſcale, if any matter nearly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is caſie to believe, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well near all the ſtrength of *Alexander*'s whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſs in regard of the much variety, wherewith every ſtory abounds in this kind. The moſt memorable things in the battle, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of Horſe, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken and put to flight, he was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucces, that he never gave over his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Selenus* perceived this advantage, he interpoſed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troops of horſe offered to break upon the enemies battle, whereſoever it

lay moſt open, he did ſo terrible the *Antigonus*, that a great part of them rather choſe to revolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairly invited, than to ſuſtain the fury of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize, or rather Treafon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their General to the laſt end of his deſtines. *Antigonus* was then fourſcore years old, very fat, and unwieldy, ſo that he was unapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When that he perceived a great troop making towards his perſon, told him, *Sir King, your company means to charge you*: He answered, *Well may they, for who defends me? but anon Demetrius will relieve us*. Thus expecting to the very laſt, that his Son ſhould come to the reſcue, he received ſo many Darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearful hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his unſatiable deſire of Empire, have ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his Actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his Fortune, but uſed inſolence toward all alike, as if it had been ſome virtue neareſt repreſenting a Kingly Maſteſty. This was the cauſe that ſo many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forſook him in his laſt neceſſity. For thoſe Kings and Princes that call all the careful endeavours of their Vaffals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to puniſh the leaſt offences, than to reward the greateſt ſervices; ſhall find themſelves upon the firſt change of fortune (ſeeing it is love only that ſtays by adveſtity) not only the moſt friendsleſs, but even the moſt contemptible, and deſpised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.

SECT. V.

How Demetrius, forſaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolomy, beginning a new fortune, and ſhortly enſuing into quarrels.

FOR *Demetrius*, at his return from the idle purſuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite loſt, he was glad to ſave himſelf, with four thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, by a ſpeedy retreat unto *Ephesus*, whence he made great haſt unto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his ſake would ſuffer a ny extremity. But whilst he was in the midſt of his courſe thither, the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings ſhould be admitted into their City. Theſe were Ambaſſadors, not *Theori*, or Conſulters with the Oracle. It was a ſhameleſs ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miſery, with ſuch a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to ſee his adveſtity deſpised by thoſe whom he had thought his ſuſt

reſt Friends. Yet was he ſain to give good words. For he had left many of his Ships in their Haven, of which he now ſtood in great need; and therefore was ſain to ſpeak them fair, that ſometimes had groſly flattered him. But he ſhall live to teach them their old language, and ſpeak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his Ships, he failed to the *Iſthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of diſcomfort. His Garrifons were every where broken up; the Soldiers having betaken themſelves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a ſmall Army and Fleet, without money or means wherewith to ſuſtain him and his followers any long time. All the reſt, or the greateſt part of his Father's Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerors, and thoſe few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the word of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himſelf into the field on that ſide of the Sea, he had no powers, and to incloſe himſelf in any of them, how ſtrong ſoever, were but to imprifon his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himſelf and his eſtate: He therefore creeping thorow thoſe buſhes that had feweſt briers, fell upon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the ſpoil that was gotten, to his Soldiers; his own loſſes having been too great to be repayed again by ſmall prizes.

In the mean while the Confederate Princes had wherewithal to buſie themſelves, in the partition of thoſe Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Selenus* had a notable advantage by being preſent, and Maſter of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Caffander* were at the overthrow given, having only ſent certain troops to re-inforce the Army which *Selenus* led, who took hold of a part of *Aſia* the leſs, and all *Syria*, being no otherwiſe divided from his own Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all thoſe Lands: becauſe they did not expect ſo proſperous an iſſue of that War, which they made only in their common defence. It was therefore lawful for *Selenus*, to make the beſt benefit that he could of the Victory, at which nevertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durſt accuſe him of ill dealing for the preſent, yet ſeeing the overgreateſts of *Selenus* brought no leſs danger to the reſt of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they conſulted upon the ſame reaſon of State as before, how to oppoſe it in time. Neither was *Selenus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law univerſal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other Intelligence. Hereupon they forger friendſhips on all ſides, and cure themſelves of all unprofitable paſſions; the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one ſide, againſt their profits on the other, were found ſo far too light, as *Selenus*, who had to day ſlain *Antigonus* the Father, and driven *Demetrius* the Son out of *Aſia*, fought to morrow how to match himſelf with *Stratonice*, *Demetrius* his Daughter; and ſo by *Demetrius* to ſerve his turn againſt *Lysimachus*.

The ſtory of this *Stratonice*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the Son of *Selenus* fell ſo paſſionately in love, and ſo diſtempered, as *Selenus* his Father, to ſave his Son's life, gave her (though he were his Wife) unto him; and how his paſſion was diſcovered by his pulſe, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between

Selenus and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Caffander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, though for the preſent it brought him again into the rank of Kings; otherwiſe tye any of them to each other, than the marriage between Chriſtian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Adrianes*, the *Arragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of thoſe elder times been found more faithful, than thoſe of the ſame latter times have been, as in the ſories of *Charles* the Eighth of France, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of France the Firſt, and of the Kings of *Naples*, *Dukes of Milan*, and others, the Reader may obſerve; between whom from the year of our Lord, One thouſand four hundred ninety and five, when *Charles* the Eighth undertook the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to the year One thouſand five hundred fifty and eight, when Henry the Second died; the Hiſtorics of thoſe times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed, or by the Book, either by Weddings or Sacramental Oaths had neither faithful purpoſe nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his Daughter to his enemy *Selenus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Phlatharchus*, the Brother of *Caffander*, who had gotten it as his ſhare in the division of *Antigonus* his poſſeſſions: for the Intruder was not ſtrong enough to hold it by his proper forces, from him that entred upon it as a lawful heir; neither would *Selenus* lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he ſhould have done againſt the common enemy. So *Phlatharchus* with very angry complaints, as well againſt *Selenus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Caffander*, whither *Phila*, their Siſter followed him ſtoutly, to pacifie them both, and kept all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her Husband, that was not ſtrong enough to deal with *Caffander*; and therefore glad to make uſe of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own proſperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the ſame time he took to Wife a Daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*), that had learned it in their Eaſtern Conqueſts) and ſo was by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than ſtrengthened with two friends; for neither of them withheld him any good, otherwiſe than might ſeem to advance their own ambitious deſires.

Selenus and *Ptolomy* could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their countenance, ſhould ſeeke his fortune ſomewhat farther off, than ſettle his Eſtate under their noſes. Particularly, *Selenus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelf: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo, that *Selenus* would ſain have ſet his new Father-in-law upon the neck of *Lysimachus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchaſe of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thouſand Talents of his Father's Treſure, that would ſerve him to make poor a while. This reſul of diſpleaſed *Demetrius*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be ſurrendered unto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battle. Inſtead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took preſent order to have them better manned; and ſpake it ſtoutly, That were he over-

come a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Selenus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrel *Selenus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would break friendship with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire consumed it self in words, which had it fastned upon arms, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envy to the stronger.

SECT. VI.

How Demetrius won the City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedonia following the death of Cassander.

IN the mean while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to use the liberty which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distempered City was weakened, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to present himself unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtful Eastern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any business, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprise in *Athens* had ill success; a great part of his Fleet perishing in a Tempest. But he soon repaired the loss; and (after some Victories in *Peloponnesus*, where he was divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprise, wasted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soil, and wanted now the command of those Islands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals, and also detriture of means to keep such a Navy as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolemy*, who (trusting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had laden an hundred and fifty ships with Corn, and sent them to relieve the hungry City. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting-ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore halted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so near that they might be defruded. This broke the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Moulc, which dropped down between them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Ambassadors to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having so far offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capital offence to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this Decree, rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the

Victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of these unthankful men, which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheless he was grown wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering exclamations) they bad him take their Havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure, he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a sure Garrison within their Walls, to keep them honest-perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair possibility to take their City: when the dangerous news of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolemy*, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, than himself did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haste. *Lysimachus* had won many Towns in *Asia*; *Ptolemy* had gotten all the Isle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis* wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were traitly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himself which way to turn his face, a notable piece of business offered it self, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest Son, whose two young Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdom. In this quarrel *Thessalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her eldest Son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his own Mother. The odiousness of this fact gave a fair lustre to *Alexander's* cause: for the generality of the *Macedonians* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked paricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some foreign aid. For which cause he called in both *Phrygius* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appear in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that thirft well for himself, at such times as every man sought to get somewhat, in the ill-ordered division of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Soldier; one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withal more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Father, whom the could not abide. Her feminine malice did to exasperate him, by cruelty that he used against his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon shedding the Royal Blood: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that course of murder. His carelessness to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindered his purpose, argues him to have been rather skilful in matters of Arms, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true mark of cowardize, which fears a far off the dangers, that may quietly pass away; and seeks to avoid them by base and unskillful means, as never thinking it self safe enough, until there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which

which over-took them; yet ill-befamed it *Cassander* to do the Office of a Hang-man. But *Alexander's* children had by no Law of men deserved to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the Divine Justice brought fwords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house as he had done his Masters.

SECT. VII.

Of Pyrrhus and his doings in Macedonia. The death of Cassander's Children. Demetrius gets the Kingdom of Macedonia; prevails in War against the Greeks; loses reputation in his War against Pyrrhus; and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against Demetrius. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus invade him, his Army yields to Pyrrhus, who shares the Kingdom of Macedonia with Lysimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Alexander*, which perished in War against *Cassander*, who hardly preserved, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Father's enemies. When his Father had conveyed him to *Glaucias* King of *Epirus*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his heir. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Father's Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compals of six years, which the indifferencies of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drove him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his Sister) became his Page, followed him a while in his Wars, was with him in the great Battel of *Issus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolemy*. In *Egypt* he so behaved himself, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolemy's* principal Wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with money and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolemy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that business between the Children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassander's* Sons, was so far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aid of *Pyrrhus* to troublesome, that he was more willing to fend him away, than to call in such a nother helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to request, or take, as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acartania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the Brethren to compo-

sition: but their composition would not satisfy *Demetrius*, who took the matter haughtily, that he was sent for, and made a fool to come so far with an Army, and find no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to do as *Pyrrhus* had done; and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wife course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, believed it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himself was feasted and slain by *Demetrius*, who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the murder, executing the fact so well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was buied in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*; for thereby he was compelled to seek peace with *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater* his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed, until his Father-in-law, to save the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were slain the Children of *Cassander*: Of *Cassander* that had slain his own Masters Children, in a wife course of policy, with careful meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his own house, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was thoroughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his minority; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or thought by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King listed. He gave himself over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those which offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing Justice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruling it: War being his recreation, and Luxury his nature. By long rest (as six years reign is long to him, that knows not how to reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness, and the Soldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost; though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolemy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure of making War in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came: so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another Expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Maecdon*, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made excursions

executions into *Thebais*. But there needed not any hardi-mere presence of guard, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to overcome his Enemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the virtue of those, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrhus* was a Captain, whom latter Ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexander's* followers. At this time, he misled that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour. He shewed in single combat against *Pantaneus*, *Demetrius's* Lieutenant, who being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battle did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexander's* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the Office of a Captain.

These Rumours were not more nourished by the virtue of the *Epist*, than by dislike of their own King; whom they began to dislike, not so much in regard of his unprofitable Journey into *Episus* (for he had wasted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his Insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Soldiers lives he was reckless; and suffered unwisely this unprincely licence to escape out of his mouth. That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a few of popularity invited Prisoners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor Suters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a River; pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed; who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Asia* with a Royal Army; wherein the fortune of one Battle might give him as much as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with *Pyrhus*; that he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horses, with a Navy of five hundred

fail, wherein were many ships, far exceeding the grounds of any that had been seen before; yet so swift and useful withal, that the greatness was least part of their commendations.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* suspect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrhus*, to join against this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be no security for his friends in *Europe*, what league however were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilst he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrhus* had won *Berbera*. The matter was not over great; were it not that minds prepared with long discourse, are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of dislike. All the Camp was in uproar: some wept, others grieved; few or none did forbear to utter seditious words, and many desired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own houses, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their own Country man, against *Pyrhus*; that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the *Episus*, to recover the love of his followers in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the Soldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with *Pyrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; his particularly, by a pair of Goats horns, that he wore on his creel. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ran over into *Pyrhus's* Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get sight of *Pyrhus*, they would all salute him King. To try this, *Pyrhus* rode forth, and presented himself bareheaded in view of all the Camp, whether some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applause, and every one began to look out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well known as his Belcher; therefore he was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their services; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bad him be gone hence, and shift for himself. So *Demetrius* threw aside his Masker's habit, and attiring himself poorly, did fearfully steal away out of his own Camp, deserveth well this calamity: whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsel of his friends; or whether his behaviour deprived him of such friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleasant sound of necessary truth.

Whilst *Pyrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*, *Lysimachus* came upon him very unseasonably, and would needs have half: saying, That he had done as much as *Pyrhus* in the War; and therefore had reason

to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

SECT. VIII.

How Demetrius gathering Forces, enterprised many things with ill success, in Greece and Asia. How he was driven upon Seelus, and compelled to yield himself: His imprisonment and death.

The *Athenians* were as unthankful to *Demetrius* in this his adversity, as they had been in former times. For they presently forsook his friendship, and called *Pyrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius* when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had been gotten an Army, though *Phila's* wife (who is highly commended for a wife and virtuous Lady) did poison her self, upon desperate grief for his misfortune. The first, upon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokes-man; and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, passed over into *Asia*, with eleven thousand Soldiers, meaning to try his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first coming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good Towns willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Captains that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the Son of *Lysimachus*, came upon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore he resolved to pass through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to find a Kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which ways he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome enemy: nevertheless he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titular Kings, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the river *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius's* men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driven to travel with such speed as might be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilence, diseases following famine, and other accidents of War, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest with their Captains, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius's* errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehemence and humble Letters he besought his Son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These Letters at the first wrought well

with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the battle at *Issus*, he changed his purpose and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them: of which none took effect, through the jealousy of *Seleucus*. Therefore more desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his injuries got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding, he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by Fugitives, that gave alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceedingly glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own humanity by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindered him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a dunsy-land, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him, at this, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three years, now merrily all the while (as one that living enjoyed the happiness, which with so much travel and blood shed he had sought in vain) and then died, leaving in his Son *Antigonus*, the fame which his Father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house, will tell it self hereafter, in times and places convenient.

SECT. IX.

The death of Ptolemy, of Lysimachus, and of Seleucus, that was the last of Alexander's Captains: with other occurrences.

About the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolemy King of Egypt*, a virtuous Prince, war-like, bountiful, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardless of his word. He had by many Wives and Concubines, many Children, out of whom he selected *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reign together with himself, two or three years before he died, that he might confirm him in the Inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolemy Ceraneus* (for all that house assumed the name of *Ptolemy*) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexander's* Captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrel,

rel, was their near equality or strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning *Agathocles* his eldest Son : whose wife and children fled unto *Selenus* for aid.

The *Macedonians*, after seven months pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to hearken so well to *Lysimachus*, their natural Countryman, that they took *Pyrrius*, upon none other ground than because he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before : but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lysimachus* had reigned about five years alone, when the City of *Lysimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeared by events, to have fore-shewed the fall of his house. His own jealousy, and the indignation of a mother-in-law, caused him to poison his son *Agathocles* : which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loss of all his fifteen Children that were taken away by divers accidents) he perished himself.

Selenus was encountered by *Lysimachus* on *Asa* Isle, where one battle concluded the War, with *Lysimachus* his death. It pleased *Selenus* more

than the Victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himself as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he passed over into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his days, and within seven months followed *Lysimachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherously slain by *Philomy Ceranus*, whole friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and seven year old he was, when he fought with *Lysimachus*, and *Lysimachus* was seventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had seen the days as it were of another World under the *Persian* : yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War : even *Pyrrius* the Epirot, of whom we spoke before : that is now ready to enter into War with the *Romans*, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himself did ever encounter. Of which War, and of which people, it is needful that we here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms that were held by *Alexander's* Successors, with less (and still decreasing) virtue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, and settling of the Eastern Kingdoms.

SECT. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominions in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.

How Rome was founded by *Romulus* ; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius* ; and by many (though small) Victories, gathered strength, unto such time as it became the Head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius* ; it hath been already noted in the order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatness beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*, and extending it self out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States, and Princes : I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done) briefly to set down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of those many Actions, which could not have been delivered in the Ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Anus Martius*, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his Daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the City about ; enlarged it with the Hill *Aventinus*, which he enclosed ; built a Bridge, over *Tybris*, and the City of *Olbia* upon the Sea, sixteen miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, having reigned four and

twenty years, he died, and by his last Will he left his Children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the son of *Damaratus a Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyrannical, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinius*, by the name of which Town he was afterward called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to *Rome* and encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his Wife *Tanaquil's* prophecy, he grew a favourite of *Anus Martius* ; by his *Grecian* wit honouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, inasmuch, that after his decease he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centuries of Horsemen : neither was he less eminent in War, than in Peace : for he prevailed often against the *Tuscan*, and from his Victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph took their original. When this *Lucius Tanaquilus* had reigned eight and thirty years, he was slain by the sons of *Anus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Tower, that her Husband was wounded, and sick, but not dangerously. And withal signified unto them, that in the interim of his sickness, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth she always prophesied to be born to great hopes (the Son of *P. Corniculanus*, and

and *Orestia* a well defended, but captive woman) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, until his recovery : which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordered Ratements, Subsidies and Valuations of the peoples wealths among whom, at that time, four-score thousand were mulctured, of which number consisted their whole Corporation; and by distinguishing the Kingdom in as good sort as it had been a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one mild and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous : and finding also that the two sons of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Arunt*, which had been committed unto his tuition, were of different dispositions proportionably answering to his daughters ; he (willing to add water, not oil, to fire) gave the mild daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed son, and the violent, to *Arunt* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended couages, or by accident, it happened, that the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joined in marriage : who soon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* hasting to the Senate, (where he thought by Authority to have bridled Insolency) was thrown down the stairs, and going home fore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty four years. Then *Julia* his daughter, first proclaiming her Husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King, returning home, enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her Father's corpse : whereupon the street had the denomination of Wicked-direct. This *Tarquinius*, exercising cruelty without justice, and Tyranny without mercy, upon the people and Senators ; having tired himself and them at home, used the same rage of treachery upon his borders. He took *Oriculan*, *Stessa*, *Formia*, and the *Gabii*. The issue of begetting *Ardea*, a Town eighteen mile distant from *Rome*, was of bad fortunes. In the heat of which War, his Son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently ravished that chaste Lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatine's* wife : who in way of expiation for so unchast a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her own blood ; so (having first bequeathed the revenge unto her Father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her Husband *Collatine* and *Junius Brutus*) she killed her self : whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his Wife and Children, was deposed and banished, and fled to *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* for succour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City : in which space *Rome* had scarce gotten possession of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquinius*, and freed his Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, enforced the people by solemn oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongst them : whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetual to annual, and from a single Government to a double ; lest perpetual or sole dominion might be some motive to usurpation ; and instead of Kings they called

them *Consuls*, signifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers : that their Titles might remember them of their place, which was to be always mindful of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their own security, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resign up his authority, fearing that Tyranny would be hereditary ; and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquinius*, favoured already of their condition. In his room was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gave liberty in matters of controvercie to appeal from the *Consuls* to the people, and that he might as well in goods as in person, avoid occasion of suspicion, caused his own house to be pulled down, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had been a Citadel. Neither was *Brutus* any ways deficient in matter of greater moment ; which concerned as well the peoples safety, as their favour : for having got intelligence, that some *Grecian* wits, and in the first rank his own Sons, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished Kings ; he caused them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipped, and then to be brought all unpunished to the blocks.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemished integrity of *Brutus*, well appealed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employed their military designments against Foragers : first, for their liberty ; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions ; and lastly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, situated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuscan*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours ; until by main opposition, having prevailed against her borders, she used them as instruments whereby to obtain the rest.

Their first war, in the first year of *Consuls*, was against *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria* : who being over-perwaded by *Tarquinius* his lamentation came to *Rome*, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to feat him again in his Kingdom.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Coles*, having long time born the main brunt of his enemies on the Bridge over *Tybris*, at length, feeling himself too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his armour leaping into the River, like a hunted Stag, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows, with the like resolution to sustain a new charge. *Porfenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculum*, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the Victory, in a manner assuredly his own yet admiring their valour and terrified by the constant resolution of *Marius Scaevola* who having by error slain *Porfenna* his Secretary, instead of the King himself, did in scorn of torments threatened, burn off his own hand : he thought it not any whit prejudicial either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen was not quite abated, though *Arunt* his Son, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat had slain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field ; and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, rewarded the loss of him one

whole year. Into this place, for the residue of his year was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*; and in his room (deceasing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquinius, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates difficult, thought it no longer to strive against the stream, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mucius Tatullianus*, flaming a-fresh at those old repulses, because *Porcia* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour unto the *Tarquines*, mulctured up his *Latin*, and gave battle to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillus*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, until *Aulus Posthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this war, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Soldiers courage, threw their own Ensigns amidst the Enemies and *Cappas*, or *Spurs* *Effusi*; (Matter of the Horse men, an allusive Office to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Ensigns. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Capor* and *Tolux*, two gods, who came on milk-white Steeds to be eyewitnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their Victory; for the General consecrated a Temple to them, as a lifeguard for their pains. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home and the sixteenth year after the King's expulsion, upon indignation of some desperate bankrupts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproar in the holy Mount; until by *Menenius Agrippa*, his discomfitment, of the inconvenience in the Head and Belly's discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate; with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controversies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attornment among themselves, they had continual War with the *Latins*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among these, the *Volsci* and *Aequi* held them longest; who made War of themselves upon the *Romans*; whereby they lost the best City in their whole jurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this Conquest, *T. Manlius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*; a name honourable then, as drawn from a great Victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been ashamed of that Title. But yet these graces had been no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, advised to sell Corn, which they procured from *Stiel*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and after judgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces again; which being committed unto him, and to *Atilius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Ambassadors, until his Mother *Veturia*, and *Volturnia* his Wife, with a pitiful tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to

their Country than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to Rome than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, (as others surmise) living with them until old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and six in number, all of one Family, in-treated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private quarrel. These *Fabii*, after some good services, lying incamped at *Cremora*, were circumvented, and fell by reason of infancy, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the *Romans* were also troubled at the *Volsci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from Rome; where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had been discomfited, had not *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the Plow to the highest honour in Rome, with success answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Country in the space of sixteen days. In the continuance of this *Veistian* War, it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen Governors of the State, and Enactors of *Solon's* Laws amongst them, procured from *Athena* (abrogating in the mean while the Consuls, and all other Magistrates) would have ravished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a Camp at *Algidum*. Here, upon the people in an uproar took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their Authority again to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new War against the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diversity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquished the *Falsci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falsci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no less integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolmaster, by training forth into the *Roman* Camp, many children of the principal Citizens thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as hostages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Soldiers, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his Justice. The siege of *Veii* was ten years, and so troublesome, that the *Romans* were there first enforced to winter abroad under beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their tents to *Apollonius*; and the whole people in general were called to the manficking of the City. But yet they were no less unthankful to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*, for they banished him the City, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils; yet he requited their unkindness with a new piece of service against the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Country, and very healthful, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sons, destitute of means, were enforced to rove abroad

broad, seeking some place to set up their rest; and withal being a Nation vain in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandered as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*, first upon *Clusium* a Town in *Hetruria*; whereof Rome having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) sent Ambassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprizes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* Ambassadors, converted their forces from *Clusium* towards Rome; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Alia*, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Aliastris* in the *Roman* Calendar) they marched towards the City. Then was Rome the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the City: some creeping into holes, Priests hiding their reliques; and every one shifting for himself ere the enemy came, Rome was abandoned as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the World, did for themselves in Thrones, in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this the *Gauls* were entered the City, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, they sat in their Majesty with a grave resolution; having first revered them as gods, anon they tried whether they would die like men. When the City was thoroughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol: which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being deflected by the gaggling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compulsion was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold. Whilst the gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open infidelity, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus* their Captain, casting his Sword into the balance, and with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with such violence, that he dispersed their troops, quenched the fire of the City with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them thorow a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight flew a several Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Roman* *Camillus*. For his noble service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their City,

were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit, but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veii* they changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil diffinition interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were reformed and ruled again, till, after many years expired, the Consular Authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should always be a *Plebeian*. This was after the building of the City 365 years. And now Rome, by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares for forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off: situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campesians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to Rome, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtain protection; which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the less, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and Towns, but especially *Capua* itself, the fairest City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were most employed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountered by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumus* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Fastinus* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy; and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great Victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these Countries, became at length, tributary to Rome. In the continuance of this long War it was, (though in time of truce between the *Roman* and *Samnites*) that the *Latins* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latins* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latin Colony; besides a which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great barrel was fought between them: wherein the fortune of Rome prevailed, by the virtue of the Consuls.

Manlius Torquatus and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the tide should be victorious which lost the General in life. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his Father in the *Hetrurian* War. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Soldiers followed them, than

than any great commendation of such a Religion, as required the lives of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Country. The discipline of *Marius* was no less resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order, he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Latins*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latins*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabiner* ventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, wailing all their Country with fire and sword from the River *Nar* and *Felcia*, to the *Adriatic* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians*, that made trial of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentine* and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediators between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War, unto that party which should dare to refuse peace; when tendered. These threats which discovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Ambassadors unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Ambassadors, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucani*, *Messapians*, *Eruvians*, and *Apulians*, joining with the *Tarentine*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebel and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their own weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did overspread.

SECT. II.

How *Pyrrhus* married upon the *Romans*, and vanquished them in two battles.

Pyrrhus forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to lie in rest; which he abhorred no less than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unsettled state of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive War upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Father's Army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won, but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of employment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Ambassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would cast themselves under his protection. They had in their company some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised in behalf of their several Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cynæas* his chief Counsellour, asking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having won *Rome*, he would soon be Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicily*; that out of *Sicily*, he would pass over into *Affrick*, and win *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Countreys; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cynæas* enquired yet further, what they should do, when they were Lords of all. Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cynæas* then told him) that they presently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless, this *Italian* Expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholastical disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well fortified, and well trained soldiers: part of which he sent over before him under *Cynæas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines* very prompt of tongue, but in manner of execution, utterly careless to provide for the War. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their Theatre, and other places of pleasure and resort, enforcing them to take Arms, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very unpleasant, though greatly behooving to their estate.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, *Levinus* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were careless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little: all of these had been accustomed to shrink for fear of the *Roman* fortitude; and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. He was now driven either to set forward with those that himself had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been scattered by foul weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Levinus the Consul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battle ere all his adherents should be ready to join with him. This boldness of the *Roman*, and the slackness of the

Messapians,

Messapians, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a Treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at near distance, the weight of the business which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honours, the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hercupon both Armies halted their march unto the River of *Siris*; *Levinus* intending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to let a strong Corps de garde upon the passage of the River, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he gloriously found, that this new enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Army cutted the Ford, in face of his Corps de garde, and their horse, at the same time began to pass the River in sundry places: which caused the *Greeks* to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battle; where, while he thought it best to present them, ere the whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marshal his battels; himself with the horse charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious impetuous. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behoved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him: afterwards he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his King's armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battle; but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus*'s side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain; then was the victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horse put to the rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flank, and overborn, by the force and huge bulk of those strange beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: In which contention, they were so forgetful of their Discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The name of this Victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no less than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard,

that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Army, should lose in plain battle, not only the Field, but the Camp it self, being so notably fortified as they always were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwearied *Tarentines*. Neither could he well display his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for coming (as we say) a day after the Fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them whilst with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cynæas* his Ambassador, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their official friend. This did *Cynæas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their Captives, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, to incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appianus Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by War. So they returned answer, that whilst *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cynæas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puissance and virtue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hercupon many kind Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was: *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace*.

In the mean season, each part made provision for War; the *Romans* levying a more mighty Army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his forces of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to the trial of a second battle, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyful as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another Victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his Army in this battle; and though he drove the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor law any likelihood in prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should always stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholars in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*; which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

SECT. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicil.
How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicil,
forsook Italy, man the mist of the Ille,
and lost it in short space. Pyrrhus re-
turns into Italy, where he is beaten by the
Romans, and so goes back to his own
Kingdom.

WHEN Ptolemy Ceranus had traitorously mur-
dered his Benefactor and Patron Seleucus,
he presently seized upon all the Dominions of Ly-
fianachus in Europe, as if they had been the due re-
ward unto him, that had slain the Conqueror.
The houses of Cassander and Lyfianachus were then
fallen to the ground: neither was there in Macedon
any man of strength and reputation enough to
advance himself against Ceranus. The friends of
Lyfianachus were rather plucked to have him their
King, that had (as he professed) revenged their
Lord's death; than any way offended with the
disinfect of his fact, by which they were freed
from subjection to one, against whom they had
flood in opposition. Many there were, that upon
remembrance of his Father's great virtue gathered
hope of finding the like in Ceranus: perceiving
themselves that his reign might prove good, though
his entrance had been wicked. These affections of
the Macedonians did serve to declare Antigonus
the son of Demetrius, that made an attempt upon the
Kingdom. As for Antiochus the son of Seleucus,
he was far off, and might be questioned about some
part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Ar-
my near unto Europe. Yet he made great show of
meaning to revenge his Father's death: but being
stronger in money than in Arms, he was content,
after a while to take fair words, and make peace
with the murderer. While these three move a-
bout the Kingdom, Pyrrhus who thought his claim
as good as any of theirs, made use of their diffi-
dence: threatening War, or promising his assistance
to every one of them, by such means he strength-
ened himself, and greatly advantaged his Italian
Voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting
money of Antiochus, ships of Antigonus, and Sol-
diers of Ptolemy, who gave him his daughter in
marriage, and lent him a strong power of Macedo-
nian Soldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to
have them restored at two years end) more for fear
than for love: that so he might free himself from
trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus Ptolemy grew mighty on the fudden; and
the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by
means as wicked he increased.

All Macedon and Thracia being his, the strong
City of Cassandria was held by Antiochus his sister,
the Widow of Lyfianachus, who lay therein with
her young children. Her he circumvented by
making love to her, and (according to the fashion
of those times, where Princes regarded no degree
of incest, guilting) taking her to wife, with pro-
mise to deliver her children: a promise that he meant
not to perform; for he was not long, ere he slew
them, and drove her into exile.

In the pride of his good success, which his vil-
lany found, vengeance came upon him from a far,
by the fury of a Nation that he never heard of.
Pyrrhus a Captain of the Gauls having forced his

passage through many Countries, unto the confines
of Macedon, sent a proud message to Ceranus, com-
manding him to buy peace with money, or other-
wise, to look for all the miseries of War. These
Gauls were the race of those, that issued out of
their Country, to seek new seats: that great ex-
pedition, wherein Brennus took and burnt the City
of Rome. They had divided themselves, at their
setting forth, into two companies; of which the
one fell upon Italy; the other, passing through the
Countries that lie on the Northern side of the Ad-
riatick Sea, made long abode in Pannonia, and the
Regions adjoining, where they forced all the
Neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as
now they would have compelled Ceranus to do:
unto whose borders they came about an hundred
and eight years after such time as their fellows had
taken Rome.

When their Ambassadors came to Ptolemy, ask-
ing what he would give: his answer was, that he
would be contented to give them peace, but it must
be with condition, that they should put into his
hands their Princes as Hostages, and yield up their
arms; otherwise he would neither pardon their
boldness, nor give any credit to their words. At
this answer, when it was returned, the Gauls did
laugh; saying, That they would soon confute
with deeds, the vanity of such proud words. It
may seem strange, that he, who had given away
part of his Army unto Pyrrhus, for very fear, should
be so confident in undertaking more mighty en-
emies. The King of the Dardanians offered to lend
him twenty thousand men against the Gauls: but
he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the chil-
dren of those, which under the conduct of Alex-
ander had subdued all the East. Thus he issued
forth against all the barbarous people with his fa-
mous Macedonians, as if the Victory must needs
have followed the reputation of a great Name. But
he soon found his great error when it was too late.
For the enemies were not only equal in strength of
body, and fierceness of courage, but so far superior
to the Macedonians in number, that few or none e-
scaped their fury. Ptolemy himself grievously
wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battle
continued; and they presently strook off his head,
which they shewed to his men on the top of a
Lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all Ma-
cedon with such desperation, that the people fled
into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole
Country as lost. Only Sophones a valiant Cap-
tain, animating as many as he could, gathered a
small Army, with which he many times got the up-
per hand, and hindered Belgus from using the Vic-
tory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his
virtue, the Soldiers would have made him King;
which title he refused, and was contented with
the name of a General. But as mischances drew him
come alone) the good success of Belgus did fill
Macedon, Brennus another Captain of the Gauls,
with an hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifteen
thousand horse, against which mighty Army, when
Sophones with his weak troops made opposition, he
was easily beaten, and the Macedonians again com-
pelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving
all their Country to the spoil of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Macedonians destitute of a King,
and trodden down by a Nation that they had not
heard of, in less than fifty years after the death of
Alexander, who fought to discover and subdue un-
known Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire
of Persia had been too little for a King of Macedon.

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which was indeed, the difficult he had, whercof not
long after he died in Argos.

SECT. IV.

How Antigonus, the Son of Demetrius, deli-
vered Macedon from the Gauls. How
Pyrrhus won the Kingdom of Macedon
from Antigonus.

THE virtue of Sophones, being too weak to
defend the Kingdom of Macedon; and the
fortune which had accompanied him against Bel-
gus, failing him in his attempts against Brennus;
the Macedonians were no less glad to submit them-
selves unto the government of Antigonus, than
they had been formerly desirous to free them-
selves from the impotent rule of his Father Dem-
etrius. His coming into the Country with an Ar-
my, Navy, and Treasure becoming a King, did
rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them
with much confidence: for he was driven to use
against the Barbarians, only those forces which
he brought with him, having none other than
good wishes of the Macedons to take his part.
Brennus with the main strength of his Army, was
gone to spoil the Temple of Apollo at Delphos, ha-
ving left no more behind him, than he thought ne-
cessary to guard the borders of Macedon and Pan-
nonia; which were about fifteen thousand foot, and
three thousand horse. These could not be idle,
but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the
absence of their fellows; and therefore sent unto
Antigonus, offering to sell him peace, if he would
pay well for it; which by the example of Ceranus
he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse.
Antigonus was unwilling to weaken his reputation
by condescending to their proud demands: yet he
judged it unfit to exasperate their furious chol-
er, by uncourteous words or usage, as Ceranus had over-
fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Am-
bassadors in very loving and sumptuous manner,
with a royal feast: wherein he exposed to their
view such abundance of malleable gold and silver, that
they were not so much delighted with the meat, as
with sight of the vessels, wherein it was served. He
thought hereby to make them understand how
great a Prince he was, and how able if need requir-
ed, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them
his Camp and Navy, but especially his Elephants.
But all this bravery served only to kindle their
greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heavily laden,
his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himself (as
it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength
and courage, inferior unto the Gauls, thought all
time lost wherein they suffered the present opportunity
to spend the riches, which they accounted assuredly
their own. They returned therefore to their com-
panions with none other news in their mouths, than
of spoil and purchase: which tale carried the Gauls
head-long to Antigonus his Camp, where they
expected a greater booty, than the victory over
Ceranus had given to Belgus. Their coming was
terrible and sudden; yet not so sudden but that
Antigonus had notice of it, who disdaining the
courage of his own men, dilloved somewhat be-
fore their arrival, and conveyed himself with his
whole Army and Carriage, into certain woods ad-
joining, where he lay close.

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The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but full to ransacking the empty Cabins of the Soldiers, in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vain, angry at their lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side, that they might fall upon him, whilst he was busy in getting his men and Carriages a ship-board. But the success was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terror which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were to careles of the Seamen, that without all order, they fell to the spoil of what they found on the shore, and in such tipsy as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus* where he lay in covert, and had saved it self by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were some well-experienced men of War: who discovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay mainly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Soldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave to brave a charge upon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into sudden fear, and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertain their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and irresistible oppressors of so many Countries were overthrown.

To speak more of the *Gauls* in this place, and to show how about the times, three Tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the less, with their Wars and Conquests there; I hold it needless; the victorious Armies of the *Romans* tanning them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the success of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous peoples; yet his own Soldiers, that without his leading had won this Victory, could not thereupon be persuaded to think him a good man of War: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a Wood.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpful unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affairs in *Italy* stood upon hard terms, had sent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats in case it were denied. So was he sure to get either a supply, whereby to continue his War against the *Romans*; or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italy* under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in bravery, were needfully forced him at his return into *Epirus* to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an Army too little to be employed by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*, intending to take what spoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this business, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Soldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings

casily persuaded the courage of this daring Prince to sit upon *Antigonus* himself, and to hazard his fortune in trial of a battle, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot Warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of a fruit passage, and charged him in the rear: where in were the *Gauls* and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength; a manifest proof that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very bravely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impressions; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slain) after a sharp fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the front, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken from after; whose finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort; which emboldened *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered to well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Soldiers, nor any Leader refused to become his followers. All forsook *Antigonus*, a few horsemen excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and his money enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service; whereby he might repair his loss: *Pholom*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drove him to flee from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the World, and made himself a King.

This good success revived the spirits of the *Epirots*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* War: so that he sent for his Son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

SECT. V.

How *Pyrrhus* assailed Sparta without success. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.

Pyrrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gauls*, and beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor indeed in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won; any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleased.

He raised therefore an Army, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War against *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to those Towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some design more important than War against a Prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings being expelled out of his Country, had betaken himself to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdom. This promise was made in secret: neither would *Pyrrhus* make show of any displeasure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entered upon *Laconia*, where presently he demanded himself as an open enemy; executing himself and his former dissembling words with a just; That he followed herein the *Lacedemonian* custom, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deal in like sort with others, when in the time of their greatness, they fought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as failed in *Pyrrhus*, whilst they always practised in wisdom, till it made them discontented, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremity. For the old Men and Women laboured in fortifying the Town; causing such as could bear arms to reserve themselves to fight against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta, was never fortified before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with Walls, at the present only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with Caris, where the entrance fenced most easily. Three days together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely, and no life finally defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Town the first day; wherein the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Soldiers more mindful of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn in under the Barricades. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good strength of men; and *Arcus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in War) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Country stood, until he was almost at home. These few kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire to prevail against all impediments. But the third days work showed how great his error had been, in forbearing to assault the Town at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Army, though not strong enough to meet the Enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made

Pyrrhus doubtful what way to take, being diversly affected, by the difficulty of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promise to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Dissention raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of several Factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them diligent to rid their hands of such powerful allies, as each of the two Kings pretended himself to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to save them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*; and that he would be gone, if they needed not his help. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needs persuade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them free from *Antigonus*; advising in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* took small pleasure in hearing the Fox and the Lion at strife, which if they should keep the Chieftains from his enemy; and the more they prayed them both to divert their power some other way. Herunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gave hostages to assure his word: as if he was the weaker, and stood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: hostages he would give none to his inferiors, especially meaning death. This made them suspect his purpose to be, such as indeed it was. Yet he less regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giving such a bond as he intended to break at the next morning.

It was concluded that a Gate of the City should be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army without any tumult entered the City: till the Elphs with their Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the Gate. The taking off, and sitting, on again of those Towers, with the trouble thereof, prolonging, did both give alarm to the City, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entered as could fully matter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindered the *Gauls* (that had the Vant guard) being ignorant of the ways in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by passage; and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great loss and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore understanding by the confused noise, and unusual stirrings of his own men, that they were in distress, ordered the City in person, to take order for their relief, and assurance of the place. But the darkness, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and to far prevailed, that he got into the Market place. It is said, that seeing in that place the image of a Wolf and a Bull, in such posture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatened him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the relief, the disorder and confusion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the City; though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave back, so did others thrust forward; and the *Ar-*

gives pressing hard upon him, forced Pyrrhus to make good his retreat with his own sword. The tops of the houses, were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her own Son in dangerous case fighting with Pyrrhus. Wherefore she took a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of Pyrrhus, that he fell to the ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of Pyrrhus, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdom of Macedon to Antigonus, who forthwith

possessed the Army, the body, and the children of his Enemy. The body of Pyrrhus had honourable burial, and was given by Antigonus unto Helenus his Son; which young Prince he graciously sent home into his Father's Kingdom of Epirus. From this time forwards, the race of Antigonus held the Kingdom of Macedon; the posterity of Seleucus, reigned over Asia and Syria; and the house of Ptolemy had quiet possession of Egypt: until such time as the City of Rome, swallowing all up digested these, among other Countries, into the body of her own Empire.

Finis Libri Quarti.

THE

THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the settled Rule of *Alexanders* Successors in the East, until the *Romans*, prevailing over all, made Conquest of *Asia* and *Macedon*.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punick War.

SECT. I.

A discussion of that Probleme of Livie; Whether the *Romans* could have resisted the Great *Alexander*. That neither the *Macedonian* nor the *Roman* souldier, was of equal valour to the English.



AT Question handled by Livie, Whether the Great *Alexander* could have prevailed against the *Romans*, if after his Eastern Conquest, he had bent all his Forces against them, hath been, and is the subject of much dispute; which (as it seems to me) the arguments on both sides do not so well explain, as doth the experience that Pyrrhus hath given of the *Roman* power in his days. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibal's* judgment) inferior to *Alexander*, though to none else, could with a small strength of men and little store of money, or of other needful helps in War, vanquish them in two Battels, and endanger their Estate, when it was well settled, and held the best part of *Italy* under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half so well settled? It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more then thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse (as indeed, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried over not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiatics*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccus*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolemy*, *Antigonus* and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some

fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily find that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needless to speak of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and arms. As for Sea-forces, he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* War, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting upon the shoar, and beating the land with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oar, as not daring to launch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in War; I do not see why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deferre to be laid in balance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eastern World, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonians*: let us only conjecture, how the States of *Sicily* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it hapned) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the most part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what terms they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is,

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that *Alexander* coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agabates* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged City, could by adventuring to fall into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it self, in extrem hazard; shall we think that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander*? But why do I question their ability, seeing that they sent Embassadors, with their submission, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew near them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good military discipline, against the power of all Countreys to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match; it is unsafe to find in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that virtue and fortune works wonders; but it is against cowardly fools, and the unfortunate; for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him, either must excel in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must look both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and virtue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in those days the better Soldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and prefer that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexander* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of War, before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did find forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall all ways hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every Battle that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of every War. But forasmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; I think it a great part of *Rome's* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the powers of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a controversy, me-thinks it were not amiss, for an *English-man*, to give such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the *Athenians* and *Argives*; that they should give a piece of Land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I will answer, The *English-man*. For it will soon appear to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nations in War, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or unmanly people; the enemy being far superior unto us in number, and all needful provisions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of War.

In what sort *Philip* won his Dominion in *Greece*;

what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian* *Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such arms as it commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken pains to read the foregoing story of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very seldom, able to stand against the *Roman* Armies; which were embattelled in to excellent a form; as I know not whether any Nation besides them have used, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons were likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater use than those with which any other Nation hath served, before the fiery instruments of Gunpowder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they which did over-march him in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons; and that they of whom she had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well observeth) was a part of her happiness; that she was never over-laid with two great Wars at once.

Hereby it came to pass, that having at first increased her strength by accession of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, against which she adventured her own self, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions; and having thereafter made her self Princess of *Latium*, she did afterwards by long War, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppressed her: but her Soldiers were Mercenary; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their own doors. The *Ælians*, and with them, all, or the most of *Greece*, assailed her against *Philip* the *Macedonian* he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the same *Ælians*. The Wars against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiatics*, were such as gave to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as bafe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicily*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by using her aid to protect them against the *Carthaginian* and *Macedonian*.

I shall not need to speak of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blench the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say, That among all their Wars, I find not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *English*. If my judgment seem overpartial, our Wars in *France* may help to make it good.

First therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had never any so brave a Commander in War as *Julius Cæsar*: and that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which served under the same *Cæsar*. Likewise, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which gave plentiful proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* War, when it first entered into *Gaul*, was nevertheless utterly dishonoured, when *Cæsar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæsar's* men, to their long experience, under so good a Leader, in so great a War. Now let us in general compare with the deeds done by these best of *Roman* Soldiers, in their principal service; the things performed in the same Country, by our common *English* Soldiers, levied in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-fall: so

so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believing *Cæsar* in relating the acts of the *Romans*. But will call the *French* Historians to witness, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cæsar's* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a little people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The Country of *Gaul* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: Some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by tyrannical rule, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The actions were many, and violent: Not only in general throughout the whole Country, but between the petty States, yea in every City, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a Conqueror desire? Yet there was a greater. *Attilius*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from mere slavery: Yes, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in War upon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls* (who had sometimes been the better Soldiers) did hold themselves no way equal to those daily Invaders. Had *France* been so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* is told by this time, and long ere this now, would have been ours.

But when King *Edward* the third began his War upon *France*, he found the whole Country settled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose reputation abroad, was not less than his puissance at home; under whose ensign, the King of *Jerusalem* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genoises*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take arms; finally, a King unto whom one (a) Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; (b) another sold away a goodly City and Territory for money. The Country lying so open to the *Romans* and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is not worthy, nor who prevailed most therein (for it were vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military virtue. *Cæsar* himself doth witness, that the *Gauls* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of War, and that their own hardness was overmatched by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of Battery, raised and planned against their Walls, as more than humane works. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Romans*, than that the *Germans*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the Sky, are commonly put to the work by small numbers of *Spaniards*?

Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gauls*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joint forces they might oppose their assailants: As also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass, that they were never able to make use of opportunity: But sometimes compelled to fight for their fellows; and sometimes driven to give or take Battle upon such disadvantage, as for least their Companies should fall aunder: As indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less than all this) great odds in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant Victories. What such help? Or what other worldly help, than the golden mettle of their Soldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of

War? Yea, did they not think themselves there in our superiors? Were they not in Arms, in Hosts, and in all Positions, exceedingly beyond us? Let us hear what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *Jehan* was ready to give the order upon the *Black Prince*, at the Battle of *JEAN POISSIEUX*. *Jehan* had all advantages over *Edward*, both of number, force, *French* Country, and command; which is commonly a consideration of no *Edward's* interest in worldly affairs; and whilst *WARD*, the Count of *Artois* his husband (effected then the best of Europe) with his greatest and wisest Captain, *Joan* his wife would. And what could he more?

It is not to trouble a *Roman* Antiquary to find in these examples their History, the example of a King, brought prisoner to the *Romans*, by an Army of Eight Thousand, which was surrounded with Forty Thousand, better appointed, and no less expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, nor his Soldiers, rightly terms them, nor their cowardly Kings, *Antiochus* and *Genius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Cæsar* and *Agincourt*, will bear me witness, that I do not allege the Battle of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* Virtue. The proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute their Victories of ours to the long bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Cross-bow: My answer is ready; that in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong Arm) superior to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gun and the Cross-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy, or Woman, as when by a strong man: Weakness or sickness, or a fore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custom of our Ancestors, to shoot for the most part, point blank: And so shall he perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one Battle. This takes away all objection: For between two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of Arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reaches farther, or that it pierces more strongly than the Cross-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall ask, how then came it to pass, that the *English* won so many great Battles, having no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of modesty, refer him to the *French* Historian; who relating the victory of our men at *Crevaux*; where they passed a Bridge in face of the Enemy, with these words: The *English* comes with a conquering bravery, *such* that was accustomed to every effort without any stay: He forthwith on guard placed, was on the Bridge to keep the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tells how the *Ytians*, being invaded by *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, thought of good policy to apparel a Thousand and five Hundred of their own men in *English* Callicocks; hoping that the very sight of the *English* Red Cross, would be enough to terrify the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* Historians (all

Dddd which,

which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Amilius*, report wonders of our Nation :) the propolition on which first I undertook to maintain : That the military virtue of the English, prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred to that of the Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. It is demanded, why then did not our Kings finish the Conquest, as *Cæsar* had done? My answer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the Race of *Æacide*, of whom the old Poet *Ænnius* gave this note; *Bellipotentis sunt magis quam sapientiores* : They were more Warlike than politic. Whoso notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to work like a Conquerour, save only King *Henry the fifth*; the course of whose Victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. If another question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the Conquest of *Gaul* before the time of *Cæsar*? Why not after the *Macedonian War*? Why not after the third *Punic*, or after the *Numantine*? At all these times they had good leisure : And then especially had they both leisure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri*, and *Tuiones*, by whom the Country of *Gaul* had been pitiously wasted. Surely, the words of *Tully* were true : that with other Nations the Romans fought for Dominion, with the *Gauls* for preservation of their own safety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conquest of *Gaul*, until they were Lords of all other Countries, to them known. We on the other side, held only the one half of our own Island; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unless perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferior) every way equal to our selves; a Nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us. And the great danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, always we feared, a stronger Invasion by Land, than we could make upon *France*, transporting our Forces over Sea.

It is usual with men, that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Histories : To hold it a great injury done their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of comparison, to extol the things of latter ages. But I am well persuaded, that as the divided virtue of this Island, hath given more noble proof of it self, than under too worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæsar* a Monarch; so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance, into our greatest help, the enemy that shall dare to try our forces, will find cause to wish, that avoiding us, he had rather encountered as great a puissance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying aside comparisons, we return to the rehearsal of deeds done; wherein we shall find, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrhus* had left Italy, to strive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the first *Punic War*.

SECT. II.

The estate of Carthage before it entred into War with Rome.

THE City of *Carthage* had stood above six Hundred years, when first it began to contend with *Rome* for the mastery of *Sicily*. It forewent *Rome* one Hundred and fifty years in antiquity of foundation: But in the honour of great achievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion in *Africa* it self, from the West of *Cyrene*, to the streights of *Hercules*, about one Thousand and five Hundred miles in length, where in stood three Hundred Cities. It had subjected all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, together with all the Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the West of *Sicily*; and of *Sicily* the better part. It flourished about seven Hundred and thirty years, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: Who, besides other spoils, and all that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence four Hundred and seventy Thousand weight of Silver, which make of our money (if our pounds differ not) fourteen Hundred and ten Thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious City ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the World fore-shews the dissolution of the whole.

About one Hundred years after such time as it was cast down, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be re-built : And by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia* : It was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and retaken; by *Geisericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belisarius* under *Justinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The fear thereof was exceeding strong: And while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tied to the Main by a neck of Land, which passage had two miles and more of breadth (*Aprian* faith, three miles and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it self was above twenty miles in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City; and between each of those, three or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three Hundred Elephants, and all their food : Over these they had Stables for four Thousand Horses, and Granaries for their provender. They had all lodgings in the Streets, between these out-walls, for four Thousand Horse-men, and twenty Thousand Foot-men, which (according to the discipline used by those of *Cleane*) never pelted the City. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byssa*, to which *Scipio* gave two and twenty furlongs in compass, that make two miles and a half. This was the fame piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when the goat leave to buy only so much Land of them, as the could compass with an Ox hide. On the West-side it had also the Salt-Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for a certain arm of Land, faltned to the ground, on which the City stood, stretched it self towards the West-centre,

ment, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing-Sea was built a moit sumptuous *temple*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-wealth resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the Aristocratical Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the people in later times usurped too great authority in their Councils. This confusion in Government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their avarice and their cruelty. (a) Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary Tributes) the one (b) half of the fruits of the Earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who would best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, who had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendered them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break the Spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruin all together : and few of them have dared to manage their own best projects, after that good form, wherein they first conceived them, for fear lest the manner of their proceeding should be mis-interpreted : It being the *Carthaginian* Rule, to crucify, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad counsel had prosperous event. The faults, wherewith, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I may be said to be these; lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same crimes, let the tryal be referred unto their actions. The first league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient : having been made the year following the expulsion of *Tarquinius*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have trade in some part of *Africa*, nor suffer any Ship of theirs to pass beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *fair promontory*, unless it were by force of tempest : whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italy*, was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath passed) *Livy* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreaty ; was more strict than the former : prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

Now Armies being compounded. And it is the Free-man, and not the Slave, that hath courage, and the sense of shame deferred by cowardice. How free the *English* Youth have been in times, not long past, *Fortin* hath shewed in his praise of our Countrymen *Lewis* and *Gentry* more fervile. For since the excessive bravery and vain experience of our *Grandees* hath taught them to raise their Reins, since Court-Lies, and dismembering of Manors, the Court Baron, and the Principals of the *Gentry* of *England*, have been dis-couraged, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love. *Liv. Dec. 1. 7.*

By these two Treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginian* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other People) from getting any knowledge of the State of *Africa*; but to counterpane and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicily*, whilst that Island should be delivred of *Italian* Incurours. Hereupon we find good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crown of Gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Sannites* were overthrowen. But the little State of *Rome* prevailed after in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicily*. For that mighty Army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africa* in *Sicily*, was only two Cities thence : many great Fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses, and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the People of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicily*, than when the death of *Asdrubalus* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busied in making their advantage of this good opportunity, *Pyrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp War upon the *Romans*. These news were unpleasant to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily forebaw, that the same bulle disposition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicily*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* War. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were forced to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans* their good friends in this War with *Pyrhus*, and that the People of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the State of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italy*, if their help were thought needful, against the *Epirians*.

It was indeed the main desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrhus* so hardly to his purpose in *Italy*, that they might at good leisure, pursue their business in *Sicily* : which caused them to make so goodly an offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded; and refused to accept any such aid of their friend, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed; with covenants added, concerning the present business; that if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrhus*, it should be with reservation of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrhus*, using all means to found his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changes his own purposes) yet *Pyrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicily*; whether though in fine he was neither better nor savor, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as far from any end, as when they first began.

So many disallers in an enterprise, that from the first

first underraking had been so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence resisted their intentment. But their desire of winning that fruitful Island, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater an Harvest, by how much their cost and pain therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force or practice, recovered in few years all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a Troop of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messina* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamerines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meer desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their insolence. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than the *Law of the stronger*, they over-ran all the Countrey round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messina* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate, to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them; yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting Tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long ere fortune turned her back to these *Mamerines*, the *Syracusians* was fain upon them; and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messina*, they also with a powerful Army besieged the City. It happened ill, that about the same time a contention began between the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Agara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governors of the Common wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Army elected two Governours among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many virtues, although it was contrary to the policy of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemency used at his first entrance, he was by general consent established and made Governour. This Office he afterwards used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rest content with his present preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat waning, whereby to strengthen himself within the City; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and life keeping of the place he fought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous Troops of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to Wife the daughter of *Lepines*, a man of the greatest estimation and Authority among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Army to besiege *Messina*, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the City, and leading the rest of his Horse and Foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two several parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town walls, and left the Maimers to be cut in pieces by the afflicted: So returning home, and

levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hastened again towards *Messina*, and was by the *Mamerines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Maimers) encountered in the Plains of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a most signal victory; and leading with him their commander captive in *Syracuse*, himself by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamerines*, finding themselves utterly encircled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the several faction dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of *Messina*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But with a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to a good agreement, that this Captain, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town reserved for other Masters.

These news did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Army to besiege *Messina*, as a Town that rebelled having once been theirs. *Hieron* the new-made King of *Syracuse*, (to gratifie his people incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entered into a league, for exterminating the *Mamerines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamerines* on all sides were closed up, within *Messina*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Town, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syracusians* lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the Roman Consul, with an Army to the Streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himself into the Town, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart, signifying unto them that the *Mamerines* were now become Confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevail.

This message was utterly neglected; And so began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to shew on which part was the Justice of the quarrel, when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

SECT III.

The beginning of the first Punick War. That it was unjustly undertaken by the Romans.

When *Pyrrius* began his War in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium* being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirians*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize upon it in that busy time, sought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of four thousand Souldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a Roman Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this Roman Garrison,

considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamerines* committed in *Messina* (a City in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no other way divided than by a narrow Sea, which severeth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatness of the booty, than the odiousness of the villany, by which it was gotten, resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Considering therefore themselves with the *Mamerines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the World made a more severe profession of justice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatness) resolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrius*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their fact, hopeless of pardon) defended themselves with an obdurate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the usual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custom of the Countrey, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were again restored to their former liberty and estates.

This execution of Justice being newly performed, and the fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: messengers came to *Rome* from *Messina*, desiring help against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in readiness to inflict the like punishment upon the *Mamerines*, for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joint forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-thieves.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve, whether the way of honesty or of profit were to be followed; they ever more pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamerines* was to their former counsels and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the Sword, their own Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their liberty. Yet when they beheld the defection of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africk*, of the *Mediterranean* Islands, of great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicil* itself; whilst all they feared, that *Syracuse* therein fortified (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferior to *Carthage*, and far superior to *Rome* itself) might become theirs; the safety of their own estate spake for these *Mamerines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver up *Messina*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand between *Carthage*, and the Lordship of *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* itself could not, for want of succour; any longer subsist, if once the *Carthaginians* that were Masters of the Sea, did fallen upon that passage from the main Land. It was further considered, that the opportunity *Messina* was such, as would not only debar all succours out of the Continent, from arrival in *Sicil*;

but would serve as a Bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their own pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing danger, that threatened from afar, did prevail above all regard of honesty, that the *Mamerines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consul, presently dispatched away for *Messina*: into which he entered before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and less moved with his requiring them to desert from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this he thought the stiff metal of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to fend them away from the Town; not to be beleagued by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such forts as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, wherein he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter, without help of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected falls, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of Battle, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusians* wanted not courage to fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no trial, when it had been calie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his Reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches: by which loss, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the days of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so bulie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamerines*.

Had *Messina* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* itself must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stock, which it behooveth him to govern well: such another loss would have made him almost Bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp; and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*; wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both Field and Camp, leaving all the Countrey open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all the Town, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any form of terror in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this, in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against

um, and upon certain small Isles adjoining to the main Island: which they fortified, to secure the Trades that they had in the *Silicians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *East-India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Molambay*, and other places. But the *Phœnicians* stayed not there; for after they had once assured their defenses, they built the goodly City of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we find were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of *Sicil*, before the War of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seem strange to the Reader, that in ancient Histories, he finds one and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; and that the first planters in all parts of the World are said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Aegypt*, *Lybia* and *Greece*, had *Heracles*, *Orestes*, *Antaw*, *Typhou*, and the like; as *Denmark* had *Starckaterus*, remembered by *Sæo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britania*, and other Regions had Giants for their first Inhabitants: to this Isle of *Sicil* had her *Lefrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Aldus* make us know, that the *Zancusimmi*, *Emoni*, *Andakim*, and *Or of Bupus*, with others, which sometimes inhabited the Mountains and Defarts of *Maab*, *Ammon*, and *Mount Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants; and were it not that *Tertullian*, *St. Augustine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Pliny*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion: *Yea*, *Vespasian*, in his second Navigation into *America*, had reported that himself had seen the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the self-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicity of life, their meanness, their feeding on Acorn and Roots, their poor cottages, the covering of their Bodies with the Skins of Beasts, their Hunting, their Arms, and Weapons, and their Warfare, their first passages over great Rivers and Arms of the Sea, upon Rafts of Trees tied together; and afterwards their making Boats first of Twigs and Leather, then of wood; first with Oars, and then with Sails; that they esteemed as Gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Laws, and of Policy: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newness of time, which we call *Oldtime*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrews*, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they began, by time and degrees to find out the causes: from whence came Philosophy Natural; as the Moral did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from cruelty and oppression.

But it is certain, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth strange and more incredible things, than the Infancy. For we have now greater Giants for vice and injustice, than the World had in those days, for bodily strength; for Cottages, and Houses of Clay and Timber, we have raised Palaces of Stones; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with Gold, in such sort that men are rather known by their Houses, than their Houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunksness; from treading over of our Bodies with the Skins of Beasts,

not only to Silk and Gold, but to the Skins of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take revenge of the excess, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies perierit, longiorque ævus, longiorque sibi fructus: Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time longer than the rest, shall overthrow it.*

SECT. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

WHEN the first Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicil*: It happened, that one *Thucelus* a *Greek*, being driven upon that Coast by an Eastern wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his discovery, and proposed unto them the benefit of this easie Conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Thucelus* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *English*. Wherefore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himself in persuading the noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to be well enough already) to their own profit, but went to the *Calcedians*, that were needy and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the City of *Naxos*, and a Colony planted of *Athenians*.

But the rest of the *Greeks* were wiser than our Western Princes of Europe: For they had no Pope, that should forbid them to occupy the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicil*, (near unto that City, called afterward * *Syracuse* of which, that part only was then compassed with a wall, which the *Æolians* called *Homothermus*; the *Greeks*, *Naxos*; the *Latins*, *Infusa*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Sicils*, drove them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitude increasing, they added unto the City of the Island, that of *Acradina*, *Tyca*, and *Neopoli*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many Ships, as any Haven of that part of Europe, as by the fertility of the Soil, *Syracuse* grew up in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the World. In short time the *Greeks* did possess the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themselves into the fairs and mountainous parts of the Island, making their Royal residence in *Trinacria*.

Port (was for the most part) environed with beautiful buildings; and that part which was without the City, was on both sides brack up and sustained with beautiful walls of Marble. The City of it self was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compass (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, a hundred and eighty furlongs, which make of our miles about eighteen. It was compassed by three Cities (*Strabo* faith of five) to wit, *Naxos*, *Acradina*, *Tyca*, and *Neopoli*: of which greatness the ruins and foundations of the walls do yet witness. After such times as the *Doree* of *Poloponnesus* had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly City for a long time became the seat of Tyranny. The first whereof was *Gela*: The second, *Hybla* the elder. The third, *Therapylus*: The fourth and fifth, *Plinthis* the elder, and younger: The sixth, *Dion*: The seventh, *Agathis*: The eighth, *Pyræus*: The ninth, *Hiero* the younger: The tenth and last, *Therapylus*, who being slain at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.

Some seven years after the arrival of *Archias*, the *Calcedians*, encouraged by the success of the *Corin-*

Corinthians, did assail, and obtain the City of *Leontium*, built and possessed by the *Sicils*. In brief, the *Greeks* won from the *Sicils*, and their Associates, the Cities of *Catanæ* and *Hybla*, which in honour of the *Megarians* that for it, they called *Megara*.

About five and forty years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphenus*, and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whose Citizens, one Hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned City of *Aggrigentum*, governed according to the Laws of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seventieth year after their Plantation, did set up the City of *Acra*, in the Mountains; and in the nineteenth year of *Cassius*, in the Plains adjoining; and again in the Hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*: and soon after that, *Enna*, in the very Centre of the Island. So did the *Cumani* about the same time, recover from the *Sicils* the City of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the Straight between *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle*, had been the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorians* the *Lacedemonians* built *Heracleia*, which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soon after invaded and ruined, though the fame were again ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colony of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Messinians*; who having lost their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this Island.

†. III.

Of the Government and Affairs of Sicil before Dionysius his Tyranny.

THE most parts of the Cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such as *Phalaris* began to usurp the state of *Aggrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gave an hollow Ball of Brass, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: Praising his device with this commendation; that the noise of one tormented therein, should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Invenor; by causing the first royal to be made upon himself. He reigned one and thirty years, faith *Enchiridion*; others give him but sixteen: Howsoever it were, one *Telenachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Aggrigentum*, and stoned him to death; by thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilst the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confess some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, till *Tello* usurped the Government of the Common-wealth: At which time also *Panæmus* made himself Lord of *Leontium*; and *Cleander* of *Gela*: By one of the Citizens ruled seven years, was slain by one of the *Citizens*. *Cleander* being dead, his Brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, of *Messina*, and

of *Leontium*; whom with diverse others of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made War with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seven years, he was slain in a Battle against the *Sicils*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their form of Government, from *Popularis* to *Arifocratic*; a preparation towards a Principality, whereto it was soon after changed. After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descender of the *Rhadians*, which together with the *Creteans*, had lived before, among other of the *Greeks*, rated themselves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former War, with notable success, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Matters dead, breaking the trust committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his Children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, between the *Magistrates* and the People. For coming with a great Army to the succour of the Government, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, (and indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the *Syracusians*. This change hapned in the second year of the threecore and twelfth Olympiad, wherein the better to establish himself, he took to wife the Daughter of *Terillus*, who had also usurped the State of *Aggrigentum*.

Now this *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomene*, had three Brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Therapylus*: to the first of which he gave up the City of *Gela*, when he had obtained the Principality of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moved a War against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought unto *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Aggrigentines*, having dispossessed *Terillus* of his City *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrel by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Messina*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*; and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diverse conflicts, the *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon*: And an Hundred and fifty Thousand of them left their Bodies in *Sicil*.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* lent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army pait the *Hellens*. He, for their relief having armed thirty Thousand Souldiers, and two Hundred Ships, refused nevertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the command of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So he used to their Embassadors only this Saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greek* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loss received, fearing the invasion of their own Country, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace, who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their Children to *Satan*; that they should pay him two Thousand Talents of Silver, and present him with two armed Ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with

the two Thousand Talents, and the Ships for War, they sent unto *Demetrius*, *Gelon* Wife, a Crown, valued at an Hundred Talents of Gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The Wars ended, and *Sicily* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the Gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, and left for his successor his Brother *Hiero*, *Philistus* and *Pliny* report, That when his Body was burnt, according to the custom of that Age, a Dog of his, which always waited on him, ran into the fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his Brother succeeded; a man Rude, Cruel, Covetous, and so Suspicious of his Brethren *Polyseles*, and *Thrasylus*, as he fought all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Diverse qualities he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agirgenium*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the favours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Greeks* against him. He also overthrew in battle *Thrasylus*, the Son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agirgenians* to their former liberty. But in the end, he lost the love of the *Syracusans*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thrasylus*, who became a most unjust and bloody Tyrant, than he himself enjoyed his Principality no longer than ten Months. For, notwithstanding the force of mercenary Soldiers, which he entertained for his Guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being belied in *Acadina*, he restored the Government, and was banished the Island. From whence he failed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusans* recovered again their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did; after which they had never fought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his virtue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. When a liberal, valiant, and advised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himself from being a private man to the dignity of a Prince, it becometh the Successor to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blows, ere that she could cleanse her self of the Creatures and Lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Mistress of her self, and held her self free, well-near threecore years, to the time of *Dionysius*, though she were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her own, called *Tindarus*.

Now, to prevent the greatness of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kind of banishment of such among them, as were suspected, taking pattern from the *Athenian Ostracism*. They called this their new devised judgment of exile, *Petalism*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive-leaf (as at *Athen* they wrote upon shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. Hereby in a short time, it came to pass that those of judgment, and beittable

to govern the Common-weal, were, by the worst able, either supprest, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could, seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had to do so; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long: For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore again the wisdom for unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practiced to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Island, who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Grecian* Cities, and overthrown the Army of the *Agirgenians*; the *Syracusans* sent Forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Balcen*. This their Captain made nothing so much halfe to find out *Ducetius*, against whom he was employed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soon as *Ducetius* presented him battle. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusans* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levy other Troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitted himself, and is constrained to leave the Island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Callania* on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead, all the *Greek* Cities did in a sort acknowledge *Syracuse*, *Trinacria* excepted; which also by force of Arms, in the fourcore and fifth Olympiad, they brought to reason.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppressed by them, seek aid from the *Athenians*, about the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. In this suit they prevailed by the Eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charades*. To this Fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one Hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracusans*, and their Partisans; wan and lost diverse places; took *Megane*; and, in the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* War, lost it again. They also at the same time attempted *Ephorus*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrel took hold upon many Cities which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the War, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusans*, and were admitted into their society, with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have gleaned themselves in *Sicily*, by the division and civil War, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custom of popular Estates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable War, that ever was this, followed by the *Greeks* in *Sicily*: Which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines* and *Syracusans*, in favour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppressed the *Egestans*; and

and they of *Syracuse* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: Which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends: And, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedaemon* was sent to the *Syracusans*. The *Lacedaemonians* dealt plainly, having no other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their own Tribe, that craved their succour, being in distress. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: For their preparations were too great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the Conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their own passions, that they would not believe their own eyes; which presented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the City of *Athen* had engaged all her power; as regarding not only the greatness of the enterprise, but the necessity of hatching it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedaemonians* (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with *Athen*, as differed not much with open War. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this Great Expedition, or altogether to forbear it: Which was like to be hindered by Wars at home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* been over-passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstain from so chargeable business, and to reserve their forces for a more useful use. But young Counsels prevailed against the Authority of Ancient men, that were more respectful of safety than of honour.

Of this business, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponnesian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicily* was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the *Segelians*, and to reestablish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusans*, as also by force of Arms, to subject the *Syracusans*, and all their adherents in *Sicily*, and compel them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their Supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captains were sent off, with an Hundred and thirty Gallies, and five Thousand one Hundred Soldiers, besides the thirty Ship of burden, which transported their Victuals, Engines, and other munitions for the War: And these were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodians* and *Candians*: There were, besides these, six Thousand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty Horsemen.

With these Troops and Fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them victuals for their Money. From thence they sent to the *Egestans*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the War, seeing for their sakes they had entered therein. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestans* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shews of Gold, having in all but thirty Talents. The *Athenians*

further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians* their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to truit them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* advised to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or persuade them to an agreement with the *Egestans*; as likewise to see what discontents the *Egestans* could make; and to return again unto *Greece*, and not to waste *Athen* in needless War. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would sollicite the Cities of *Sicily* to condiscord against the *Syracusans* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus* he persuades them to assail *Syracuse* itself, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprize *Catana*; and there they take new counsel how to proceed. Thence they employed *Nicias* to those of *Egesta*, who received from them thirty Talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twenty Talents more there were of the spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus the Summer being spent in idle consultations, and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer; and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtain a Landing place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They employ to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they truit; and intrust him, to promise unto the *Syracusans*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusans* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, setting sail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease; and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusans* had the loss; but the *Athenians*, wanting Horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Army at *Catana*, for the Winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Megassus*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the *Megassians*. This he now did, in despite of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*, because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedaemonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsel against his Country. While this Winter yet lasted, the *Syracusans* sent Embassadors to *Lacedaemon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicily*, send to *Athen* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* War) the *Athenians* in *Sicily* sail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsoke of the Inhabitants; from whence, forgoing the Country, they obtain some small victories over the struggling *Syracusans*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at Arms, but without Horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island from the *Segelians*, and other their adherents: They were all strengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred Talents in Money.

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp near *Syracuse*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusans*, that failed to impeach their intrenchments.

intrenchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred other Horse-men, with two hundred other Horse, to mount their men at Arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses: among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gyliphus* and *Pythias* with the *Lucanian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selunians*, join with them, so that with these and his own Troops, *Gyliphus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuse*. *Syracuse* send a party of their forces to meet him, and order the *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting him to come to the City upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their enemies, b: reason that the *Syracusan* Horse-men could not come to fight in those treights: b: soon after *Gyliphus* charging them again, brake them, and the *Athenians* *Nicias* to force him still within the Camp. Whereupon the Citizens of *Gela* of his affairs known, by his Letters to the Senate shewing, that without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the full Army remaining. These Letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eumachos* and *Demophanes*, to join with *Nicias*: they dispatch presently with five supplies; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good success: but in conclusion, he took the Town of *Fort*, near unto *Syracuse*, the Promontory called *Phormyrum*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which loss, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athen*, by the *Lacedaemonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in *Sicily*, and dispatch away *Demofthenes* with new succours. *Demofthenes*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Palaenches* the *Corinthian*, with his Fleet: both the Captains being bound for *Sicily*, the one to succour *Nicusa*, the other *Gylippus*. The loss between them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demofthenes* arrived with threefore and thirteen Gallies, charged with Foot-men; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracussians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great loss. Hereupon *Demofthenes* and *Eurydamas* determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and to fly to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to that contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrival of a new supply into the Town, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moon,

boding (as was thought) ill success, caused them to defer their departure. But this superfluous cost them dear. For the *Syracusans*, *Lacedaemonians*, and *Corinthians* with their ships and seventeen fail of Gallies, entered the great Port of *Syracuse*, where in the *Athenians* kept their Fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians* in the same Port encountered them with fourscore and five Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedes*: in which the *Athenian* Fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedes* slain. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusans* received the more loss by Land (for the fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by Sea, in which kind they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast down. For it was well said of *Gygius*, to the *Syracusan*: *When any People do find themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with both weapons, in which they persuade themselves that they exceed all others, they not only lose their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunk and wrackd, had seventeen taken, and posselt by the Enemy: and great labour and loss they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a *Palisade*. The *Syracusan* Port, unadvantageously for it as contrary to a Sea-Port, to thrust ships into a freight room and corner, as it is to scatter Foot in a plain field against Horse, the one substituting by being at large, the other by close embattailing.

The *Syracusan*s, having now weakened the *Athenian* Fleet, resolve to imprint them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a Mile over, and there they came to *Anchor*; filling the ou-er with all manner of Vessels; which they man mozt strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracusan* Fleet; and by a few single, because they were forc't to range the Fleet, and to divide the order of the Port. They therefore not only moved the sides of their Gallies together, and lay behind them again certain Ships, which served in the former War for *Vindictals*: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunk; or the chain, which joyned them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time, intrangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in form of a wedge, to break through, and cut in two, the *Syracusan*s had left within their Gallies, and in the middle of the wedge, a certain number of loose Gallies, which they sent out and suily. For where the way of any Vessel using *Oar* or *Sails*, is broken, and their speed foretold, they cannot force with any weight and violence the reluctance oppoling.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except with an invincible resolution they could make their way, and break down this great Bridge of Boats, or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolve to hazard, with all their Shipping (to the number of one Hundred and Ten of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-Army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the Bridge of Boats, did to disorder the *Athenian* Fleet; ere they came to force the Bridge, as albeit some few of them had broken through the chains, yet being top-sid with the Ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syracusan* Fleet,

Lars, which where purposely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages, the *Abenians* had: the first, in fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a Sireight, they had no room to turn themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being incangled; the second, that having overpestered their Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive Arms of Darts and Slings, they had not place upon the Decks to stretch their Arms; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might have their way running away. To be short, the fight was not yet begun, when confusion: the slaughter was on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so loud and lamentable, that the voice of a Commander could be heard. But in the end, the *Abenians* many as survived, were beaten back to the Land, with lots of Threefoore of their Gallies, broken, and sunk, or abandoned. The *Syracians* did also lose Twenty of theirs, with *Fyrtion*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reit of the *Abenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottom of the Port, saved themselves by the help and countenance of the Land-Army there fortified. In this desperate elate, the *Abenian* Commanders go to Council. *Demophanes* persuades them to furnish with archers, and send those few Gallies which remained; and while the others triumphing, and made secure by their prefernt victory, to fet upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne *Abenian*. This was no ill counsell. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yet, the greatest number of all that have been victorious), that have neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten Enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who having slept securely in the bosome of those succels, have suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby lost again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the counsel of *Demophanes*: Others say, that the Sea-men were weary. Whereupon *Abenian* Leaders to their Gallies, they their Confederate manner Landing to the Cities of their Alliance, till further more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedaemonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracians* to put themselves presently into the Field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their Enemies, to which the *Abenians* might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. And thus it was in some of our Commanders at Cadix, loit some of the *Indian* Fleet, and the spoils of many other neighbouring Cities. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracians*, finding it a loit, and perceiving his Countreymen to any halty prosecution, devised this good stratagem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three Horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and after they had assured him, that they were of the *Abenian* faction) to give him advice not to march away from the present place, wherein he was fortified; alleging that the *Abenians* had lodged themselves in the City, and that he should not stirre out his Army, which could not long stay there, without passages and places of advantage, leading upwards to the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily believed, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most

part) more fearful then wife; and to them, every Thistle in the Field appears by night a man at Arms.

all appears by night a man at Aratus. The third day he came to the realities, and with all their baggage) they removed to the mountains and purged with the laudable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their Enemies Swords. The rest march away, to the number of Forty Thousand; and make their first passage by force, over the River of *Asapara*, notwithstanding the opposition of their marchers. But being every day charged in their marches, and in forraids, and provision of food, they grow weak and heartless: the *Asaparians* also grow towards the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they take to fall towards *Casimera*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blind marches by Night; in which they were faint to endure, as having none other means to escape from the Enemy that would have been to have taken the way of a continual skirmishing. At length, in order, the *Asaparians* undertook the leading of the march, and the *Demofthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Ermenis*, *Nicias* takes the flart of a whole night's march, leaving *Demofthenes* to make the retreat: who being uncompanied, and overpelt with numbers, in the end renders himself. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies far worse than he expected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias* murdered in prison. The Army of *Demofthenes* being dissolved, he persuaded *Nicias* with the greater courage; who being sent to march upon the passage of the River *Alphius*, rendered himself to *Gylippus*, upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preserve him, and to have had the honour to have brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedaemonians*; and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylos* by the *Athenians*, had saved the lives of the vanquished *Demofthenes*: as one that had done to the *Lacedaemonians* great hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Sicilians*, was taken in the retreat, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous violence, after a noble victory. But the cruel and cowardly force, (cowardly and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their Soldiers to be starved into loathsome Prisons; and the rest, sold for Slaves. This ended the Reign of *Agis*, the *Sicilian War*: which took place at the Reign of *Agis*, the four and Twentieth Day of *May*, in the Fourscore and Eleven Olympiad.

The *Athenians*, being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *EGYPTIANS* (for whose defence against the *Syracuzans*, this late war had been taken in hand) frayed the victorious *Syracuzans*, fought help from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered them- selves, and their City, as their Vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracuzans*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they flayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Seleucians* were frantically allied to the *Syracuzans*, as may appear by what is said. In the end the *Senators* of *Carthage* relented upon the enterprise, and (by a trick of their *Phinix*, wit) to separate the

ro depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himself, of the Duke of *Anon* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals of *France*, he was set upon and broken in his March; spoiled of all that he had, and forced to save his life by flight; leaving the most of his Soldiers dead upon the place the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with Ensigns displayed and with all his Goods and Provisions, no whie availing him. It needs not therefore tenn drange, that an Peashen Tyrant should thus break his faith, fine Kings, professing Christianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captain: to do it for them.

Dionysius after this great victory, took care to re-edifie *Messina*. *Alago* who layed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, was again beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauronemians*. A new supply of Fourcote Thousand Soldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Alago*, but these take Eggs for their Money, and make Peace with *Dionysius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauronemium*, to fluit for themselves: Whom *Dionysius*, after a long Siege, overcame, and gave their City to the Mercenary Soldiers.

He then past into *Italy*, obtained divers Victories there, brought the *Rhegiens* on their Knees, forced them to pay him one Hundred and Fourcote Thousand Crowns, to furnish him with Threecore Gallies, and put in an Hundred Pledges, for assurance of their future observance of Covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to perform unto them the Peace that they had so dearly bought, but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might Besiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had given to them, he pretended to want Victual for his Army, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantity at his coming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrel; If they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of Food, to endure a Siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soever. And great reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done so fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his Reign, he desired them to bestow a Daughter of some of their Nobility upon him for a Wife, they answered that they had not any one fit for him, save the Hangmans Daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the Great forgave many sharp Swords, but never any sharp Tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to name elfe, especially in publick.

It is said, that *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he used against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracy with the *Spaniards* or *Savoyans*. For he had pardoned 10000 of such as had gone farther, and drawn their Swords against him. The contentious words that Sir *John Parre* used of our late Queen

Elizabeth, were his ruine; and not the counterfeited letter of the *Romish* Priest produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than he, that thereby ran the fame, and a worse fortune, soon after.

To be short, he made them know new Bread from old. He assaulted their Town on all sides, which he continued to do Eleven Months, till he won it by force. He used his Victory without mercy, specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other Wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this City; and those with variable success. For, as in one encounter he flew *Mago*, with Ten Thousand *Africans*: So the Son of *Mago* beat him, and slew his Brother *Lepimus*, with Fourteen Thousand of his Soldiers. After which he bought his Peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Prophecy and Adversity, as all Kings and States do.

When he had Reigned Eight and Thirty Years, he died: Some say in his Bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and a faithles; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his Tyranny, he gave order to have him slain, or sold for a Slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parafites therefore filed his cruelty, *The hate of evil men; and his lawless slaughters. The ornaments and effects of his justice.* True it is, that flatterers are a kind of Vermin, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worstifed and valiantest men do: And I wonder not at it, for it is a World: As our *Saviour Christ* hath told us, *The World will love her own.*

To this *Dionysius*, his Son of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of Prison, a great number of Persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastned unto himself the Peoples affections; he cast off the Sheeps skin, and put on that of the Wolf. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himself, he caused them all to be slain; and all the kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Leontis*, and *Aristomache* a *Syracusian*, the Sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him: and by *Aristomache* he had two Sons and two Daughters, of which the elder, called *Sophoclyne*, he gave in Marriage to his eldest Son, and her half-Brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arata*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theodorus*: after whose death *Dion* took her to Wife, being his Niece.

This *Dion*, a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to sensuality, prevailed to much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to instruct the young King. And having perswaded the King to entertain him, he wrought so well with him, as

Dionysius

Dionysius began to change condition; to change Tyranny into Monarchy: And to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garifons. But this goodness of his lasted not long. For *Philitus* the Historian, and other his Parafites, that hated *Dion* severely, wrought him out of the Tyrans favour, and caused him soon after to be banished out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For *Dion*, as *Dionysius* made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great fear; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with Fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the War against them. His enemies found means, by sinister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of Treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end; than to soften his mind, and to make him neglect his own affairs, by the study of Philosophy; whilst *Dion* in the mean time having furnished Fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings service, had it in his own power either to deliver to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himself Lord and Sovereign of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberal offer which he made, to serve the King with so great a preparation, at his own charge, begot him many Enemies. For they that had served the King for none other end than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already been raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer that *Dion* had made. If the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to fill him with Love and Liberality, Pride and Presumptions; and hearkned the young King in his oppressing, and eating up his own People, of whose spoils they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it. That when *Charles* the Fifth had the repulse at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the bravest men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperor, to continue the Siege at his own charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his Victories, and his Conquest of *Mexico* in the *West-Indies*, perswaded the Emperor, that *Cortese* sought to value himself above him; and to have it said, that what the Emperor could not, *Cortese* had effected, and therefore was more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented at first to send him the Revenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moveables at his own pleasure: Not without giving hope to recal him in short time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleased to live well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-fale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another courtie, even to seek the restitution of his Country to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great Liberality, had purchased much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: But it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose help he might return into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above Eight Hundred (for he carried the matter closely) to follow him in his adventure. But many of them

were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needful, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuse*, entered the City without resistance, Armed the Multitude, and won all, save the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italy*, but he quickly had advertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*: Whence, after many vain Treaties of Peace, and some forcible attempts to recover the Town, he was faine to depart; leaving yet a Cattle to the Custody of *Apollocrates* his eldest Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philitus*, coming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countiees liberty, had the fame reward that all worthy men have had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted and forced to abandon the City. He retired himself to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuse*, new Troops enter the Cattle: They fall out, assail, spoil, and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: Yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionysius* his Soldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themselves secure, shut the Gates against *Dion*. But the next Night they of the Cattle fall out again, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the love of his Country surmounting all the injuries that he had received. He sets upon the Garrison of the Cattle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had Conquered both the Fire and the Sword, that had well nigh burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the Cattle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates* after *Dionysius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely end to his days. For he was soon after his Victory, murdered by *Gylippus*, who after he had with ill success, awhile governed *Syracuse*, was slain with the same Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten Years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his Estate; and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Leontes*, a *Syracusian* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Leontes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to prevail against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their City. The *Syracusians*, being desperately assisted on all sides, tend the *Carthians* for their Country. *Leontes* also sends thither, and dissuades the *Carthians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the business. He tells them, by his Messengers, That he had entered into a League with the *Carthaginians*, who were to throng by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Carth*, to land an Army in *Sicil*. But the *Carthians*, being by this Treason of *Leontes*, more enraged than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with Nineteen Gallies, to deliver *Syracuse* from Tyranny. In the mean while, *Leontes* had entered *Syracuse*, and

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with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the Cattle, where he besieged him.

Ietes, being himself a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to persuade him, to return his Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*, whose Captains advised *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compel him, if he would not be persuaded. *Timoleon*, finding himself over-mattered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captains, and they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the People, to deliver unto him those arguments for his return, which they had used to him in private: that he might, by public testimony, discharge himself to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, persuading themselves, that a Victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loss, and far more easy, than that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to *Timoleon's* desire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the press; and having let Sail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Taurrominium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governor. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where surprising *Ietes* his Army, he slew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the Nature of Victory to beget friends. The *Adranians* joined with him, and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Cattle of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yield up himself, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*; than either to *Ietes*, whom he defied, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within Fifty Days after his arrival, had recovered the Cattle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Ietes*. For he Besieged the *Corinthians* within the Cattle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vain) the Murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send unto *Timoleon* a supply of Two Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse, which are stayed in *Italy* by foul weather. *Ietes* is strengthened with Threecore Thousand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he ledgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an Hundred and Fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the *Carthaginians* had Dominion within the Walls of that City. With this great Army *Ietes* assailed the Cattle: *Timoleon* sends them Victuals, and succour, in small Boats, by Night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Ietes* do therefore resolve to Besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their Forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Cattle, and took that part of *Syracuse* called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the Two Thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two Thousand other Soldiers, *Timoleon* marched toward *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Ietes*, being frightened out of *Sicil* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of Treason. This made him

return to *Carthage*; where the general exclamation against his cowardise, did to much affright him, that for fear of further punishment he hanged himself. *Timoleon* enters the City, and bears down the Cattle (which he called *The Neph of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their Houses did feed on the Grass growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for People to reinhabit it. Ten Thousand are sent out of *Greece*, many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Island.

But a new storm ariseth. *Afraban* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilubum*, with Threecore and Ten Thousand Soldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a Thousand Ships of burden, and Two Hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Army upon the passage of a River.

A Tempest of Rain, Hail, and Lightning, with boisterous Winds, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken. Ten Thousand slain, Five Thousand taken, with all their Carriages and Provisions: Among which there were found a Thousand Croflets Guile and Graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Ietes*, and following his Victory, took him, with his Son *Eupolemus*, and the General of his Horse, Prisoners, whom he caused all to be slain: And afterwards (which was impured to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Ietes* his Wives and Daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Ietes*, who (after the Murder of *Dion*) had caused *Ietes*, *Dion's* Wife, and a young Child of his, with *Asistomache* his Sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He again prevailed against *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it self. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippion* Tyrant of *Messina*: But *Timoleon*, pursued him, won the Town; delivering *Hippion* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made Peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that they should not pass the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death, and was solemnly buried by the Citizens in the Market-place of their City: The Day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the Tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought Peace to the whole Island; the Inhabitants enjoyed their liberty in Peace, about Twenty years. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Marchant Sailed in safety; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the Earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twenty Years after the death of *Timoleon*, there flattered up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base Birth, and of base condition: Who from a Begger, to a Captain; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prator: Finally, became Lord and Sovereign of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the Principality. For he had more than once attempted it,

attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banished. A passing valiant man he was, and did no base service, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in those Wars against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanians*, he did them memorable service; and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Murgantians* against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made General of their Forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so straightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himself and the *Syracusians*, binding himself by Promise and Oath to remain a Friend and Servant to the State of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prator; he entertains five Thousand *Africans*, and diverse old Soldiers of the *Murgantians*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusians* (the City also being divided into many factions) he assails the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; divides the Spoil of the rich among the poor; and gives liberty to his Soldiery, to Rob, to Ravish, and to Murder, for two whole days and nights, without controulment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten Thousand dead Carcasses, besides those that had broken their necks over the walls; their fury had no further subject to work on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent Knave) persuaded them, that, for the violent sickness, by which the Common-wealth was utterly consumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had administered: and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the State from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democracy, by which it had been governed, from the first institution, with so great glory and prosperity. This he did, to have the Crown clasp on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had left none living, within the City, fit or able to exercise the office of a Magistrate; so he knew he might well, that all they which had assisted in the murder and spoil of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless Lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this able, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King; again and again saluting and adoring him, by that name, as if it had been given to him by some lawful election: Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of Kingly Parents: the one took liberty from a Common-wealth, the other fought only to succeed in a Monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crown, fought, by making good Laws, to recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by *Justinus*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the sum whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him five Thousand men to help in the Massacre of the Citizens, was also content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the confederates of

the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole Island; because it was thereby like to come to pass, that he should reduce all *Sicil* into such terms as would make it become an easy prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Panick* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better then mere falldoom) threw itself very honourable in taking order for the redress. Embassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africa*, and a new Captain appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended to save the Confederates, from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they took order to have it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny; the suffrages being given, but not calculated; and so referred until he should return. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soon notice of it. In managing his business with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the public benefit of his Country. For he had made such a compulsion with the *Syracusians*, as gave them not only means to weaken others, but to strengthen himself, both in Power and Authority, even against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custom of those, that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices, thinking to deal subtly and finely, they spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* saw, that the *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deal substantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices; which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into so much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his fore-goes had taught him; and, for fear of such a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* served to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer; but, instead of Spoil and Robbery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his own, ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have incouraged an ill-established Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them sharp entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Navy was so completely-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their business undone, and return into *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet; which being very gallantly manned and furnished, was broken, by foul weather, and the best part of it cast away, even whilst it was yet within kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Gilco*, gathering together the remainders of his Ship-wreck, was bold to pass over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was soon ready to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusians* had the better. But his good success begat presumption; whereby he lost a Battle more important

important than all the other fights. One adverse chance is enough to overthrow the State of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumspection. The War was soon transferred to the walls of *Syracuse*; within which *Agathocles* was closed up, and driven to make his last defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great Massacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny (were for the most part) such, as had been either mercenary Soldiers, enfranchised slaves, or base and needy people; helpers in establishing the present government, and Executioners of the Murders, and Spoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were few well observed, and (withal) so fearful, that they durst not stir. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their City, Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity *Agathocles* adventured upon a strange course, which the event commended as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those Vessels that rode in the Haven; and committing the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had be thought himself of a mean, both to raise the fleet, and to repair all other losses. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisement came, that many Ships of burden, laden with Corn, and other provisions, were drawing near unto *Syracuse*. To intercept these the *Carthaginians* hoist sail, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles* issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make main toward him, as thinking him the better booty. He neither abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all speed towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean season the Victuallers were gotten to *Syracuse*, which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived, first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had mislead of them both: And secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to seek his fortune elsewhere, he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well upon them, that they should not have leisure to mischiefe in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after six days. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune: For he fought with them, and beat them; and, having sunk or taken many, drove the rest to flye which way they could, laden with such strange tydings of his Voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discover unto them his project, letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the life of *Sicily*, than by bringing the War to their own doors. For here (said he) they

have many that hate them, and that will readily take Arms against them, as soon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their Walls. Their Towns are ill-fortified; their people untrained, and experienced in dangers; the mercenary forces that they levy in those parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their Ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burne to the ground: as a mark of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army destroyed in *Sicily*. This impression so dismayes them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight; yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcar's* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspected their principal Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great Army, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceed the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drove *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made ease the victory against the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stir, but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursued his victory, winneth many Towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send unto *Sicily*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of *Sicily*. *Amilcar* sends them five Thousand men: All his forces he thought it not needful to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicily*, than to be drawn home by one, that could scarce resist his own Kingdom. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracussians*: And having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a certain hope of taking *Syracuse* by surprize. It was a pretty (though tragical) Accident, if it were true, as *Thuly* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream which told him that he should sup the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily believed it. He made more haste than good speed toward the City: And coming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambush to entrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the City; in which it was likely that he had no great

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cheer to his supper: For they struck off his head, and sent it unto *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good success of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and stile himself King of *Africk*. He had allured *Opellus*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promising to deliver the Country into his hands: For that (as is said) it was sufficient unto himself to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*, wherein (after this War ended) he might Reign quietly. *Opellus* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian*, taking an advantage, did murder this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenean* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his villany found good success; and he so prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leisure to make a step into *Sicily*. Many Towns in *Sicily* had embraced a desire of recovering their liberty; thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedom, and that they had for long been exposed (as a reward of victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. These had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high Spirits; and his good success in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicily* he returned into *Africk*, where his affairs stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his Son had lost a Batel; and (which was worse) had ill means to help himself: His Army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the Tumult, by the accustomed presents of great booty and spoil. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: in which to obtain, they would (questionless) have given to him both money enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicily*. For their City had been distressed, not only by this his War, but by the Treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himself Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of *Carthage*: it self: Out of which dream he was awakened, by the loss of a Batel, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this War, had renewed their sacrifices of Children to *Saturnus*: From which they had obtained ever since they made peace with *Gelus*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners taken in the Batel, to offer unto the fad Idol; in way of thankfulness to their victory. The fire, with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the lodgings nearest unto the Altar, and spreading it self farther through the Camp, with the destruction of many men, caused such a Tumult as is usual in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavillion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them believing, that the noise in the adverse Camp, was a sign of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Soldiers; and thinking them to be enemies (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last Batel) he began to assail them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blind fight above four Thousand of his men. This did discourage his proud heart, that, being fal-

len from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his own safety, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next in to his hand; which was to steal closely aboard his Ships, with his younger Son (the elder he suspected of treachery, and of Ambition) and so to flye into *Sicily*, thinking it the best course to shift for himself, as wanting Vessels wherewith to transport his Army. His elder Son *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him under custody: But by means of a sudden Tumult, he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his Sons behind him. His flight being noyed through the Army, all was in an uproar; and extremity of Rage caused not only the common Soldier, but even such as had been friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two Sons, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base, I need not of words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is said to be, a palli, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the foolish doth manifest. His forsaken Soldiers, being now a headless company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: To whom they told those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteen Talents. Likewise *Agathocles* himself, having lost his Army, did nevertheless, by the reputation of this late War, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from foreign enemies, discovered his bloody nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears, urged him to do violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoils of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: But in a heathly rage depopulated whole Cities. He devised new Engines of Torment; wherein striving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of Brass, that should serve to scorch mens Bodies, and wihal give him leave to behold them in their misery. So devilish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared Sex, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the laughter of his Children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preserve his estate: It drew him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of his Country took arms against him, and drove him into such fears; that he was fain to seek that love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicily*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginian* hands, all those Towns of the *Phoenicians* in *Sicily*, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They required him honourably, with great store of Corn, and with four Hundred Talents of Gold and Silver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and ceased his estate. Having no further business left in *Sicily*, he made a voyage unto *Italy*. There he subdued the *Bruttians*, rather by revour of his name than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the life of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one Hundred Talents of Gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and hiding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoil the Temples of their Gods. Herein (we think) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be Gods, that had

contin:

continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with Eleven Ships laden with Gold: All which, and all the rest of the Fleet, were cut away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himself escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sickness fell upon him, that rotted his whole Body, spreading it fell through all his veins and sinews. Whilst he lay in this case, all desiring his end, save only *Theogina* (a Wife that he had taken out of Egypt) and her small Children: His Nephew, the Son of *Agathobolus*, before mentioned, and a younger Son of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they seek to end the controversy by the old Tyrant's decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: Wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slew his Uncle, and got his Grandfather's Kingdom, without asking any leave. These tydings wounded the heart of *Agathobolus* with fear and sorrow. He saw himself without help, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either himself, or by those, whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogina* and her Children. Therefore he advised her and them to fly before they were surprised: For that otherwise they could by no means avoid either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gave them all his Treasures and Goods, where-with he even compelled them (weeping to leave him desolate in so wretched a case) to embark themselves hastily, and make speed into Egypt. After their departure, whether he threw himself into the Fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him, but he ended his life as basely, as obscure, and in as much want as he first began it.

After the death of *Agathobolus* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Soldiers, traitorously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the Island. Then also did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of Conquering all *Sicily*. What the Nephew of *Agathobolus* did, I cannot find. Likely it is that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driven to fend for *Pyrhus* to help them, who had Married with a Daughter of *Agathobolus*. But *Pyrhus* was soon weary of the Country (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it: Proving that it would become a goodly champion Field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which business, how their two great Cities did speed, the order of our story will declare.

SECT. V.

A recontination of the Roman War in Sicily. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forsook the Carthaginians, and made his peace with Rome.

When *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his Victory gotten at *Messana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and Besieged that great City, *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek peace: Knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himself by what means he could, when they were not in case to

give him assistance; and foreseeing what, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the Romans, it would be free for him to sit still, without fear of molestation, whilst *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good mood the new Roman Consuls, *M. Fulvius*, and *C. Otacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and sold him peace for a Hundred (some say two Hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into *Sicily*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusans* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the sum of Money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of service) all the whole time of their abode in the Island; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no less to his honour than it was to his commodity. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his own Kingdom to run into manifest peril of subversion, for their sakes that should have received all the profit of the Victory: Seeing they did expose him to the whole danger without straining themselves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the days of *Agathobolus*: And therefore knew, that it was able to bear a very strong Siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending help: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the Besieged City was not the same, when the Romans lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to try the uttermost hazard of War against the *Carthaginians*, who fought no other thing than to bring it into slavery: Not to against the Romans, who though it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathobolus*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his own Tyranny: The latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to win the love of his People by seeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the publick, laboured to uphold both, by honest and faithful dealing. Hereby it came to pass that he enjoyed a long and happy Reign, living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Carthaginians*, whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himself, ere he left their Society, made unwilling to seek his ruin; or their more earnest business with the Romans, made unable to compass it.

SECT. VI.

How the Romans Besiege and win Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintain a Fleet. Their first loss, and first victory by Sea. Of Sea-fight in general.

Hieron, having sided himself with the Romans, aided them with Victuals and other necessities;

faries: So that they, presuming upon his assistance, recal some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to bestir them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the Troops they had in Spain, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agri-gen-tum* the Seat of the War, against the Romans, filling it with all manner of munition.

The Roman Consuls, having made Peace with *Hieron*, return into Italy, and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards *Agri-gen-tum*: And finding no enemy in the Field, they Besiege it, though it were studded with Fifty Thousand Soldiers. After a while, the time of Harvest being come, a part of the Roman Army range the Country to gather Corn, and those at the Siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* fall furiously, and, in danger the Roman Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loss; but by the smart loss on both sides, the Assaults redoubled their Guards, and the Besieged kept within their Cover. Yet the Romans, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep Trench between the Walls of the City and their Camp: And another on the outside thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force them suddenly, by a Sally; nor those of the Country without, break upon them unawares: Which double Defence kept the Besieged also from the receiving any relief of Victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusans* supplies the assaults with what they want. The Besieged find for succor to *Carthage*, after they had been in this fort pent up Five Months. The *Carthaginians* imbarc an Army, with certain Elephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Agri-gen-tum*. *Hanno* put himself into the Field, and surpriseth *Erbesius*, a City wherein the Romans had bestowed all their Provision. By means hereof, the Famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agri-gen-tum*; and the Roman Camp no less straightly assailed by *Hanno*, than the City was by the Romans: Inasmuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had been forced to abandon the Siege. But seeing that this distress was not enough to make them flee, *Hanno* determined to give them Battle. To which end, departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the Roman Camp. The Romans resolve to fight with him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* Horsemen to charge the Van-guard, as if to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return as broken, till they

But their greatest pomp and magnificence, was in their goodly Temples, and Theatres, Water-Conduits, and Fifth-Ponds: The ruins whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that Rome fell could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which we may judge of the Temple itself) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished Marble of divers colours; a work the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: On the other side, the War of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that Siege; with the Personages of the Heroes that were done in that War; all of the like beautiful Stone, and of equal Statute to the Bodies of those men in Ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meet to be despised. It would require a Volume to express the magnificence of the Temples of *Heracles*, *Apolonius*, *Cerberus*, *Juno*, *Lutina*, *Chastity*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Master-Pieces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Zuchius*, *Myron*, and *Polignotus*, were to be seen. But in process of time it ran the same fortune, that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of War: Whereof this War proved brought unto it the least.

came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the Romans pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two Months, but lay strongly encamped, waiting until some opportunity should invite them. But *Annibal* that was Besieged in *Agri-gen-tum*, as well by Signs as Messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his own Vanguard, which was broken by the Romans, he lost the day: And with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this day's Victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the Night; he rusk out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and past by the Roman Camp without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the Morning, but in vain: Sure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little ado the Romans entered, and pitifully spoiled. The Romans, proud of this Victory, pursued rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this War, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own Coasts: But now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicily* and from thence, being favoured with the Wind of good success, to Sail over into *Africa*. It is the desire of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to cover the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World unto this day.

To prosecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicily*. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the Field, many in-lain Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians*, keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, and many Maritime places became theirs. The Romans therefore as well to secure their own Coasts, often invaded by the African Fleets, as to equal themselves in every kind of Warfare with their Enemies, determine to make a Fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in Ship-wrights Craft, a storm of Wind thrust one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of Five Banks, to the shore.

Now had the Romans a Pattern, and by it they began to set up an Hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by Five on every Bank; and Twenty, of three on a Bank: And while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of Rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the Sea Sands many Sars, in order of the Banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their Water-men, and taught them to beat the Sand with long Poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learn the stroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oars.

far behind them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the Third Squadron towed their Horse-Boats and Victuallers; and the Fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcar's* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin Front of the *Carthaginian* first Fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the Second Squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (as the first) received a great loss, until their Second Squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to break him to his Oars. *Hanno* also who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcellus Attilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to sustain both Squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Consuls came to the aid of their Third Battalion, which towed their Victuallers, which were also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: But the Consuls, joining their Squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running.

This Victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardness of their Soldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could never after joy himself unto any of his other Squadrons, that remained, as yet in a like likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon equal terms, and but Squadron to Squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the fight, thereby left a full Fourth part of the *Roman* Fleet unengaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were oppressed. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: For they lost but Four and Twenty of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost Thirty that were sunk, and Threethree and Thirt that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar* who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also divided his Fleet into Four Squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the Front to draw on the Enemies, and to engage them) and that, whilst he himself fought with one Squadron that charged him, all the rest of the Enemies Fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the Second Squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppressed: and *Amilcar*, being oppressed and fettered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieve both the Third and the Fourth Squadron, and gain the Victory.

Charles the fifth, among other the Precepts to *Philip* the Second his Son, where he advised him concerning War against the *Turks*, tells him, that in all Battles between them and the *Christians*, he should never fail to charge the *Tunisians* in the beginning of the fight, and to engage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Tunisians*, who are always reserved intire in the Rear of the Battle, and in whom the *Turk* reposest his greatest confidence; come up, in a grofs body, when all the Troops on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carry the Victory before them without resistance. For the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in store (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-shot and last blow. A great and Victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keep some one or two good Troops to look

on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

SECT VIII.

The *Romans* prevail in Affrick. *Attilius* the Consul, propoundeth intolerable conditions of Peace to the *Carthaginians*. He is utterly beaten and made Prisoner.

NOW the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-Victualled their Fleet, set Sail for *Africa*, and arrived at the Promontory of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, and some Forty Leagues from *Utica* in *Sicily*, where *Amilcar* himself as yet laid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the Promontory, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about Fifty English Miles from it. There they disembarked and prepared to Besiege *Clypea*, which to ease them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Affrick* side; without which all invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* Fleet and Army had directed themselves thither: But being advertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made Provisions of all sorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* went to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waitd round about them. The Order given for the Senate, was, That one of the Consuls should remain with the Army, and that the other should return with the Fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Marcellus* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him Twenty Thousand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* Fleet and Army; except forty Ships, fifteen Thousand Foot, and five Hundred Horse, that were left with *Attilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily won some Towns and places that were unwarred, and laid Siege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Brigada*, he encountered with a Serpent of One Hundred and Twenty foot long, which he flew, not without loss of many Soldiers, being driven to use against it such Engines of War, as served properly for the assaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Bossar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicily* Five Thousand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse to succour his Country. These (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Affrick*, by wary preparation of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold themselves free from necessity of coming to blows: yet had they a great desire to save the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpose, and yet to disturb him in the Siege of *Adis*, they incamp near unto him, and strongly (as they think) on the top of an Hill: But thereby they lose the services both of their Elephants, and of their Horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* discovers, and makes use of it. He assaults them in their strength, which they defend a while

* This City was taken from the *Turks* by *Charles* the fifth in the year 1536.

and was one of the three Keys, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his Son to keep safe to win, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Affrica*; *Fishing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*; and *Adis*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* lost, but he never found them again; the third our *Charles* was bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wing out of his hand: where we stayed not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

By the loss of this Battail at *Adis*, and more especially by the loss of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their misfortunes, invade, and spoil their Territory, and force those that inhabit abroad, to forsake their Villages and Fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great Famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Attilius* finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out: Yet he feared lest it might defend it self, until his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, perfwades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them the worthy and safe conditions, as whereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now to courageous and disdainful, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or dye to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troop of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Soldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received near unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly; that the fame was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* in brief, gave the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made General of the *African* Forces, he puts himself into the field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve Thousand Foot, and four Thousand Horse, with an Hundred Elephants. No greater were the Forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Liberties, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misnumbered: the one consisting of an Hundred and forty Thousand, and the other of an Hundred and fifty which use the service of mercenary Soldiers, are stronger abroad, than their own doors.

Xantippus, taking the Field with his Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his Troops upon fair and level ground, fitted both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them Battel. The *Romans* wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: But confident they were, that it should soon be abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Felices*, or light-armed Soldiers, as a *forlorn hope*; that they might either with darts and other calling-weapons, drive back the Beasts upon the enemies, or at least break their violence, and hinder them from

rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end, they made their Battails deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they to much the more exposed unto the violence of the Horse, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his Army; which followed him at a reasonable distance: His Horsemen, and some light-armed Foot, of the *Carthaginian* Auxiliaries were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Felices* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the Battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* Battail was helpful. For when the Beasts had spent their Force, in peircing through a few of the thir Ranks; the Squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* Horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Adis* out of the Field, began to charge the *Roman* Battalions in flank, and put them in great distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward nor yet retire; but had very much ado to make good the ground where they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Company, wearied with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equal terms. Here was therefore a great slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoiled to the body of their Army, which being furrounded with the enemy, and spent with travail, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these Troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full Victory; destroying the whole *Roman* Army, save two Thousand, and taking five Hundred Prisoners, together with *Attilius* the Consul. Of their own they lost no more than eight Hundred Mercenaries, which were slain when the fight began, by two Thousand of the *Romans*: That wheeling about to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them: And made way even to the *Carthaginian* Trenches. These were the two Thousand that escaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no less her Vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: How insolent soever they had been in their propitiation of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which the never gave nor sold to any mortal man. With what joy these news were welcomed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to pass in the World, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xantippus*: All of them confirming that sentence of *Euripides*, *Mens una sapiens, plurimum vincit manus*; Many ment hands equal not one wise mind.

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus*, returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cause, it is unknown.

The death of *Attilius Regulus* the Consul, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransom of Prisoners on both sides: Giving his faith to return if the business were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and

and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: So far was from urging the Senate upon compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly perswaded to have the Prisoners in *Africk*, left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancy and faith, all Writers highly extol him. But the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obdurate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the natural care, to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all Wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is that his faithful observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of Prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soon after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnify him in this point; we are to consider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extremest torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein; or otherwise than by recrimination: Saying, that the *Romans* deserved to be no better treated, for as much as it is their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelly doth not become more warlike, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead the Captains of their enemies whom they took, yes, although they were such as had always made fair Wars with them. Wherefore it seems not meet, in reason, that they should cry out against the like Tyrannical infolency in others, as if we were lawful only in ourselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Attilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by meer desperation; calls to remembrance, the like infolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like infolency in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been denied. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to add a motto more, relictionies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genuovians* won so fast upon the *Venicians*, as they not only drove their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own Fleet within two miles of *Venice* itself. This bred such an amazement in the City of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genuovians* (their state reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria* blown up with many former Victories, would hearken to no compulsion; save the yielding of their City and State to his discretion. Hereupon the *Venicians*, all being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assailed *Doria* with such desperate fury, that they break his Fleet, kill *Doria* himself, take nineteen of his Gallies, four score Boats of *Pada*; and four Thousand Prisoners, recover *Chioggia*, and all the places taken from them; and following their Victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genuovians* safely to beg peace,

to their extremest dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten: which, being Victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like happened to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and whilst an over-cruel revenge upon the *Genois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their City, Goods, and Estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their City with five Thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges* (a *pell-mell*) with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himself under an heap of straw, in a poor Cottage; out of which with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himself. Such are the fruits of Infolency.

SECT. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage prospered after the Victory against Attilius: How the Romans, having lost their Fleet by Tempest, resolve to forsake the Sea: The great advantages of a good Fleet in War, between Nations divided by the Sea.

BY the reputation of this late Victory, all places that had been lost in *Africk*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* lie down, and assail it, but in vain: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loss of *Attilius*, with their forces in *Africk*, and whilst *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a gross Army, and transport it in a Fleet of three Hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Emilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consuls. At the Promontory of *Mercator*, two Hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out for purpose, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: But greatly to their cost. For the *Romans* took by force an Hundred and fourteen of their Fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they laid no longer, than to take in their own men that had been besieged: And this done they made amain towards *Sicily*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty Voyage they despise the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the season threatened some violent Storms, which ever impinged between the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-Star*. Now * There is

some. We have upon our Coast a *Michinus* flow that seldom or never fails. In the West Indies in the Mouths of *Anguila* and *Saguer*, those most forcible Winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North-winds, are very fearful: And therefore they that Navigate in those parts, take harbour till these Months be ended. *Charles* the Fifth being as ill advised, in passing the Sea towards *Alger*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the Counsel of *A. Doria*; as he was in the like unseasonable time to continue his siege before *Mazila*; and his antient and forty Ships by Tempests, and fierce Gallies, with ill effect in them, of men, Victuals, Horries, and munition: a loss no less great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extremest dishonourable.

to lay within some Port as they were advised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this Victory against the *Carthaginian* Fleet, to take a few worthless Towns upon the Coast. The merciless winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thrust headlong on the Rocks, so that their former great Victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered Rome.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had happened, repair all their Warlike Vessels, hoping once again to command the Seas: They are also as confident of their Land Forces since the overthrow of *Attilius*. They send *Ashdrubal* into *Sicily* with all their old Soldiers, and an Hundred and forty Elephants embarked in two Hundred Gallies. With this Army and Fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*, where he begins to vex the *Parthians* of *Rome*. But adversity doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three months (a matter of great note) one Hundred and twenty Ships; with which, and the remainder of their late Ship-wreck, they row to *Paeninsula*, or *Palerna*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicily*, and surround it by Land and Water: After a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, return to Rome.

Very delicious the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: To which purpose they employed *C. Scervilius*, and *C. Sulpicius*, their Consuls. But they wrought no wonders. Some spoil they made upon the Coasts of *Africk*: But Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first set upon the Sands, and like to have had perished, near unto the lesser *Syrtis*, where they were fain to heave all over-board, that so they might get off: Then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Paeninsula* towards *Traby*, they lost an Hundred and fifty of their Ships by foul weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had, than the god of the Wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Maz* enrich them with upon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, four Hundred and six Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Soldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, persuaded them to give over their Navigation and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-Army into *Sicily*, under *L. Cælius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transport in some three score ordinary passage Boats, by the fraights of *Messina*, land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Attilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them less cholerick against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two years after, they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and Champaign Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicily*, without a Navy, much less to maintain the War in *Africa*. For, whereas the *Romans* were to send Forces from *Messina* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicily*, making sometime a march of above an Hundred and forty English mile by land, which could not be performed without an Army, and the provisions that follow it, in less than fourteen days; the *Carthaginians* would pass it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, between *Cannus*, and *Edmund Ironside*. For *Cannus*, when he had entred the *Thames*, with his Navy and Army, and could not prevail against *London*, suddenly embarked; and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorsetshire*, so drawing *Edmund* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again ship his men, and entred the *Severn*, making *Edmund* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcester*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmund* there, he failed back again to *London*: By means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled, where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the last help, which the *Netherlands* have had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could pass their Army from place to place, unvexed, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have been able to do it. O! this an instance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now living, one of the greatest Captains, and one of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carried his Army by Sea, with forty Cannonsto *Breda*. Making countenance either to besiege *Basilard*, or *Overdrum* Berg; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Soldiers, and Victuals. But as soon as the wind served, he suddenly set sail, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuse*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Tijl*, and late down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over land round about *Holland*, above four score mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spanish* Army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to sail up the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night, and falling down the stream, he was set down before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also took, before the *Spanish* Army could return. Lastly, the *Spanish* Army was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince of *Maurice*, well attended by his good Fleet, having fortified *Hulst*, set sail again, and performed him (before *Nymegen* in *Gelder*, a City of notable importance, and maltered it.

And to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime Country, not having the Coasts admirably fortified, to defend it self against a powerful enemy, that is Master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that Spain than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *Johannes Norris* in the year 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugal*, before the gates of *Lisbon*; and that he would have kept off the English, by power of his Land-Forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armada, by the Fleet of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him, to prepare an Army, that should be able to resist our eleven Thousand. But where should this Army have been bestowed? If about *Lisbon*; then would it have been ealie unto the English, to take, ransack, and burn the Town of *Corn*, and to waste the Countrey round about it. For the great and threatening preparations of the Earl of *Arundell*, the Marquess of *Sarabia*, and others did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hostility of eight Thousand under the Earl of *Arundell*.

Arada, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir John Norris, and his Associates: Considering that the English charged there, at *Puente de Burger*, and passing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricaded at the further end, routed them, took their Camp; took their General Standard with the Kings Arms, and pursued them over all the Country, which they fired. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the War in *Galicia*, I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugal*, and make haste to the defence of their *St. Jago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution, as knowing, that Sir John Norris his main intent was, to bring Don Antonio, with an Army into his Kingdom, whither coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed. Could they have hindered his landing in *Portugal*? Did not he land at *Peniche*, and march over the Country to *Lisbon*, six dayes journey? Did not he (when all Don Antonio his promises failed) pass along the River of *Lisbon* to *Casalcas*, and there, having won the Fort, quickly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handful, yet were they Englishmen. Let us consider of the matter it self, what another Nation might do, even against England, in landing an Army, by advantage of a Fleet, if we had none. This question, Whether an invading Army may be resisted at their landing upon the Coast of England, were there no Fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it, is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations upon *Cajars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition; in absence of our Shipping: And comparatively, as that is to ensure safe and easy course, to defend all the Coast of England, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemies from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then must we seek to make him with, that he had stayed at his own home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgments are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belongs not unto this discourse. But making the question general, and positive, Whether England, without the help of her Fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing, I hold that it is unable so to do: And therefore I think it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the inauguration of a first Victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshal *Monsieur*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his warring Forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Gyenne*, that of the *Protestant* Religion, after the Battel of *Moncontour*, entered that Country, and gathered great strength and relief thence; for if the King (saith he) would have given me but reasonable means, j'euſſe bien gardé a Monsieur l'Admiral de faire boire ses Chevaux en la Garonne: I would have kept the Admiral from warring his Horses in the River of *Garonne*. Monsieur de Languey, on the contrary side, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Countess of France held against the Emperor *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know theris, and a diverse consideration to be had, between such a Country as France is, strengthened with many for-

tified places: And this of ours where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invasions upon firm land, that these great Captains spake: whose entrances cannot be uncertain. But our question is an Army to be transported over Sea, and to be landed again in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I say, that such an Army cannot be relied on the Coast of England, without a Fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the Coast of France, or any other Country: Except every Creek, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerful Army, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; that *Ken* is able to furnish twelve Thou. land foot, and those twelve Thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Country, to wit, three Thousand at *Margat*, three Thousand at the *Nesse*, and six Thousand at *Fulkeston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both, as also that two of these Troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies Fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long Boats at their Sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Army on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat* (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how should they at *Fulkeston* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four Hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three Thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give him so much to do, that they shall be glad to fend for help to *Fulkeston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve Thousand *Kenish* Soldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to dis-embarque his Army, so that he will find it unsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him: yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game (having liberty to go which way he list) under cover of the night, set sail towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easy than to do it. Yea, the like may be said of *Wymouth*, *Parbeck*, *Port*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily overrun the Soldiers that coast them. Les armes ne violent point en poste; Armes neither fly, nor run post, saith a Marshal of France. And I know it to be true, that a Fleet of Ships may be seen at *San-fere*, and after it, at the *Lisard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Army of foot shall not be able to march it in six dayes. Again, when those troops lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a Fleet of Ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way; and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our Trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury* in the year 1588.) to attend the

the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of London: They that remain to guard the Coast can be of no such force, as to encounter an Army like unto that wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should have landed in England.

The Isle of *Terceira* hath taught us by experience, what to think in such a case. There are not many Islands in the World, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by Art: it being every where hard of access; having no good harbour whereto to shelter a Navy of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies Boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and Monsieur de Chaites, that held it to the use of Don Antonio, with five or six Thousand men, thought to have kept the Marques of *Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marques having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did let fall, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Fort des Males*, far distant from thence; where he was a Fort, and landed ere Monsieur de Chaites, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of Philip Straffe, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three Hundred French Prisoners murdered in cold blood; had instructed de Chaites, and his followers, what they might expect at that Marques his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying in relief to *Fort des Males*. Whether our English would be persuaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Terceira*; whereof the Frenchmen had not measured the one half when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble Ships of Spain.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good Fleet, which neither foot nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in England, France, or elsewhere, unless it be hindered, encountered, and shuffed together, by a Fleet of equal or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our English, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alleged against this: which example moves me no way to think, that a large Coast may be defended against a strong Fleet. I landed those English in *Fayal* my self, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I find an Action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed some which were in that Voyage, who advised me not to undertake it: And I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty, I gave them to understand, the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a Coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without our fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation in that business, than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Islanders should not thing any advantage great

enough, against a Fleet set forth by *Elizabeth*: And further, I was unwilling, that some Low-Country Captains, and others, not of mine own Squadron, whose alliance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have been short; when I had landed in some other place) That for want of their help I was driven to turn tail. Therefore I took with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine own Squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, Voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir William Brook, Sir William Harvey, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Skot, Sir Thomas Bridgeway, Sir Henry Tenny, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marsellus Throckmorton, Captain Lawrence Kenis, Captain William Morcan, and other such as well understood themselves and the enemy: By whose help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprise I undertook. As for the working of the Sea, the deepness of the Cliffs, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or six Companies of the enemies, that fought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whercon their Musketeers lay on the Rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a Rule, that failed even in this example. But the reasons before alleged (together with other reasons well known to some of the Gentlemen above named, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course; having it fill in mine own power to fall off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more than a Comards; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better: whom had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concerns the proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore, that he sought how to stop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past) when he had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forsake the place of a man of War, and betake themselves to an hasty trot.

For end of this Digression, I hope that this question shall never come to ryal; his Majesties many moveable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will no less disdain, than any Nation under Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elsewhere by a foreign enemy; yet to entertain those that shall assail us, with their own Bief in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kenish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his Majesty after God, will employ his good Ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.

SECT. X.

How the Romans attempt again to get the Mastery of the Seas. The Victory of Cælius the Roman Consul at Panormus: The siege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gally entered Lilybæum at pleasure, in despite of the Roman Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to stop the passage of good Ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous losses received under Claudius and Junius their Consuls, abandon the Seas again.

When without a strong Navy, the Romans found it altogether impossible, either to keep what they had already gotten in Sicily, or to enlarge their Dominions in Africa, or elsewhere; they resolved once again, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their Fleet, and so causing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Soldiers) to the new Consuls, C. Attilius and L. Manlius. On the other side, Adribal perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the Shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by Xanthippus in Africa, were less daring than they had been in the beginning of the War: And withal, that one of the Consuls was returned into Italy, with the one half of the Army, and that Cælius, with only the other half, remained at Panormus; he removed with the Carthaginian forces from Lilybæum towards it, hoping to provoke Cælius to fight. But the Consul was better advised. For when Adribal had made his approaches somewhat near the Town, Cælius caused a deep trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the City: Between which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattle a Legion of his Soldiers. To the effect he gave order that they should advance themselves, and pass over the new trench, till such time as the African Elephants were thrust upon them. From those Beasts he commanded them to retire by slow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means pass. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Soldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench itself, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously upon their own foot-men, and utterly disordered them. Cælius elying his advantage; fallied with all the force he had; and charging the other Troops, that stood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to Rome; the whole State filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two Hundred sail, which they sent into Sicily, to give end to that War, that had now lasted fourteen years. With his Fleet and Army the Romans resolved to attempt Lilybæum, the only place of importance which the Carthaginians held in Sicily; and all (indeed) save Drepanum, that was next adjoining. They set down before it, and possessed themselves of all the places of advantage near unto it, especially of such as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground the Towers of defence; and

by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet Himiles, Commander of the place, faithless not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaired with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giveth to the Romans all the affronts that possible could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten Thousand Soldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an Achaean, called Alexon, who had formerly been in danger of the like Treason, saved Agri-genum. Himiles useth the help of Alexon, to assure the hired Soldiers, and employs Hannibal to appease the Troops of the Gauls, which did waver; and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancy and truth; so that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the Roman Camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten Thousand Soldiers is sent from Carthage to their relief, having Hannibal the Son of Antioch for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entered the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The old Soldiers, together with the new Companies (thereto perswaded by Himiles with hope of great reward) resolved to set upon the Romans in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire their Engines of Battery. The attempt is presently made, and purified to the uttermost, with great laughter on both sides. But the Romans, being more, in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold till their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their Engines.

They of Carthage desire greatly to understand the state of things at Lilybæum; but know not how to find into the Town. A certain Rhodian undertakes the service, and having received his dispatch, sails with one Gally to Agusa, a little Island near Lilybæum. Thence, taking his time he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gally, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere any of those which the Romans had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boarded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his return, he set sail, and shipped his Oars (his Gally being exceeding quick of steering, and himself expert in all parts of the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himself out of danger of being encompassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth to undertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondered at in those days: And yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill afar off, the adventure which this Rhodian made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of War will not fear to pass by the best appointed Fort of Europe, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: No, though forty pieces of great Artillery upon their mounds assault him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when Denmark and Sweden were at War, our East-land Fleet, bound for Lef-land, was forbidden by the King

King of Denmark to trade with the subjects of his Enemies, and he threatened to sink their Ships if they came through the straits of Elfenour. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a Ship of her Majesties, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure, and sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the Provision he could to stop them, or sink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by William Burrage, leading the way, did not only pass out with little loss, but did beat down, with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of Elfenour; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: And the Fleet of Merchants that followed, were through without any wound received. Neither was it long, since that the Duke of Parma, besieging Antwerp, and finding no possibility to master it, otherwise than by Famine, laid his Cannon on Bank of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the Water, that he thought it impossible for the least Boat to pass by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good Market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extrem dear in Antwerp, passed in Boats of Ten or Twelve Tuns, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it; when a strong Wester-ly Wind, and a Tide of Flood favoured them; as also with a contrary Wind, and an Ebbing Water, they turned back again: So as he was forced, in the end, to build his Stockadoe overhwart the River, to his marvellous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint Philip terrified not us in the Year 1596, when we entered the Port of Calix, neither did the Fort at Puntal, when we were entered, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with Four Demi-Cannons within point-blank, from six in the Morning till twelve at noon. The Siege of Ochoana, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good Ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of Agusa in Trevera, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the Ships are driven to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all help of Wind and Tide; there, and in such places, it is of great use, and fearful: otherwise not.

But to return to our adventurous Rodian: He arrives in safety at Carthage, and makes them know the estate of Lilybæum. Others also, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the same success. The Romans therefore labour to choke the Channel; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants Ships with great Stones, and sink them therein. The force of the Tydes clear it again in part: But they grounded so many of those great belied-Boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest riling and heave, like a ragged Island in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that a Carthaginian Gally, taking her course by Night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran herself aground thereon, and was taken. Now comes that brave Rhodian, thinking to enter, as he had done before: But this Carthaginian Gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him, he finds what the is, both by her form, and by her swiftness: And being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed, the Soldiers being worn with labour and watching.

But in this despair there rose so violent a Tempest, as some of the Roman Wooden-Towers, by which they over-top the walls of Lilybæum, were overturned. A Greek Soldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and perform it: For the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellows of a Tempest, it increased so fast, as it became restifles, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the Brazen heads of the battering Rams. Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: So that they resolve, by a long Siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of Ten Thousand Soldiers is sent from Rome, under M. Claudius, the Consul. He arrives at Messina, and marcheth over Land to Lilybæum: Where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprize of Drepanum, a City on the other side of the Bay of Lilybæum. This service the Captains and Soldiers willingly embrace. So the Consul embarks his Troops, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. Adribal is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent man of War, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at Lilybæum, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his Spirits, he perswades the Soldiers rather to fight abroad, than to be enclosed. Here-withal he promisheth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the Romans. The Consul, deceived of his expectation, calls back the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshal them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. Adribal finds and follows his advantage, and forceth the Consul into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himself, having the Land on his back: Hoping thereby to keep himself from being encompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, so straitened, as he could not turn himself any way from his Enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with Thirty Gallies, besides his own, and so fled away: All the rest of his Fleet, to the number of Ninety and Four Ships, were taken or sunk by the Carthaginians. Adribal for his service is greatly honoured at Carthage; and Claudius, for his indirection and flight, as much disgraced at Rome.

The Romans, notwithstanding this great loss, arm Threefore Gallies, with which they charge away L. Junius, their Consul, too take care of their business in Sicily. Junius arrives at Messina, where he meets with the whole remainder of the Roman Fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Lilybæum. One Hundred and Twenty Gallies he had, and besides these, he had gotten together almost Eight Hundred Ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary Provisions for the Army. With this great Fleet he arrives at Syracuse, where he stays a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to wait for some time that was too slow of Sail to keep company with him along from Messina. In the mean time he dispatched away towards Lilybæum his Quersors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one half of his Victuallers, with some Gallies for their Convey.

Adribal was not careless after his late Victory; But studied how to use it to the best advantage.

The Ships and Prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered Thirty to *Caris*, who had Three score and Ten more under his own charge; and then he went to try what good might be done against the *Roman* Fleet in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to his direction, *Carthago* suddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the Belleged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another Fleet. So he chargeth them, boards, and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Romans* Camp takes alarm, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand, who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distress, gives *Carthago* good leisure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthago* ran all along the South Coast of *Sicily*, devoting how to work mischief to the Enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a fair occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his Scouts, that they had defracted, near at hand, a great Fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the Victuallers, which the Consul *Junius*, more hastily than providently, had sent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthago* was glad to hear of their coming: For he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great Multitude of *Roman* Hulls, approaching, to be rather a prey than a Fleet likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight: But were glad to seek shelter in an open Road, full of Rocks under the covert of a poor Town, belonging to their party; that could help to save them only from the present danger, by lending them Engines and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthago* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those Rocks, but would be forced by any great change of Wind, either to put out into the deep, or to save their men how they could, by taking land, with the loss of all their Shipping. Whilst he was busied in this care, the Consul *Junius* drew near, and was discovered. Against him *Carthago* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had happened. The Consul had neither means to fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creek; thinking no danger so great as that of the Enemy. The *Carthaginian* seeing this, breaks himself too a station between the two *Roman* Fleets, where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put itself into the Sea. So as now all the Three Fleets were on the South Coast of *Sicily*, between the Promontory of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the Wind stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of Tempest, and their tides, finding (belike) some swelling Billow (for so we do in the West of England, before a Southerly Storm) halted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their Beasts, their South-fayers being all Land-Propheets, were suddenly overtaken with a boisterous South-wind, and all the Gallies forced against the Rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamity discouraged the *Romans*, that they relented again to forsake the Seas, and trust only to the service of their Legions upon firm ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make War in an Island, against those that have a mightier Fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of the *Spaniards*. We seldom or never find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their Kingdom so many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Temples and Shipwracks, Famine, Overthrows, Murders, Heat and Cold, Pestilence, and all manner of diseases both old and new, together with extreme poverty, and want of all things needful, have been the Enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many Years have passed over some of their heads in the search of not so many Leagues: Yea more than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a Golden Kingdom, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the Third, Fourth, and Fifth undertakers, have not been disheartened. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasures and Paradises which they enjoy, and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtues in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

SECT. XI.

The City of Eryx is surpris'd by the *Romans*, and recovered by *Amilcar*, who stoutly holds War with them Five Years. The *Romans*, having emptied their common Treasury, build a new Fleet at the charges of private men. The great Victory at Sea of Lucatius the Consul, whereby the *Carthaginians* are forced to crave Peace. The conditions of the Peace between Rome and Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful to supply with all industry, by Land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the Siege of *Lilybæum*, and seek to make lure to themselves all places, whither the Enemies Ships could not bring relief. The Consul *Junius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterprises to undertake. In the end he relolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: Which was the fairest and richest of all the Island; and of these, by cunning or Treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*, so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making Roads into the Country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottom, (both of which places were very defensible) with

a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the Eighteenth Year of this War, the *Carthaginians* set forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a Fleet and Army, who sailing to the Coast of *Italy*, did thoroughly repay the spoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he first of all waited and destroyed the Territories of the *Locrians*, and of the *Bruttians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entered he into *Sicily*, and finding there no Walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to insult the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himself between both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized upon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: Wherby it gave him opportunity to scour all the Coast of *Italy* with his Fleet, waiting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicily* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus*: Where in Three Years abode, he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the Enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himself and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a strange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garrisons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conveyed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was above the main of the island, ere the Enemy knew of it. By this it came to pass, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the Mountain, were straightly held (as it were) Begged: And no less was *Amilcar* himself restrained by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieve them. There he found them patient about Two Years more, hoping still to weary out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the prosecuting of his business at *Eryx*. Whereto it seems true (as *Hannibal* in *Letter*, spake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the War, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly upon condence of their Land-Forces, which they held resolute; *Amilcar*, with a small Army, had so well acquired himself; to the honour of his Country, that by the trial of Five Years War, the *Carthaginian* Soldier was judged equal if not superior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all that might be, had been devised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warrior: No way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a Fleet, whereby, if the mastery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common Treasury was exhausted: And the cost was not little, that was requisite unto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private Purfes. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges.) One *Quinquarum*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose ability would not serve to do the like, joined with some others,

and laying their Monies together, concurred Two or Three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repayed, when the War was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished Two Hundred new *Quinquarums*: Taking for their Pattern, that excellent swift rowing Gallies which they had gotten from the *Rodians*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was shewed before. In the charge of this Fleet was committed to *C. Lucatius* *Carinus*, who pass with the same into *Sicily* the Spring following, and entered the Port of *Drepanum*; endeavoring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertised that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late losses which his Predecessors had received; he was careful to put himself in order, against their arrival.

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* Fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formal, and skillful in the Art of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I do not find; but it was upheld by a fictitious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprises; and therewithal an opinion of great fortitude, confirmed by very loss received. More particularly, he was gracious among the People, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject Provinces; wherby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithal such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had ere this been employed against the *Numidians* and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of those fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly Enemies, to his own great disadvantage, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsel, when, having shewed himself an unworthy Captain, he betook himself to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deserved of his own Country, it will appear hereafter: How beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in this present Voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that Peace which he therewith commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Navy, with all needful Provisions for the Souldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making preparation was the best of his qualities): But he had neither been careful in training his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with four fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* Fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: Forgetting, that rather the resolute force of Tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to fail to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his Ships of their lading: And having thus lightened himself, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-Army, together with *Amilcar* himself, by whose help he doubted not, but that he should be able to make his Enemy repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was

a good course, if it could have been performed. But *Carthago* used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this design: Nor because he was informed of the Enemies purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* Fleet was decyred; yet he rather chose to fight with the Enemies, that had the Wind of him, than to suffer his Convoy to pass along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should have done, *Caesar* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightened his Gallies of all unnecessary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choice men of his *Roman* Land-Souldiers. The *Carthaginian*; therefore, at the first encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having Fifty of their Gallies stemmed and sunk, and Seventy taken, wherein were few less than Ten Thousand men, that were all made Prisoners: The rest, by a sudden change of Wind, escaping to the Isle of *Hierosus*.

The State of *Carthage*, utterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Means to repair their Fleet in any time, there were none left; their best men of War by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whose valour and judgement the honour and safety of the Common-wealth rested, was now surrounded by his Enemies in *Sicily*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make dispatch unto *Amilcar* himself, and authorized him to take what course should seem best unto his excellent wisdom, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

Amilcar, whom no adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, looking over every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make trial, whether his necessity might be compounded upon any reasonable terms. He therefore sent to *Lutatius* the Con-

sul an overture of Peace: Who considering it well, gathered up many arguments from the present poverty of the *Roman* State, valued beyond expectation in the former War: that he readily harkened unto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with Provision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, That the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Isle of *Sicily*. Secondly, That they should never undertake upon *Hieros* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, That they should set at liberty, and send back in *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held Prisoners, without Ransom. Lastly, That they should pay unto the *Romans* Two Thousand and Two Hundred Talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the Talent, Thirteen Hundred and Twenty Thousand Crowns, the same to be delivered with Twenty Years next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approved: But Ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicily*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a Thousand Talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicily* in self, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Islands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punic* War, that had lasted about Twenty Four Years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or Shipwrack, about Seven Hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians* about Five Hundred: The greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of the War it self; wherein I hold good the judgment of *Polybins*, That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captain.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing between the First and Second *Punic* Wars.

SECT. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the *Carthaginians* and their own Mercenaries.

THE *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and all the little Islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following War, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present Peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges a vitiosis duntaxat accipiuntur a iustis*; That Laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the Conquered. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was

made unto them, by one of the *Privernates* for else had forgotten to follow it in this weighty business. For when one of *Privernum*, after a Rebellion, defending in the Senate the Cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, What Peace the *Romans* might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them; he answered in those words, *Si bonam desideris, & fidem & gratiam; si fidem, haud desinam; si fidem, haud desinam; si fidem, haud desinam*. If the Peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual; if it be ill, there of little continuance. To this answer

answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem audiant; An crederi possit, illum populum, aut hominem denique in ea conditione, cuius cum pariter, diutius quam inesse sit manifestum? That was the speech of a manly and free man; for who could believe, that any People, or indeed any one Man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce? Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgment of those Nations, who had little else belied their manly resolution, to defend their liberty, surely they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than until they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them to take revenge. But occasion, by which (while well entertained) not only private men but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or virtue, with-held the Tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.*

For after the first *Punic* War was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybaeum*, from whence most conveniently the Army might be transported into *Africa*: The care of which business he committed unto *Gisco*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Gisco* had an especial consideration of the great sums, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and withal, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time; that so the first might have their discharge, and be gone, ere the Second or Third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perwade any small number, lodged within so great a City as *Carthage*, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present empins of the common Treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the Second and Third, whilst their disjunction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: And hoped, by such an example, to draw all the Multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they decained the first and second companies; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the City, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: For their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: Receiving every one a piece of Gold, to bear his charges in the mean while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dilodge; leaving behind them their Wives, their Children, and all their Baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore

compel them to trust up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any Errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods: And there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to munity: The whole argument of it is discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to every single share, and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous Fight, were called to mind, and so many Obligations, not to be cancelled without satisfying their expectation by some extraordinary largess.

Thus the time passeth away, until the whole Army being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the account. Now is the day come, wherein they shall be all made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining assemble themselves to hear what good news this Messenger had brought, with a full resolution to help his memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*, tells them how great a sum of Money is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges wherewith the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: For the *Carthaginian* Army was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different Languages. Yet they stared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenour of his Speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serve to appease them.

Hanno would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how: For he less understood their dissolvent loud noises, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of so many Countries, that have no one Language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to Murine, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into out-rage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his Errands in the worst fence, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tanis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they encamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own error. It is a good Rule,

Curandum imprimis, ne magna in iuria fiat Fortibus & miseris.

Have

Have special care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppress'd with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the Rule, hath also been careless in providing to secure her self against the inconvenience that might follow. She had suffered the whole Multitude, whereupon she was like to give cause of discontent, to join it easily into one body, when the several Troops might easily have been dispersed: She hath turned out of her Gates the Wives, Children, and goods of these poor men, which, had she retained in shew of kindness, she might have used them as hostages for her own safety; and by employing a miserable penny-father, in her Negotiation with men of War, she hath weakened the reputation of her bravest Captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his own Soldiers of their wages: Especially considering, that as he best could bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereupon may be added a probable conjecture that *Hanno*, with his complies, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldness to impose the blame of his own wretched counsel upon the liberal promises made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the Cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a Market at *Tunis*, for the Soldiers, whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send ever and anon some of their Senators into the Camp, who promise to satisfy all demands, as far forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extrem to another, they make the Soldiers understand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot chuse but add much infoleny to the passions already stirred up.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wild, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great Harvest. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their Horses in publick service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some Years by making hard shifts, without receiving their allowance of Victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the Ships did bring in Provision, or their Captains direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had been sometimes driven to buy; and that (since they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their Provision during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that Wheat had born, whilst the War lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiniers; who might easily have been satisfied with far less charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed about this Corn-money, the Soldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater sum of Money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controversies which daily did multiply, it was

thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicily*, should be chosen by the Soldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army consented, and made choice of *Gisco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himself at all times, a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africa*; partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*, for that he had not vilified them in all this busy time. So *Gisco* comes among them; and to please them the better, comes not without Money: Which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the Negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first all the Captains, and then the several Nations apart, rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their love unto their State, which had long entertained them, and would needs always be mindful of their good services. After this he began to put hand to his Purse, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to confider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet pass, if two feditious Ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a sturdy fellow, and audacious, but a Slave; that in the late War had fled from a *Rome*, where he served, and therefore stood in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be Whipt and Crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own restitution impossible, were his Master never so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himself one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been so forward in stirring up the Tumult, as he could not chide but fear, lest his own death should be made an example, to deter others from the like feditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Countrymen the *Africans*, telling them, that they were in far worse condition, than either the *Gauls*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any foreign Mercenaries. For (saith he) These our companions have no more to do, than to receive their Wages, and forget them gone: But we that are to stay behind in *Africa*, shall be collected another manner of Account, when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home Beggars, rather than laden with the Money, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. Ye are not ignorant, how tyrannically these our haughty Masters of *Carthage* do Reign over us. They think it reasonable, that our lives and goods should be at their disposition, which they have at other times been accustomed to take from us even without apparent cause, as it were to declare their sovereignty: What wilt thou now do, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as Free-men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? To all do know, that it were a very *humble* for us, by having been as forward in every danger of War, as any other men: we should now stand quaking like Slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithstanding ye may assure your selves, that we will be taught better manners; as soon as our Fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance.

Let

Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and fear us: Their hatred will flow in self when their fear is once past: Unless we now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, enforce them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, wherewithal they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither money nor friends. The best Army that ever served them, wherof we are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our Swords once drawn, all *Africa* would rise on our side. As for the *Carthaginians*, whether can they find for help? The case is self plain. But we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of *Gisco*, by incensing these *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoveth us to please our good Masters, by joining with them against our fellows, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our faults committed. He is most worthy a wretched Slave, that neither hath care to win his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.

By such persuasions *Matho* wins the *African* Soldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of money, as of quarrel, which he that seeketh not nor mits to find. When *Gisco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for Horses and Victuals, to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Soldiers will hearken: If any other stand up to make a speech, a shower of stones, flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say; enough hath been said already by those good spokes-men; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only *throw, throw*.

Now the rebellion begins to take form. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crew of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gisco* is not wanting to their fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: Another while, he works with the several Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fallen as the *Africans*: Indeed none of them had so good cause: They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem: But will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gisco* knows: He sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, that they may do well, if they stand in want of money, to seek it of their Captain *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: As intending to take this

in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair language: Wherefore they call into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find; that to the Army may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this follows open War. *Matho* solicits all *Africa*, and his Embassadors are everywhere well entertained. Neither is it needful to use persuasion: The very fame of this Rebellion sufficient to draw the whole Country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those offences, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversity hath never been untold of her errors: And as she is ever assured to hear her own; so commonly with her own she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercies, that they took from them the one half of their own; that they doubled their Tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted upon their Vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves have forgotten: But the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only such as can bear arms, are ready to do service in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other Ornaments, offering all to fail for the maintenance of so just a quarrel. By this great forwarding, and liberal contribution; *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aid of threecore and ten Thousand *Africans*: And are moreover furnished with money, not only to satisfy the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the War begun, though it should be of long endurance.

SECT. II.

Divers Observations upon this War with the Mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to use the help of Mercenaries.

HERE let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travel. Behold a Tyrannical City, persecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly War. It is a common thing, as being the most necessary, that a Tyranny should be upheld by Mercenary forces: It is common that Mercenaries should be false: And it is common that all War made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldom hear, that ever the ruin of a Tyranny is procured or fought by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: And seldom or never do we read of any War that hath been prosecuted with such inexplicable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is, a violent form of Government, not respecting the good of the Subject; but only the pleasure of the Commander: I purposely forbear to say that it is, the unjust rule

of one over many. For very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their subjects, was none other, than a near Tyranny; though it were so, that they themselves were a great City, and a popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I should call this form of commanding, violent: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardless of his life and welfare; unless himself be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of love. The practice of Tyranny is not always of a like extremity: For some Lords are more gentle than others, to their very Slaves; and he that is most cruel to some, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it self unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of several men, it is commonly seen, that the taste of sweetness drawn out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from some few: By sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: But every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their Purfes, and now he hath enough: But (as Covetousness is never satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a flock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviseth new tricks of Robbery, and is not better pleased with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: But he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth: In which course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be said to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in fear, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other security, than to disarm all his Subjects; to forsake himself within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and State, to hire as many lusty Soldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his own Country: For if not every one, yet some one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publick misery. This considered, he allures unto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most unhone that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained. Now, least any of these, either by detection of his wickedness, or (which is wicked men is most likely) by the promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his Sword against the Tyrant himself: They shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to Rob, to Ravish, to Murder, and to satisfy their own appetites, in most outrageous manner, being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hateful to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what language I write, I must be fain to say, that these are not dreams: Though some *English-men* perhaps that were unacquainted with History, lighting upon this leaf, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how Tyranny grows to stand

in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how those mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmly affixed unto the Tyrant.

† II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worse than the Tyranny of one man: And that a Tyrannical City must likewise use mercenary Souldiers.

NOW concerning the Tyranny wherewith a City or State oppresseth her Subjects; it may appear some ways to be more moderate, than that of one man: But in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her life: The less need hath she therefore to secure herself by cruelty. A City is not luxurious in confining her treasures, and therefore needs the less to pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any other great occasion drive her to necessity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary sums of money; the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous and harmful, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith *Caligula* the Emperour, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) that I may do what I list, and to whom I list: These words were accounted horrible; though he did her no harm. And *Juvencius* adds on it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her Slaves, that whilst she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signs of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievance wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignity; likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In these respects it is not needful that she should keep a Guard of licentious cutthroats, and maintain them in all villany, as a *Discepolus* or *Agathocles* must do: her own Citizens are able to terrify and to hold perforce in obedience, all male contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, that a City is scarce able to deserve the name of a Tyranny, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, that the miseries wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people are not so heavy, as the burdens imposed by a cruel City. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was fain to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a few naked Courtesians, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and general approved custom, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private virtue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysical abstraction of the universall from the singular; or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded: I say therefore (as I have said elsewhere) that it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many Thoufands. The reasons proving this, are

are too many to set down, but a few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and footed; age or good advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him: All which failing, yet there is hope, that his successfull may prove better.

Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: And many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a Tyrannical City, have no such hope: Their Misfortunes is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, until they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Charrioteer. This is woful: Yet their presents sufferings make them less mindful of the future. New fires, and hungry ones, fall upon the same fore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return home empty of their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. These fly into all quarters and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: Becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterful guests, in hope to win their friendships, were an endless labour (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: But were this affected, what availeth it? The love of our Governour is purchased with gifts: The Successor of this man, he is more loving than could be wished in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter; then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goes, who seeks the ruins of all that have been in ward with them. So the misery of this Tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil War. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, against extorting-Magistrates: Yet we find, that it served not wholly to restrain their Provincial Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these inhumanities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgment. If the Subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthensome Tributes; they loved not to hear, that their Emperors were quite contrary: The Rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable Statesman, whose Robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: The Governour of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicily*, that is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us, what was the demeanour of these *Punic* Rulers, who stood in fear of no such condemnation, as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might infer a more general propolition; that a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King, But it is enough to have shew-

ed, that the Tyranny of a City is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Surable to the cruelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: And again, favorable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousy of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in Wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst use the service of *African* Souldiers; in *Africa* it felt they had rather be beholden to others, and were farther feared. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punic War*, shift his Mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Or* *Afric* in *Hispania*, *Hispani* in *Africa*, *mercenarii ab domo finitum metus miles, veluti pignus obligans* *Hispania* *Acem*; that the *Africans* might serve in Spain, the *Spaniards* in *Africa*, being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges. It is disputable, I confess, whether these *African* and *Spanish* hirelings could properly be termed Mercenaries: For they were subject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet feeling their duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them as *Polibius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

† III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Souldiers, and forraign Auxiliaries.

THE extreme danger, growing from the employment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: Who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are feditious, unfaithful, disobedient, devoursers, and destroyers of all places and Countries, whereto they are drawn; as being held by no other bond, than their own commodity. Yea, that which is most fearful among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary party; to the utter ruin of those Princes and States that have trusted them. Those mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy* when *Charles* the Eighth of *France*, did pass the *Alpes*, were the cause that the *Laid French King* won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza* the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*; who being entertained by *Queen Jean* of *Naples*, abandoned her service on the sudden, and forced her to put her self into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like unto his Father *Francis Sforza*, the first of that Race, Duke of *Milan*; who being entertained by the *Milanese*, forced them to become his slaves, even with the very same Army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the Son of this *Francis*, by the just judgment of God, was made a memorable example, unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the treachery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his own Father had been. For having waged an Army of *Switzers*, and committed his Duchy, together with his person, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the *French King*, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperour of *Constantinople* had hired ten Thousand *Turks* against his neighbour Princes, he could never, either by persuasion or force, let them again over the Sea upon *Asia* side; which gave beginning to the Christian servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander* the Son of *Cassander*, fought aid of the great *Demetrius*: But *Demetrius*, being entered into his Kingdom, flew the same *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*. *Syriacus* the *Turk*, was called into *Egypt*, by *Sapor Soldan*, against his opposit: But the *Turk* did settle himself so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladin* his Successor became Lord thereof; and of all the holy *Land*, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Country; and *Mae Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two Kingdoms.

Against all this, may be alleged the good success of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kind of Soldiers, in their late War. Indeed these *Low-Countries* have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified. But in open field they have seldom been able to stand against the *Spaniards*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: And the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the War: And therefore could ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? They fared well. Surely they fared as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenary Soldiers. Many fruitless attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witness it: And that brave Commander Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, left, to his grief, in his retreat from *Groninghem*; when, in the very instance that required their service in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Soldiers of the States, have either sought to hide their cowardize under a show of greediness; or at least, by near covetousness, have ruined in one hour, the labour of many months. I will not stand to prove this by many examples: For they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monsieur* the Duke of *Arjois*, brother to the *French* King; save that it is folly to conceal what all the World knows. He that would lay open the danger of forrain Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their favour. But where shall we meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Country, made it his first work, to thrust by violence a galling yoke upon the people neck? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilst he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary sorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerp*, as verily believing the Town to be surprised and won; the death of the Count *St. Sigismund*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own Troops, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they

were his own *French* who stood in need of the pity. Then was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind, wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Hélas, mon dieu; que venez tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So, the affairs of the *Netherlands* will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using Mercenary Soldiers, or the help of forrain Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient unto necessity, and sought help of the *English*, *Scots*, and *French*: Wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a King, pertraker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of *England* refused to accept the Sovereignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, pursued him with continual War; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too just and wife (though not engaged in any quarrel) either to make profit of his neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the Conquest of his own Inheritance: Then might the *Netherlands* very safely repose confidence in the forces of these three Neighbour Countries. The Soldiers that came unto them from hence, were to omit any other commendations (I nor only regardless of the pay that they should receive, but well affected unto the cause that they took in hand: Or, if any were cold in his devotion unto the side whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *English* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniards*. They were therefore trilled with the Custody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessity of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at the least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the same Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: Then may such a Country be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like success. But these circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in general: That mercenary and forrain Auxiliary Forces are no less dangerous, than the enemy against whom they are entertained.

† IV.

That the moderate government of the *Romans*, gave them assurance to use the service of their own Subjects in their Wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding Tyranny, which hindereth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

HERE it may be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to use the service of other Soldiers in their many great Wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? For if it were their manner to arm their own Subjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion? If strangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearsed? The answer is, that their Armies were compounded usually of their own Citizens; and of the *Latines* in equal number: To which

they added, as occasion required, some companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their Subjects, as were either interred in the quarrel, or might best be trusted. They had about these times (though seldom they did employ so many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good strength, if all other help had been wanting, which served to keep in good order their Subjects, that were always fewer in the Army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if confluency were not a sufficient obligation; yet many privileges and immunities, which they enjoyed, made them assured unto the State of *Rome*: Under which they lived almost at liberty, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in War. It is true, that a yoke how easie soever, seems troublesome to the neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occasion of several advantages, to deliver themselves from the *Roman* subjection. But still they have been reclaimed by War, the Authors of rebellion have sharply been punished, and the people by degrees have obtained such liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in process of time it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarvis* in *Cilicia*, where *St. Paul* was born, that all the Burgeses should be free of *Rome* it self. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some, with restraint of giving notice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great Conquest, to release unto their new Subjects half of their Tribute which they had been wont to pay to their former Lords; which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to fear a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the *Romans* good Government, that when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to be made Citizens at *Rome*, they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their own present estate. Wherefore it is no marvel, that *Petelia*, a City of the *Britains* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all extremity of War, than, upon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were unable to help their Subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithful to the utmost. Such love perchance these mild Governours, without impairing their Majesty thereby. The sum of all is; they had, of their own, a strong Army; they doubled it by adjoining thereto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own Subjects: All, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate use of sovereign power being so effectual, in assuring the people unto their Lords, and consequently in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: It may seem strange, that the practice of Tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, whatsoever. For it is less difficult (whosoever thinks otherwise) and more safe, to keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than to turn aside from it; yea commonly our passions do lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at least,

will, take away all cause of wonder. In Tyranny it is not so: For as much as we can hardly defray the passion, that is of force to influence it self into the whole tenour of a Government: It must be confessed, that lawless desires have bred many Tyrants: Yet so that these desires have seldom been hereditary, or long-lasting, but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better form. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, *That Tyrannies are of a short continuance*. But this doth not satisfy the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereto by any affection; what was that affection wherein to many Thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtless, we must be fain to say, that Tyranny is, by it self, a vice distinct from others. A man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command or to obey; every one in his proper degree, other degrees of Mankind, are common likewise unto brute Beasts; and some of them, to Bodies wanting sense: But the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptness to yield obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: As Fear, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harm, and seeking after that which is requisite: Even so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reasonable Creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an improper term: Since they grow from appetites, found in less worthy Creatures than Beasts, and are yet not so common in Beasts, as in Men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than unto brute Beasts, are held less vile; and perhaps not without good reason: Yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse by sharp Laws, as being in general more horrible, and punished for grievously, than of that which is best; there is not any passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; that all things, or that nothing should be lawful. Of these a dull Spirit and overladen by fortune with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary dilemma, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist, yet the defective dulness, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which much necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyranny is more active and pleads it self in the excess, with a false colour of Justice. Examples of stupidity, and unaptness to rule, are not very frequent;

quent, though such Natures are every where to be found: For this quality troubles not it self in seeking Empire; or it by some error of fortune, it encounter therewithal (as when *Clodius*, hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) some friend, or else a Wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also, cruelly doth help to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: For it is *proferum & felix felus*, a fortunate mischief, as long as it can subsist. There is no reward or honour (saith *Peter Charvon*) assigned unto those, that know how to increase, or preserve humane Nature: All Honours, Greatness, Riches, Dignities, Empires, Triumphs, Trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to assist, trouble, or destroy it. *Cæsar* and *Alexander*, have unmade and slain, each of them, more than a Million of men: But they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the error of Mans judgment in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true Name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none other than *Feritie*. The fame that *Aristotle* faid to be worse than any Vice. It exceedeth indeed all other Vices, issuing from the passions incident both to Man and Beast; no less, than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that grow from more ignoble Appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pnycomperes*, that used their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous heads were afflicted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of Reason: Neither of them knew the use of Rule, nor the difference between Freeman and Slaves.

The Rule of the Husband over the Wife, and of Parents over their Children, is Natural, and appointed by God himself; so that it is always, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole Authority, which one Prince can have over another. The Rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Country: Which he that knows what the Power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater and more Masterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he said; *Have dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and every living thing that moveth upon the Earth*: Which also he continued unto *Noah* and his Children, saying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every Beast of the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the Air, upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the Fishes of the Sea: Into your hands are they delivered*. He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this power hath since extended it self, over a very great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to govern themselves, proves them, according to *Aristoteles* Doctrine, to be naturally Slaves.

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant to oppress men with bondage: unless the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, *Thou shalt not be punished for the death of a servant; whom he hath slain by correction, if the*

servant live a day or two, because he is his Master's

Or else by the Captivity of the *Midianites*; Girls, which were made Bond-slaves, and the Sanctuary part of them for the *Lords Tribute*. Doubtless the custom hath been very ancient: For *Noah* laid this Curse upon *Canaan*, that he should be a *Servant of Servants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *Men-servants* and *Maid-servants*, which were none other than Slaves. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this old kind of servility: But surely they are deceived that think so. *Saint Paul* delivered the liberty of *Onesimus*, whom he had won unto Christ: Yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of request, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same *Saint Paul* giveth unto *Servants*: *Let ever man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: Art thou called, being a Servant? Care not for it, if by thou mayst be made free, use it rather*. It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured liberty unto many; not only in regard of piety, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear of being discovered by their Slaves, unto the persecutors of Religion. *Mahomet* likewise, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many unto his impiety: But whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his Sectators, to hold one another of them in Bondage, I cannot tell; save that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moor*s, it seems he did not. In *England* we had many Bond-servants, untill the time of our last civil Wars; and I think that the Laws concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the late is the sharpest. And now, since Slaves were made free, which were of great use and service, they are grown up a rabble of Rogues, Cut-purses, and other the like Trades; Slaves in Nature, though not in Law.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawful, or not; *Aristotle* hath well proved, that it is Natural. And certainly, we find not such a Latitude of difference in any Creature, as in the Nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the Elect and Reprobate) the wisest excel the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of Beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath given way to reason, we shall find, that Nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of servile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some Countries have substituted law without the use of any servility; as also it is true, that some Countries have not the use of any tame Cattle. Indeed the affections which uphold civil Rule, are (though more noble) not so simply needful, unto the sustentation either of our kind, as are Lust, and the like; or of every one, as are Hunger and Thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and servile dispositions have liberty to shew themselves begging in the Streets, there may we more justly wonder, how the dangerous toil of Seafaring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the swarm of idle Vagabonds should increase, by access of those that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may suffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted even by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: Whereunto the general custom of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of Slaves.

This being so, we find no cause to marvel, how Tyranny hath been so rife in all Ages, and practised, not only in the fingle rule of some vicious Prince

Prince, but ever by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since other Vices have likewise gotten head, and born a general sway, notwithstanding that the way of Vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferior Passions: How then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? In the Government of Wife and Children, some are utterly careless, and controul all by their dull connivency; others, by masterly rigour, hold their own blood under condition of slavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: And to prefer the Weal publick above all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed *Herical*. Of this Vertue many Ages afford not many examples. *Hætor* is named by *Aristotle* as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans own Country. But if we consider, that a love of the general good cannot be perfect, without reference unto the fountain of all goodness: I shall find, that no such Vertue, how great soever, can by it self, deserve the commendation of more than *Vertue*, as the *Herical* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures for patterns hereof; such as *David*, *Josaphat*, and *Jehoi* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the World would soon be happy. It is not my purpose wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a less excellent. But he that can find a King Religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversity, or of some regard of State; a procurer of general Peace and quiet; who not only with his Authority, but adds the travel of his Eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to do justice; but the vigorous influence of whole Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that have been the Dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite abolished slavish *Breton* Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other Ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the Wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appear less regardable: He, I say, that can find such a King, finde an example, worthy to add unto Vertue an honourable Title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a King, it is likely, by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happiness of his Subjects, shall cause the Nations far off removed, to wish him their Sovereign. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodily exercises, do partake of Vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unfeignable goodness, rather than the inaccessible Majesty, with both of which himself is indeed, as far as humane Nature is capable) do also bring to the furtherance of that common good, which he procurereth. Let any man should think me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I add hereunto, that such a King is nevertheless a map, must dye, and may err: Yet widom and fame shall set him free, from error, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit

(though there be many other besides redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodness) The People that live under a pleasant Yoke, are not not only loving to their Sovereign Lord, but free of courage; and no greater in Muller of men, than of stout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over Slaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Rewards may be furious, and Slaves outrageous, for a time: But among Spirits that have once yielded unto slavery, universally it is found true, what *Homer* saith, *God bereaveth a man of his vertue*, that day when he casteth him into bondage.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in general discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the use of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it self, as this present business of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

SECT. III.

How the War against the Mercenaries was diversly managed by *Hanno* and *Amilcar*, with variable success. The bloody councils of the Mercenaries, and their final destruction.

Being now to return unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digressed, I cannot readily find, by what name beneficent I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*, neither care they to pretend, that they seek their wages already due, so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Muiniers. Had they all been Subjects unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed Rebels: But *Spandius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, sought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These, using the advantage of their present strength, Belieged * *Utica* and *Hippagæra*, Cities of great importance, as being placed upon the Western Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of Land; *Hippagæra* landing towards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out unto the Sea, far within the Camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the Country: For *Maius* and *Spandius* wanting too men to follow the War in all parts at once, time it is called *Porto Ferris*, or *Asitæ*, and by the *Africans* themselves, *Græci Asitæ*. These faith, that the Town is still named, and the place whereon it stood, now called *Asitæ*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, faith *Silius*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans* in the third Punic War. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar*, *Pisator* that worthy Divine, was Bishop thereof in the time of *Geoffrey the Arrian*, who lived all the time of that Tyranny, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected perill, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides, and therefore travelled their brains the uttermost; how to shake off these furious Dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by Night, sometimes by Day, came unto the very Walls of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their General: Who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation; as

ing all offences past, and dismissing as many as But had gotten together whatsoever was needful, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assault any place defended against him. With these Provisions, and with a Hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica*, so suddenly, that the Enemies as men surprised, forsook their Trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of Woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his Beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with the *Numidians*, whose custom was after any loss, to flee two or three whole days journey off; presently entered the Town; to show himself after this Victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to War, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soon as they perceived, that he knew not how to use a Victory; they assailed their own Camp, and with great slaughter, drove the *Carthaginians* out of it, forced them to hide themselves within *Utica*; and got possession of all the store that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This had beginning *Hanno* followed with futable indifference; losing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and suffering the Enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm Land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their Shere-Anchor; sending to the Field their great Captain *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten Thousand foot of supply, and Seventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do, before he should be able to meet with the Enemy upon equal grounds. For, besides other places of advantage, thus the Mercenaries had occupied. *Hanno* had suffered them to win the only Bridge, by which the *River Mero*, or *Bagradas*, was passable unto these, that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many Fords, nor those easy for a single man to get over: But upon them all was kept such Guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it self, *Maho* and his followers were there lodged: And had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodiously, intensive only the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had observed, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* used to be sometimes cloyed with Sand and Gravel, that was driven in by certain customary Winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that slow River, till the Wind falling or changing, suffered the weight of the Waters, to disturb their channel. Hereof he made use; and taking his opportunity passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the Enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spentius* look about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: All the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the imprudent gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able Spirit, even with their own Master in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was soon changed into presumption; when more than Fifteen Thousand of their own Society, were come from *Utica*, and other Ten Thousand from the Guard of the Bridge, their Army was far greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were in their own judgment, the better men; upon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him down, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attend upon him, watching for some advantage; and still exhorting one another

to play the men, and give the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptness was such, as took from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way toward the Bridge, keeping himself on plain grounds, that were fittest for the service of his Elephants, which he placed in Front of his Army. Neither made he show of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashness of his Enemies to encrease, till it should break into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldness than good speed, they followed him so near, as would be little for their good, if he should turn unto them, he halted his march, even to such a pace, as made a few little differences from plain flight. The Mercenaries presently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whilst they confidently, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heels of those that had the Rear; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order; so that amazed, with the apprehension of un-expected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this overthrow there were Six Thousand of the Mercenaries slain, and about Two Thousand taken, the rest fled, some to the Camp at *Utica*, others to the Town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them to fast, that he wan the place easily; the Enemies being thence also fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their Spirits to make it good.

The fame of this Victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Maho* wanting to himself in this dangerous time. He sent about *Namidia* and *Africk*, for new supplies, admonishing the People, now or never, to do their best, for the recovery of their freedom: He persuaded *Spentius*, and *Antarius*, that was a Captain of the *Gauls*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at least, the foot of some Hill, where they might be free from the Elephants, and he himself continued to press the Town of *Hippagrea* with an hard Siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place; as his business required, to take such ways as there were: For all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spentius*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain, surrounded with Hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his personal worth did greatly benefit his Country. For *Naravastus*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion, serving to get the acquaintance and love of so brave a man, which he much desired: And therefore came unto *Amilcar* signifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all service. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promised unto him his own Daughter in Marriage; and so wan from the Enemies 2000 Horse, that following *Naravastus* returned unto the *Carthaginian* side. With this help he gave Battel unto *Spentius*; wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the Victory was great: For there were slain Ten Thousand of *Spentius* his fellows, and Four Thousand taken Prisoners; but *Spentius* himself, with *Antarius* the *Gaul*, escaped to do more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his Prisoners; Pardon-

were

were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should never more bear Arms against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharp revenge upon all that should break this Covenant.

This humanity was vehemently suspected by *Maho*, *Spentius*, and *Antarius*, as attending to win from them the hearts of their Soldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that no man among them should dare to trull in the good Nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safety whilst *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. The counterfeited Letters of advertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company, respective only of their private benefit, and careless of the general good, had a purpose to betray them all to the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Gefo*, and his companions, whom these Traitors had a purpose to enlarge. Upon this Theme *Spentius* makes an Oration to the Soldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanity of *Amilcar* toward some, was none other than a bait, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them what a dangerous Enemy *Gefo* would prove, if he might escape their hands. Whilst he is yet in the midst of his tale, there letters come to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Antarius*, and speaks his mind plainly: Saying, that it were the best, yet the only way, for the common safety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desiring to make their own peace, it will go hard with those that had a care of the War; that it were better to make an end of *Gefo*'s life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course every one should be engaged in the present Action, as having none other hope left, than in Victory alone; finally, that such as would speak here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Antarius* was in great credit with the Soldiers, and could speak sundry Languages, in such sort, that he was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gefo*, and all the other Prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheless there were some, that for love of *Gefo* sought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document unto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they there without contented, but further ordered, that all *Carthaginian* Prisoners which they took, should be served in like sort; and that the subjects or friends of *Carthage*, should lose their hands, and so be sent home, which rule they observed ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need say no more, than that it was most execrable ferocity. As for the counsel of using it, it was like unto the counsel of *Achitophel*; All Israel shall bear, that thou art abhorred of thy Father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his own fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the punishment of less offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengeful Spirits of those that have been wronged, are breeders of some deficiency of Laws, in distinguishing the punishments of Malefactors, according to the degree of their several crimes. A coward thinks all provision too little for his own security. If Phocas be a coward (said the Emperor *Mauricius*) then he is murderous. To be steadfast and true, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defen-

sative against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianity; and such a quality discovered, makes them deadly Enemies, who otherwise would have repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it which wrought so much to do the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Maho*, and his *Africans*, to suspect even their gentleness, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like unto the errors of Princes and Governors, are the errors of Laws. Where one and the same punishment is awarded unto the less offence, and unto the greater; he that hath adventured to rob a man is easily tempted to kill him for his own security.

A gainst these inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, used with due respect, are best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his old Soldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courses, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were transported with brautly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and flame, he rewarded their villany with unanswerable vengeance, casting them unto wild Beasts to be devoured.

Until this time *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himself apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as my feat, for that nothing is remembered of him since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the War grew to such extremity, as threatened utter ruin to the one or the other side: Then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joynd his Forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: Such was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagrea*, that had stood always firm to the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the Enemy, murdering all the Soldiers that they had in Garrison, and calling their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The Provisions brought by Sea, for maintenance of the Army, were lost in foul weather, and *Carthage* it self stood in danger of being Belieged, about which *Maho* and *Spentius* consulted, whilst one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been used as the safest course to send forth, in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Army. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; persuading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: Who out of emulation to excel each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joynd two chief Commanders in equal commission, upon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all Common-wealths have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themselves Tyrants over those Cities and States that have employed them. In this point the *Venitians* have been so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their own in all the Wars which they have made. It is true, that the equal authority of Two commanding in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust. But in managing the War it self, it is commonly the cause of ill success. In wars made near unto *Rome* it self, when two good friends were Consults, or such Two at least, as concurred in one desire of Triumph, which honour (the greater of any that

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Rome could give) was to be obtained by that One Years service; it is no marvel, though each of the Consuls did his best, and inferred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one War; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unless one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyed in the administration. Now although it was, that the Romans did many times prevail with their joynt Generals: Yet was this never so seldom, without as much concord, as any other virtue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the less able Captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly submitted himself to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times by ordaining Two Commanders of one Army, received great and most dangerous overthrows, wherefore in the Second Punic War we shall find examples. On the contrary side, in their Wars most remote, that were always managed by one, they seldom failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appear. Now of those Ten Generals, which served the *Athenians* at the Battle of *Marathon*, it may be truly said, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the People that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicily*: The one being so over-war, and the other too hasty, as all came to nought that they undertook. Whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Arifides*, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Country and Commonwealth most remarkable service. For it is hard to Two great Captains of equal discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often overslippt, as at other times many actions are unseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Conde* was slain after the Battle of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chastillon*, had the conduct of the Protestant Army) the Protestants did greatly bewail the loss of the said Prince in respect of his Religion, Person, and Birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hindrance to their affairs. For so much did the Valour of the one outreach the aduissness of the other, as whatsoever the Admiral intend to win by attaining the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present business: Who, though they were full fill of their ill-grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ran towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their Controversies, unto the Army that served under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* should depart the Camp: Which he did, and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* and *Spandius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a Siege. They might well be bold

to hope and adventure much, having in their Camp above Fifty Thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Nevertheless, the City was too strong for them to win by assault: And the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Hiero King of *Syracuse*, though during the Wars in *Sicily* he assisted the Romans, and still continued in their alliance, yet now felt succours to the *Carthaginians*: Fearing their fall, and consequently his own; because if no other State gave the Romans somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principality of *Syracuse* would soon be devoured by them. The Romans also gave them some slender assistance, and, for the present, refused good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries; which they did to shew a noble kind of disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequel manifestly proved.

Whilst *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: So that finding themselves more fearfully Belieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desert from their vain attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issued into the Field: When *Spandius*, and one *Zarastis*, an African Captain assisting the Rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the business. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and Horse of *Naravasus*, made *Spandius* fearful to descend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himself to his former method of War, keeping the Mountains, and rough grounds, or occupying the straightest passages wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it self, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spandius*. He drew the Enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to his own men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them Night and Day: Still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the over-throw in plain Battle: until at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to make of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own disadvantage; and therefore they had the less stomach to fight; but availing for help from *Tunis*, *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, used the benefit of their present fear, and thus they close up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably, for succour that came not: And having spent all their Victuals, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their Prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*: And hoping that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to such extremity that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of relief: Their obstinacy was broken, and they threatened their Captains with what they desired: unless they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and seek such Peace as might be gotten. So *Spandius*, *Zarastis*, and *Amirinus*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the Multitude, and yield themselves, if it were so required, unto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their own companions. Hereupon they fend to

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crave Parly, which is granted; and these Three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say unto him it is hard to conjecture: Yet by the condition which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they took the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should chuse, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his third, or in one single Coat. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these Ring-leaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, and so commanded to lay hands on them: The rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves betrayed: And therefore amazedly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them; and the same astonishment that made them break the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of Justice, in accomplishing revenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all Slain: Being forty Thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: And the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*, and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africa*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravasus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the War from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* and *Hippagreta* only standing out, upon fear of deferred vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief strength of the enemy: Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spandius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and criticized them under the walls; to terrify those of his old companions, that were still in Arms. With this rigour the Siege began; as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quiered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay toward *Carthage*. *Amilcar* on the opposite side: Too far sundred to help one another in sudden accidents: And therefore it behoved each to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the walls beheld his own destiny, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*; and with too great and unexpected fury he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he took *Hannibal* prisoner: On whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently revenged the death of *Spandius*, by the same Torture. Of this, *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the Siege; but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terror was no less within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this loss, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear Arms, were sent into the Field, under *Hanno*: whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their Captains and leaders in the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them forbidding the employment of one sole General near unto their City (for they are known to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about repealing it. But thirty principal men

are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar*'s Camp, and by all good persuasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. Itself of *Hannibal* in his honour, that the carelessness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imposed unto him; by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless, after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; and *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this War lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibal*'s calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did: But he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of War, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so far abate the strength, and whilst diminish the credit of *Matho*; that he resolved to try the fortune of one Battle: Wherein either his own desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved itself in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar*'s great worth, whereunto the enemy hath reason to suppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: Inviting their friends to help, and drawing forth into the Field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this Battle might have been foretold; without help of witchcraft. *Matho* and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring Spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having been often victorious: And in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the desire of liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to servitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once engaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* won a great Victory, wherein most of the Africans their enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this Victory, all the Africans that had rebelled, made submission to the old Masters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of favour. But they were soon forced to take what conditions best pleased the Victors. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph, where they suffered all Torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischief which they had wrought in this War. The War had lasted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: Which the *Carthaginians*, whose Subjects did not love them, should wish less expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

SECT. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: And were afterwards driven out by the Islanders. The faithful dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

VHilt *Matbo* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africk*, other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: Where murdering *Bostar* the Governour, and other Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, and hold that Island to their own use. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army (such as could be spared in that bulwark time) consulting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the fudden. But these Companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to join themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by Battle, for the good of that Commonwealth, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinians* Rebels, offering to run one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore to take away all jealousy and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjust War, to enjoy the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of cruelty did the ungrateful *Martinians* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedaemonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly possessed himself of their City, by right of War, did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom, with the rest of the Cities united. These revolts are also common in our Countreys; where, in the Conquest of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Cyrom* the *compe villosa* of *Aratus*. These (say the French) be the blows of the old Art of fencing.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: Only they wanted *Matbo* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Islanders were no less glad, than the Souldiers, that the Carthaginians were expelled the Country: But they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought it was enough, if they rewarded the Souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the Souldiers were of opinion, that the debt the Carthaginians owed to them, was devoted unto themselves, by right of Conquest. The same quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their African friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: Unless the riches of *Carthage* had served to content them all.

But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Country; the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to blows; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matbo* and *Spendius* with Corn: Of whom the Carthaginians took almost five Hundred, and held them in Prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: So that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the Carthaginians to dispute: They quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept of the City of *Onica*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served as a notable example of the *Romans* Faith, to all posterity: Had not the ill use proved, that it was made regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the virtue of *Amilcar*: Who had been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matbo*, in one main Battle; that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of merciless Villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessity, wherein *Matbo* reduced the City, by the fortune of one fall made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unprofitably done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking Ship, to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africk*, and the Carthaginians began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did *Amilcar* put off her goodly vizard. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denominated War against this enfeebled and impoverished City, under a shameful pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeed against *Rome* it self. The Carthaginians knew themselves unable to resist, and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have twelve Hundred Talents, in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could allege) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plain, that they impudently sought occasion of War. But necessity taught the *Romans* patience; and the money was paid, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Tunis*'s faith, in breach of Covenants: She her self hath broken the peace already; which *Amilcar* put off to make her debt repay; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned Son.

SECT.

SECT. V.

How the affairs of Carthage went, between the African Rebellion, and the second Punick War.

THE injurious dealings of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to pick a quarrel; served to instruct the Carthaginians in a necessary lesson; that either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place: And the best means were thought upon, for the increase of Power and Empire. The strength, and the jealousy of the *Romans*, forbade all attempts upon the Mediterranean Sea; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the Ocean, were unknown to *Rome*: Therefore that Province might serve both to exercise the Carthaginians in War, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful supplies. Of the Spanish Expedition, the charge and sovereign trust was committed unto *Amilcar*: Upon whom his Country did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruin.

Hanno, with some other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the general love and honour, which daily inclined towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny the him to be the most worthy of command in all the City: Only they commended peace and quietness; advising men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Commonwealth, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: Which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the Straights of *Hercules* (now called the Straights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the Western Coast of *Spain*; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Provinces. But finally in a Battle that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vestones* (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: Carrying with him to the grave the fame great honour and fame, by which in many signal Victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the Carthaginian Forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of War, but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: Adding to many subjects and confederates, whereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly City upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which in this day it nearly retaineth, being called now *Carthagena*. With this success of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much pains

to beat them out of the Isle of *Sicily*, as suspecting the wealth of their neighborhood there; they had now, by committing themselves in a War of far less importance, picked by whom (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding both in the year 1282, was the Bodies of men, and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But now to help them in this, at the present they know not; for they daily in the expected to be invaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But he needed little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: It is enough if he request, since his request, shall have the virtue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly destitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: So that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* succours; but in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the Spanish affairs had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose to extend his Victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: Yet (as if some such matter had been suspected) they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they seem to have hoped, that the howsoever the generality of the Carthaginians had sweetly swallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occasion of War with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more fastidious, and resenting the injury, return such answer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrel, that they to much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: And whereas they would have this insolent covenant inferred into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and fought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of *Carthage* a thereto passed by the *Romans*, for fear of present War, had raised this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the Carthaginians of perjury (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* were some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be Mistress over them, stood in fear her self of receiving blows from a flatterer Dame; there were soon found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the Carthaginians will shortly reach them another lesson. The *Sagunines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entered into confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the *Romans* to admit the *Sagunines*, or any other

* The Spaniards have since built a City of the same name in

SECT. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: And were afterwards driven out by the Islanders. The faithless dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

WHilst *Matbo* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africa*; other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: Where murdering *Bostar* the Governour, and other Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, and hold that Island to their own use. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army (such as could be spared in that busy time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these Companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to join themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by Battle, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore to take away all jealousy and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the performance of an unjust War, to enjoy the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come into them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of cruelty did the ungrateful *Matinians* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedaemonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly posited himself of their City, by right of War, did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom, with the rest of the Cities united. These revolts are also common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conquest of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Cesst les coups de violence escrime. These* (say the French) *be the blows of the old Art of fencing.*

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: Only they wanted a *Matbo* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Islanders were no less glad, than the Souldiers, that the Carthaginians were expelled the Country: But they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought it was enough, if they rewarded the Souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the Souldiers were of opinion, that the title of the Carthaginians to that Isle, was devolved unto themselves, by right of Conquest. The same quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their African friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: Unless the riches of *Carthage* had served to content them all.

But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Country; the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to blows; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the Romans into it; with as good right, as the *Matinians* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some Italian Merchants had relieved *Matbo* and *Spendius* with Corn: Of whom the Carthaginians took almost five Hundred, and held them in Prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: So that the Romans sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the Carthaginians to dispute: They quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Olisipo*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served as a notable example of the Romans Faith, to all posterity: Had not the issue proved, that it was near regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of Faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the vertue of *Amilcar*: Who, had been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matbo*, in one main Battle, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of merciless Villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the Romans; with whom she had lately striven for superiority. This extreme necessity, wherein *Matbo* reduced the City, by the fortune of one fallily made of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the Romans, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking Ship, to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africa*, and the Carthaginians began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. The Romans perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denominated War against this emboldened and impoverished City, under a shameful pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeed against Rome it self. The Carthaginians knew themselves unable to resist, and therefore yielded to the Romans demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have twelve Hundred Talents, in recompence belike (for I fee not what reason they could allege) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plain, that they impudently sought occasion of War. But necessity taught the Carthaginians patience; and the money was payed, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not Rome complain of the *Punic* faith, in breach of Covenants: She her self hath broken the peace already; which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned Son.

SECT.

SECT. V.

How the affairs of Carthage went, between the African Rebellion, and the second Punic War.

THE injurious dealings of the Romans, expressing their desire to pick a quarrel; led to intrust the Carthaginians in a necessary lesson; that either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place: And the best means were thought upon, for the increase of Puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousy of the Romans, forbade all attempts upon the Mediterranean Sea; but the riches of Spain that lay upon the Ocean, were unknown to Rome: Therefore that Province might serve both to exercise the Carthaginians in War, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful supplies. Of the Spanish Expedition, the charge and sovereignty was committed unto *Amilcar*: Upon whom his Country did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the general love and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the most worthy of command in all the City: Only they commended peace and quietness; advising him to beware of provoking the Romans, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: Which the ignorant folk suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He peopled the straits of *Hercules* (now called the straits of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the Western Coasts of Spain; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Provinces. But finally in a Battle that he fought with a Nation in *Portugal*, called the *Vettones* (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: Carrying with him to the grave the fame great honour and fame, by which in many signal Victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his Son-in-law was made General of the Carthaginian Forces in Spain. This was a good man of War; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: Adding to many Subjects and confederates thereto, that the Romans began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly City upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthage*. With this success of the Carthaginians in Spain, the Romans were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much pains

to beat them out of the Isle of *Sicily*, as suspecting their neighborhood there; they had now, by embarking themselves in a War of far less importance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding both in the Bodies of men, and in revenue, that which the Romans had taken from them. But now to help in this, at the present they know not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: It is enough if he request, since his request, shall have the vertue of a command.

Yet were the Romans utterly destitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in Spain. The Spaniards were then unacquainted with Rome, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: So that there were no *Matinians*, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours; but in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the Romans had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turn in Spain. For though it were apparent, that the Spanish affairs had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose to extend his Victories unto the gates of Rome, or to any of the Roman frontiers: Yet (as if some such matter had been suspected) they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they seem to have hoped, that howsoever the generality of the Carthaginians had sweetly swallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occasion of War with Rome, yet the bravery of one man might prove more fastidious, and resenting the injury, return such answer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrel, that they lo much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: And whereas they would have this insolent command inferred into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their ways contented, and fought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of *Carthage*; thereunto passed by the Romans, for fear of present War, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a second breach of peace; whereof the Romans might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the Carthaginians of perjury (as they affected) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with *Asdrubal*, the Romans wanted some reputation in Spain. For when it was once conceived by the Spaniards, that the City which would needs be Masters over them, stood in fear her self of receiving blows from a flatterer Dame; there were found found, that by offering themselves to the protection of Rome, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the Carthaginians will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entered into confederacy with the Romans, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the Romans to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other

* The Spaniards have since built a City of the same name in

other people (neither subject, nor open enemy in War to the Carthaginians) into their society: And unlawful it was unto the Carthaginians, to use violence towards any that should thence become confederate with Rome. Nevertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with *Afrubal*, we shall find that the Romans could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit Covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themselves would not pass, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon Spain: In which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the Carthaginians; though Rome, as yet, had no foot on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage* on the other side of that River, held almost all the Country. However it were, this indignity was not easily digested, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the Carthaginians, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling, of the latest injuries; or rather for that now the Carthaginians were of power to do themselves right: War against *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the Romans take it how they list. In such terms were the Carthaginians, when *Afrubal* dyed, after he had commanded in Spain eight years (being slain by a Slave whose Master he had put to death) and the great *Hannibal*, Son of the great *Anibcar*, was chosen General in his stead.

SECT. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reign of Philip the Son of Demetrius in Macedon.

IN the long term of the first Punic War, and the vacation following, between it and the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown somewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip of Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as the after-spring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a form of liberty: In petty Tyrannies (bred of those inferior Captains, which in the time of general combustion, had seized each upon such Towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, exsipated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatness, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like diffusions and tumults in Macedon, as had been in Greece, when *Philip* first began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great Wars, about the Kingdom of Macedon, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the Gauls: *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning six and thirty years; yeto, that he divers times thence expelled, not only by the Gauls, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already shewed, but by *Alexander* the Son of *Pyrrhus* the Epirus, from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his Soldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an Army of the Gauls, he was converting his Forces against the *Athenians*, whom he com-

pelled to receive his Garrisons. But his young Son *Demetrius* raised an Army, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of Macedon, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadel of *Corinth*, which was justly termed the fester of Greece. This Citadel called, *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep Rocky Hill on the North Side of the Town, and was by Nature and Art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the Town, which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Aegean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Main of Greece. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle was able to cut off all passage by land, from one half of Greece unto the other: besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious Havens. *Alexander*, the Son of *Polyperchon*, and after his death, *Crateipolis* his Wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexander* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, until it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I find no other else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his Wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this: *Antigonus* sent his young Son *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seek her marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how unfit a match this was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to consent, as was his Son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with Sacrifices, Feasts, Plays, and all sorts of Games: In the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor Lady, whose jealousy had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity befitting his old age. But as he had stolen it; so was it again stolen from him: Neither lived he to revenge the loss of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the Son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding unto his Father, Reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his virtue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Acælians* held him continually busied in War; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the most part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: And the *Græcians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only Son of *Demetrius*, was a young Child when his Father dyed; and therefore *Antigonus*, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own Son, to whom he left the Crown at his death; this *Antigonus* was called the Tutor, in regard of his Protectors; and was also called *Deion*, that is as much as, *Will-give*, because he was slow in his liberality. He repressed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdom, in the beginning of his Reign. Upon confidence of this good service, he took state upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people felt to mutiny; but were soon appeased by fair words, and a seeming

seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaïans* took from him the City of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in Greece, if their own estate had not been endangered by a nearer enemy. But civil diffension, which had overthrown the power of Greece, when it flourished most, overthrew it easily now again, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickness, and gave to this *Antigonus* no less authority therein, than *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaïans*, from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: So that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Laws, and by their clemency (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same sort of weights, measure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of Greece were; to which kind of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidae*, when *Tisamenus* the Son of *Orestes* possessed the Territory of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Ogyges*; after whom, when his Sons sought to change the Legal Government of their Predecessors unto Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equal. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of times, till the Reign of *Philip* and *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*: Who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the World. For those twelve Cities, called the Cities of Alliance (whereof, *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battel of *Leuctras*) were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a War, no less foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in the one Hundred and four and twentieth Olympiad (in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the World) two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Parentes* and the *Dimeis*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of the general accord, and reunion, which after followed. For having been, some of them *Parisians* with sundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amity, partly, in the Olympiad before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first Voyage into Italy. Now after the uniting of the *Parentes* and *Dimeis*, to whom also the Cities of *Tyrus*, and *Phara*, joyned themselves; *Agira* chased out her Garrisons: And the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entered with the *Ceraunians* into the same confederacy. These Cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of Government with the *Achaïans*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and soon after by one Prætor, or Commander: Of which, *Marcius Ceryneus* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of

Sicyon, who, living at *Argos* in exile, whilst his Country was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own City by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus* the King of *Macedon*, a Prince more bulle in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wife in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaïan* league: Which though at that time it received more increase by their accession than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction proved well enough against *Antigonus*, whose subtility was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsel of *Aratus* delivered the Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaïan* league; so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of 150. Talents, he pacified the inexplicable controversies, between the banished *Sicyonians*; which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in Greece, partly was delighted with the conversation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous Voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of *Corinth*; which he won by night, being therein guided by some Thieves that he had hired for the purpose; who living in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the Rocks. Yet he was fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: Though indeed *Antigonus* his Soldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting least the *Achaïans* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In this kind of night-services, ambushments; surprizes, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: In open Field, and plain Battail, he was as valorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he mingled argument of diffipation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began to Battail; and whether the virtue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all virtue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: Though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, use, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In sincere affection to his Country he was unrepentable, and so acknowledged: As his following actions will truly testify.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-weal of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entered into the

the same Corporation. So did the *Traceniens*, and the *Epidaurians*: Whereby this new erected State grew to powerful, that it adventured to take *Athen*, from the *Macedonians*, and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Isle of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* Prisoners, without ranfome, to allure the City by shew of love; yet the *Athenians* fired neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest Slaves to *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carried more strongly. The *Achaïans* came sometimes to the Gates of the City, but the People fired not; once they entered it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom, sundry times, and with divers events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and flew one of them in Battail; but all sufficed not: Until at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was terrified, persuaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he consented to resign his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppressed the *Phliasiens*.

Whilst this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysidas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without tumult, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Council of *Achaia*: Whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their Forces (which was a Yearly Office, and might not be held two Years together by one man: y every Second Year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turns. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysidas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the general good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appear in due time.

The *Achaïans* having obtained too much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their Forces by Sea and Land; made open War upon *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus Gonatus*, for the liberty of *Athen*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrel had lost a Battail, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in sign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the Victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of the Multitude, *Aut humiliter ferunt, aut superbi dominantur*; Is either bawls in service, or insolent in command. Nevertheless when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by Money, which he could not by force: and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaïans*, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do; but into their Corporation they entered not, forming it belike, in regard of their own outworn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased with in *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty, so did the *Ætoliens*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* itself, wax very powerful, by sturdy of Body, and due courage in fight, without help of any other virtue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Cleonymus*; partly by daring to do and suffer

much, partly by the Natural strength and faithness of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captains to other business, as hath been related. They had molested *Cassander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the Son of the first *Antigonus*, and more or less with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often War with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirus*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: So that they were hardened with a perpetual Travail, seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardiness ill deserved the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship, measuring all things by their own insolent wills, and thinking all People base-minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Ætoliens* had lately made great spoils in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Countrey. They had invaded the friends of the *Achaïans*; taken and sacked *Pallene*; where, although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gain made them make a new Voyage thither, as to a Countrey wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus Gonatus*: Who pressed them so hardly, that they were driven to seek help of the *Achaïans*; which they obtained. The War which the *Achaïans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Asia*, thought it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætoliens*, at whose instance it was set on foot: For thereby were the *Macedonian* Forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged, though very basely the *Ætoliens*, giving thanks in words, devised how to require the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achaïans* were desirous to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation: Of which intent the *Lacedemonians* were very jealous. Wherefore these *Ætoliens* laboured carefully to set the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaïans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to pass, themselves should be called in to help (it skilled not on whar side) and so get no small share, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdom hath sustained by the *Achaïans*. Offhis plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedemonians* cause to take Arms. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Acadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedemon*: And thereby had provoked the *Lacedemonians* to look about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Ætoliens*, and a few *Acadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaïan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times, and subject to the injury of any stronger neighbour. *Pyræus* had greatly weakened it, The *Ætoliens* entering *Liconia* with an Army, had carried away Fifty Thousand Slaves, and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of Spirit, that

that had sometime been their general virtue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There was left in *Sparta* no more than Seven Hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one Hundred had Lands: All the rest were needy People, and delirious of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition, which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reform the disorders of the State, exhorted the People to a strict Observation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpose he caused them to pass an Act, for the abolishing all debts, and equal division of Lands. All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this: But the rich men opposed it. There had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himself a dissolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his Wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsellors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were hasty to take away all debts, and cancel all Bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: But the division of Lands they afterwards hindered, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a Tumult in *Sparta*, which their men increased by their foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdom, and the Two adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which *Cleomenes*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: But *Agis* was raised forth, drawn into Prison, and there by his Enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-Mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: And (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the Laws, using their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City as the Law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and served to establish the impotent rule of a few Tyrannical Oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoin *Lacedemon* to the *Achaïans* Common-wealth: though it were great injustice to take such advantage, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* itself, if it could have been wrought by persuasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also require the unjust attempts of the *Achaïans*, even in their own kind: Obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponnesus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedemonians* and their King, should have been the principal, not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus caused *Agis* to be slain, took his Wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in Marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his Wife, and sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discouraged much with her about the purpose of her former Husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himself to be King, whilst he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: For that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally in so corrupt an estate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore

when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and forsake *Athenaena*, a Temple on the marches of *Liconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended Title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprise *Tegea* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then Confederate with the *Lacedemonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labour of a painful Night travel, and discovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorry. By these degrees the War began. In the entrance whereof *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have stayed the quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lysidas* and *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time General of the *Achaïans*, (he and *Lysidas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their Tyranny) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Achaia*, and required his assistance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serve, therefore he came in person, and took part of a business, little pleasing him in the present, and less in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himself again *Aristomachus*, who desired to give Battel. Yet had the *Achaïans* Twenty Thousand Foot, and One Thousand Horse, in their Army: Whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than Five Thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedemonian*, and raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lysidas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Nevertheless the *Achaïans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their General the year following; against *Lysidas* his accuser that fued for the place. Being General himself, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the landrous words of *Lysidas*. Therefore he putpoted to set upon the *Ætoliens*: But was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great Battel, and drove him to hide himself all Night for fear, so that he was thought to have been slain. This misadventure *Aratus* recompensed by a risk of his own more natural occupation: Performing with his bric ken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been Victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake, he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him in to their City. These *Mantineans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before joined themselves with the *Achaïans*; but shortly upon fear, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Ætoliens*; and from the *Ætoliens*, presently after this Victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they werethis won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achaïan* Society. As this good success repaired the credit of *Aratus*, so another Battel almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered near unto *Megalopolis*, where the *Achaïans* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lysidas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger, and taking with him all the Horse, brake upon the *Lacedemonians* whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slain by them, and his followers driven back upon their own Companions: in such sort, that finally all the Army was disordered and put to flight. This was a great loss, and incensed the *Achaïans*

against *Aratus*: Yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the War nevertheless, wherein though *Cleomenes* was some Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done, the *Achaean* being weary, and the *Spartan* King incentive to another business.

Cleomenes having led into the Field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painful journeys, forsook the *Achaean* War on a sudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slew the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient Discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then he gave an account of his doings; and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the power of Kings, and many disorders had grown in the City, he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the Land, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by chusing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: So that henceforth his Country might not altogether stand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to save it self from the *Aetolians*, *Illyrians*, and such other Enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied, and *Cleomenes* himself ready in the Field, ere his Enemies could take any advantage of these his domestic troubles.

The *Achaean* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the City, for fear of some Rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waited all the Country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantineia*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. These new displeased them not a little: But they must patiently endure to hear worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his Authority, he proceeded more roundly in his war, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedaemonians* refused their ancient courage; and he himself had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth content about the possession of a few Towns: but adventured to win or lose all. The *Aetolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: And whereas he had gotten *Mantineia*, *Tegaea*, and other places; to which they had some Title, they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and saw that *Antigonus*, with the *Aetolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he advised how to provide against the worst, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to save all from utter ruin. The office of General, when it was next put upon him, he refused; fearing to be so far preft, as to hazard in one Battle all the force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of Warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprise, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Irish*, and of all other Nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the Weal-publick, though in aiming at the general good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of Bat-

tel; that *Mantineia* had not only opened her Gates unto *Cleomenes*, but slain the *Achaean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulsion; and that *Arifonachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since General of the *Achaean*, was now revolted unto the Enemy following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Protry* was too far off to help; and the nearness of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be useful, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpose, and instructed them how to deal with *Antigonus*, and the *Achaean*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some special benefits. At this time it lay nearest unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deserved succour: yet could not well be relieved by the *Achaean*, with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should be sent unto the General Council of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their necessity. This was granted for lack of what else to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them intrusion; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Aetolians*, might redound to his own great loss or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; and how *Aratus* himself did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achaean* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their discourse. He embraced the motion: And to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help should not be wanting, so far forth as might stand with the *Achaean* good-liking. Particularly he commended himself by these Messengers to *Aratus*, assuring them, that he thought himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived not to have been grounded upon any hatred to love to his own Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: And are presently sent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Achaean* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent; and praised the wisdom of the Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it were not amiss, first of all to try their own ability; which if failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himself moderate; in that which himself of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustain the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiss; since it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leisurely, the general consent.

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Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fineness of *Aratus* might have been used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the War, by yielding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: Since thereby he should both have freed his Country from all further trouble, and withal, should have restored unto the universal state of *Greece*, this honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had benefit. But it is commonly found (which is great pity) that Vertues, having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it (as it were) in the seat of principality, by length of time, and success of many actions, can ill endure the hasty growth of any others reputation, where-with it feels it self likely to be overtopped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedaemonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous case: Neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himself more mighty than the other. (Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw his own honour reversed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and instead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was defended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of *Heracles*, was fain to do sacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a God, and was finally posyressed by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of five generations, and whom perhaps he might have seen his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. But by this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Protry* was lost: Who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality, as he had used to the *Achaean*; being warned, as may seem, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disturbing. *Cleomenes* himself, whilst this business with *Antigonus* was a foot, passed through *Acadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achaean* to Battle. At the City of *Dynæs* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining Forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make trial; whether perhaps they might amend their state, without seeking help of the *Macedonians*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had to great a Victory, that the Enemy was no longer able to keep the open Field. The calamity was such, that *Aratus* himself durst not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achaean* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted upon this estate condition: That they should not arrogate unto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedaemonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leader in War. Hereunto if they would consent, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his Prisoners ransom free: Also that they should enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achaean*: Who desired him to come to the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the War.

Now seeming the affairs of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order, than they had ever been since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea, or since the *Persian* invasion: When God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindered all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, and thereupon fell extrem sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another

time. Nevertheless he sent home the chief of his Prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achaean* in their desire of his friendship; who assembled again at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it, and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of resolving. When all would not serve turn, he betook himself to his cunning; and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hostages for safety of his person: *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this advertisement; and took it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had been an estate matter, to have told him so much at the first, and not have made him come so far with an Army, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that chiefly seems to have troubled him, was the drift of his opponents, who fought thereby, either to make him wear without the gates, and deal only with themselves and their Messengers, or if he would adventure himself into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal flesh, that might breed respect of him in the mind of the people. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he sought to hinder his coming: Lured in person; lest the people, hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, should presently be won with his gentle words, and vanish the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* came unto the whole Council, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: And *Aratus* was not far behind with him in a bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terror, he won *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own Son to *Cleomenes*, intreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Achaean*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wished: Saving that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Aceronchus* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to help the Horse against his Enemy the Stag: But with condition, that the Horse should suffer him to be faddled and bridled. *Aratus* was here-withal contented, but wanting all honest colour to do it: Seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deferred to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found, for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their City, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that their Cause should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made halt with them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to have it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilst this was doing, he took special order, that *Aratus* his House and Goods, within the Town, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, *Peloponnesians*; promising, that if he would hearken to their persuasion, then would he give him double the same

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penion, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolemy*. As for the Cattle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured sovereignty of the Country; he desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be jointly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Acheans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own Son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Acheans*, to put *Acroecrinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seized upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Country of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Isthmus*, having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the Straights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this journey. At his coming thither, he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: And that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard Battle, but rather to weary him thence with hunger; against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able to do so: He secretely got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity, news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his enemies. The *Acheans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the King of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbore to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his Victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all Debtors to be discharged from their Creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta* was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: In other places, where it would have been Tyrannical, he did not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Acheans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces therefore that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the Enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continual messengers, that his men which held the Citadel of *Argos* were almost lost: He began to fear least his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the *Acheans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook the custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: Which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Acheans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets; when the horsemen of

Antigonus were discovered afar off, halting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, then to make a free retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: Loking in short space all, or mozt of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Acridia*; where he won such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*; and restored them to the old Possessors. This doing, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Acheans*, to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Acheans* were not behind with him; but made him Captain-General over them and their Confederates: And further entered into Covenant with him, that they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writings, or Embassadours, without his consent. All this while and somewhat longer *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: Carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only styled him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as Sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: Which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if instead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this god was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Acheans*. This was hardly taken: Yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acroecrinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left unto himself at his earnest intreaty. It might therefore appear, that this god was also spurious. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satiate his own passion by the aid of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme Torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*, afterwards General of the *Acheans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Acheans*. For he slew all the principal Citizens, and dead the rest; Men, Women and Children, all for bond-slaves: Dividing the spoil; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Acheans*. The Town it self was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this business, caused it be new named *Antigonis*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*: Forasmuch as it was taken of fertility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonians* brought in the Civil State of the *Acheans*, let us return unto this War against the *Lacedæmonians*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* won *Tegæa*, *Mantineæ*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telpusæ*: *Mantineæ*

tinææ he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Acheans*, with whom he wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantineæ*, and to those other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would perform nothing, unless he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his Children in pledge. These were sent unto *Egypt*, yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow; as dealing in the business of *Greece*, rather for his minds sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumitted all the *Helotes* which were the *Lacedæmonian* Slaves: Taking money for their liberty, and arming two Thousand of them after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his Forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay secure, as having defended it self in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: But after he was entered, all that were fit to bear Arms rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a Porter free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and Goods to them again; if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer: Wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great booty that he found therein. These news astonished the *Acheans* at *Ægium*: Who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering-places: But they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of his unlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Acheans*. When he had lain a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the Field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser than to be moved with their clamours, and suffered them to see their Villages burnt; to bid him resign his Office of Protector unto some that were more valiant; and to satiate their passions with foolish words, rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakening the reputation of his Enemy: Though he hereby added neither followers, nor other strength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for War, *Antigonus* gathered together all his Troops; meaning to requite these bravadoes of his Enemy, with the Conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other side laboured to keep the War from his own gates; and therefore eyed upon the Country of *Argos*, where he made such a havoc, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonians* was fain to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Philiastians*, and *Orchomenians*, drove a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were

before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending him in scorn, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dishearten the *Acheans* side, and to fill the Enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazard; by setting up his self, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty Thousand Foot, and twelve Hundred Horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Ilyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirians*, *Boeotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Acheans*; and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all forty two Thousand, which he lay at *Scissia*: Fortifying lightly by the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming unto *Salsia*, found his Enemy so strongly encamped, upon and between the Hills of *Evea* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: Neither lay it in his power to come battly to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assailing their well defended Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Ilyrians*, to force that part which lay on the Hill *Evea*. But his *Ilyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achean* Foot, that the *Spartan* Horse, and light-armed Foot, incamped in the straight valley between those Hills, slipped forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the Battle, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Euclydas*, his Brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: Who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopemen* the *Aradian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on Horse, as a private young man, among the *Acheans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Ilyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them perfwaded the Captains of the *Achean* Horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: Partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places, until they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopemen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, increased some of his own Country-men to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Ilyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Ilyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perfwaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: The folly of *Euclydas* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in *Plain*, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the Hill-top; where, though he was fore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: Who fighting bravely on the other side,

upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonos* himself, was like to have been surrounded and loit, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this Battle ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*, where he had no desire to stay; finding only two Hundred left, of six Thousand *Spartans* that he had led unto this Battle, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he persuaded his people to yield themselves unto *Antigonos*; and promising to do all that should at any time lie in his own power, for their good, he halted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and embarked himself for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Evergetes*; who undertook to restore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the meantime, he had a Pension allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his Son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and base Men, unmindful of all virtue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seem to invite him; *Ptolemy* and his Minions, would neither give him aid, nor yet dared to dismiss him (as he desired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, lest he were too well acquainted with the weakness of *Egypt*; nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him Prisoner: the last act of him was, that with thirty of his Country-men, he undertook a desperate enterprize: Breaking out of the Prison, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebel and seek their liberty. In which attempt he slew some Enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolemy* was bold to throw his indignation: And slew his Mother and Children, that had been sent thither, as Hostages, together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leontidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand children.

After the Victory at *Sellasia*: *Antigonos* without resistance entered *Sparta*: Whereinto never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: Tarrying there no longer than two or three days: After which he halstened out of *Peloponnesus*, and never returned. The cause of this speedy departure was an advertisement that he received out of *Macedon*: how the *Illyrians* over-ran and destroyed the Country. Had these news come a little sooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few days longer, or at least-wife tarried a few days after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* would have stood, and perhaps have extended it self over all *Greece*. But God had otherwise decreed.

Antigonos fought a great Battle with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught

his-bane: Not by any wound, but by over-straining his voice; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a Consumption of the Lungs. His Kingdom descended unto *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: As about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, furnished (I know not why) the *Greeks*; and *Ptolemy Philopater*, began to Reign in *Asia* and *Egypt*: Boyes all. Of these, *Ptolemy*, though old enough to lose Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy all the seventeen years of his Re-ign. The unripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is usual in the minority of Princes: But their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more feasonably speak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

SECT. VII.

How the *Illyrians* infested the Coast of *Greece*; and how they were subdued by the *Romans*.

WHILE things thus passed in *Greece*, and whilst the *Carthaginians* were buile in their Conquest of *Spain*, the *Romans* had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*, that were first subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also War with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little gain. With the *Gauls* in *Italy*, they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Livy* saith, a Tumult than a War. So that by all these light exercises their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, it hath been shewed before: Of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not meet to be utterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*, a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making War for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydonians* his friends, that were bellegied by the *Aetolians*, for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrian* succours came, the *Mydonians* were so far spent, that the *Aetolians* commended about the booty: The old Prætor, or chief Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the Victory, and the division of the spoil to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and won the Town: Others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old Orders might be kept. It was a petty strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the Victories, which anon they loit, as *Patiers* and *Agincourts*. The *Aetolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus, that the old and the new Prætor should be joyn-

ly intuled in the victory, and have equal authority in distributing of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* fulfilled the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Aetolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydonians*, that were no idle in their own business, but stoutly sallied out of the Town. Many of the *Aetolians* were slain, more were taken, their Camp and all their Baggage was loit: The *Illyrians* took the spoil, and went their way; the *Mydonians* erected a *Trophie* inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrates (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Aetolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this Voyage highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*. Not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance, or of the booty that was gotten, but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasy to enrich himself by setting upon the less Warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank to immoderately, that he fell into a *Plurisie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Teta* his Wife.

Teta gave her people free liberty to Rob all forts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if he had been sole Mistress of the salt Waters. She sent a Fleet and sent it into *Greece*; willing her Captains to make War where they found advantage, without any further respect. The first fell on the Western Coast of *Peloponnesus*, where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Megarians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the City of *Phenice*, to take in victuals and other necessaries. There lay in *Phenice* eight Hundred *Gauls*, that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Argentineum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds diffamed and sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet encattered by their *Epirians*, to whom they Garrison within their *Epirus*. The *Gauls* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*: to whom they betrayed *Phenice*, which deserved none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in Arms, and halstened to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirians* lay before the Town, there came news into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by the Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queen *Teta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonis*, to make good the Town, and the straight adjoyning, by which their new comers must enter into their Country; another part of them remains at *Phenice*, to continue the Siege. Neither the one nor the other speed well in their business. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellows; and they that were bellegied within *Phenice*, sallied out of the Town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirians*, as made them despair of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the *Abasians* and *Aetolians*: Craving their help, with very pious terms of intreaty. They obtained their suit: neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus* to present Batel unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Teta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Myrians* against her: So that he had

no mind to put his Forces to hazard, but offered compulsion, which was accepted. The agreement was, that the *Epirians* might ransom their Town, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart with all their booty and Slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by Land; sending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this Voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandment of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilst they lay at *Phenice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints made unto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadors were sent to require of *Teta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These Embassadors found her very jolly; both for the riches which her Fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in a short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the Town of *Phenice*, which her Forces held straightly bellegied. Swilling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings, and, calling them by another name, *Prætor*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, that injury in publick the would do them none: As for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadors) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publick, of those private wrongs that are born out by publick Authority: I therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. These words the Queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could satisfy her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slain: As if that had been the way to her heart at rest; which was indeed the mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two Hundred Gallies, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction: For this injury is of such nature, as must be requiried with mortal War. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to use violence towards Embassadors: The reason and ground whereof, seems to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of War and Destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadors should pass freely, and in safety, between Enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For any King or State lay hold upon Embassadors sent by their Enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then it is lawful to use violence to those Embassadors; thus employed to make the War more terrible (thus employed to kill the men of War, and Subjects of an Enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered when they flew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a War upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whole Countries they reside, warranted by any

Law whatsoever. For whereas the true office of an Embassador residing, is the maintenance of amity, if it be not lawful for one Prince to practice against the life of another; much less may an Embassador do it without incurring justly the fame danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no privilege at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassador *Carneuius*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to tilt against her. She was indeed in an error, that hath undone many of all sorts, greater and less than she, both before and since: *Having more regard unto Fame, than unto the substance of things*. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Æpirots* had the name of the most Warlike People in *Greece*; these had the easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater than of Ten Thousand men, and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in Arms; she would have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late gotten reputation against those that were more mighty than her self. But she was a Woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater Fleet than before, under *Demetrius of Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This Fleet divided it self, and one part of it fell with (a) *Dyrachium*, the other with *Corycya*. *Dyrachium* was almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In (b) *Corycya* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the Isle, and besieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Acheans* were called in to help; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: Lofing besides others of less note, *Marcus Caryneus*, the First Victor of *Achaia*, whom *Atrides* succeeded. The Town of *Corycya*, dismayed with this overthrow, opened the Gates unto *Demetrius Pharus*, who took possession of it with an *Illyrian* Garrison: Sending the rest of his Forces to Besiege *Dyrachium*. In the mean season, *Tenarus* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to try any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when *Adriaticus* was brought C. *Falsinus* the Consul, of *Demetrius* his fear and discontent. Likely was that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consul failed thither; where he found the Town of *Corycya* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consul failed along the Coast to (c) *Apollonia*, accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used henceforth as his Counsellor and Guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Fajlownus*, the other Consul, with the Land Army, numbered at Twenty Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse. Thence they hastened towards

Dyrachium, which the *Illyrians* had Besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* Army they dispersed themselves. From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*; and take *Parthenia*, beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take Twenty of their Ships, and enforce the Queen *Tenara* to forsake the Coast, and to cover her self in *Rijon* far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part stays behind, and prosecutes the War, in such sort, that *Tenara* was forced to beg Peace; which he obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*; and pay Tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her Ships of War towards the Coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Island of *Disia*: except it were some one of two Vessels unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* War, the *Romans* sent Embassadors into diverse parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to their Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made War with good success upon *Tenara*, and her People. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their Patronage: Which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadors were only rewarded with thanks, and a Decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be parakers of the *Illyrian* patimes. This was an idle courtesy, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*; and therefore well taken by the *Romans*: Who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

SECT VIII.

Of the War between the Romans and Gauls, somewhat before the coming of Hannibal into Italy.

The *Gauls* that dwell in *Lombardy* were the next, against whom the *Romans* took Arms. There was a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own Forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they took *Rome* and burnt it: Though the issue of that War proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well advised: lightly stirred up to War, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than Men; but when that was past, less than Woman. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: Yet gave always careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and uncertain, by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were

were called Wars, but *Tumulus Gallicus*, Tumults of the *Gauls*: And rightly. For they gave many alarms to *Italy*, and used to rise with great Armies; but after a few days March, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest Ten or Twelve Years, sometimes Twenty or Thirty: Till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the State of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive War, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: That the *Gauls* never fell upon *Italy* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous War. Had they attempted to Conquer it, whilst *Pyrrius* was travelling in the fame enterprize; or in either of the two former *Punic* Wars: It may be doubted what would have become of this Imperial City. But it seems that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than strangers had in *Gaul*. At least, they knew not how to use their times: And were therefore like to smart, whensoever the Enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punic* War. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold, to set upon the *Gauls* in their own Country: And that was Three Years before the coming of *Pyrrius* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Hetruria*, and Besieging *Arretium*, had won a great Battle, and slain *L. Calpis*, with the most of his Army. *Manlius Curius* the new Consul, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about Ransom of Prisoners. But these Embassadors they slew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled their *Senones* out of their Country, and sent a Colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the (a) *Boji*, another People of *Gaul*, to fear the like measure: Who thereupon took Arms, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great Battles; and thereby made them sue for Peace, which lasted until the end of this *Illyrian* War.

It vexed the *Gauls* to see a *Roman* Colony planted in their Country; who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their Neighbours performance. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpinæ* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to us they were nearer; like as they called *Cisalpinæ*, or by-hither the *Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: Reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, so their union might recompense it, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpinæ* and *Transalpinæ* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to a Tumult, without further trouble of War. Soon after they were urged by a greater indignity to go more substantially to work. For C. *Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome* proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the People; That, besides one Colony already planned in the Territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to People the whole Country between

Arcona and *Ariminum*: Exterminating utterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* itself, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joined with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadful Precedent extremely displeased the *Boji*; who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displacement. And because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees, the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Duchy of *Milum*, joined with the *Boji*, and upon a common Party entertained the *Gefates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gefates* having received a great impress, came to the Field under the conduct of their Kings *Concalianus* and *Anoreusius*: Who with the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, compound an Army of Fifty Thousand Foot, and Twenty Thousand Horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever (b) crossed the *Roman* Territory; to whom the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, had had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the (c) *Cenomani*, adhered to the *Romans*: As better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear of the worse incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of *Milum*: With the rest of their Forces they entered into *Tuscan*. The *Romans* immediately hearing of this danger, send *Asellinus* to *Rimini* to stop their passage; and in the place of C. *Asellus* their other Consul, who then was in Country *Sardinia*, they employ one of their Prætors, for of *Milum* the defence of *Tuscan*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerful Army, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they cause a view to be taken, as well of their own Forces, as those of their Allies: Who were no less willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous People; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: Because they sent out the power of the *Romans* in those days. With the Consuls they sent forth to the War Four Legions of their own: Every Legion consisting of Five Thousand Two Hundred Foot, and Three Hundred Horse; and of their Allies Thirteen Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabinians* and *Hetrurians* Fifty Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse, which Army was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbris* and *Sarapinates*, which inhabited the *Apennines*, there were Twenty Thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomani*, other Twenty Thousand; which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the General Army of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides the *Boji*, to be ready against all uncertain chances of War, Thirty Thousand Foot, and Fifteen Hundred Horse, Garrisoned in *Rome* it self, of their own People, and of their Allies, Thirty Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse. Over and above these great Troops; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent unto the Senate, there were numbered Fourcore Thousand

M m m m

Foot

(C) *Pyrrhus* and *Mitridates* seem to be one Nation, who are also called *Salmisians*, *Præstians*, *Apizians*, and *Calabrians*. The Country is now *Apiz*, containing the North-west head-land of *Calabria*. (C) A people of the Kingdom of *Naples*. (C) *Pyrrhus* calls them a people of *Italy*. (C) A people of *Campania*, called in this day *Persians*, *faith Leaders*.

Foot, and Five Thousand Horse, in that of the *Sarmates*, Seventy Thousand Foot, and of Horse Seven Thousand, in that of the *(g.) Japyges* and *Mylæneses*, Fifty Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Thousand Horse, the *Lucani* sent a List of Thirty Thousand Foot, and Three Thousand Horse, the *(h.) Maris*, *(i.) Mauris*, *(k.) Ferrentians*, and the *Vesvini*, of Twenty Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse. The *Romans* had also Two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum*, containing Eight Thousand Four Hundred Foot, and Four Hundred Horse. So as of the *Romans* *Campains* jointly, reckoning men Armed, and fit to bear Arms, there were Registered Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Foot, and of Horse Three and Twenty Thousand: Of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Foot, and about Six Thousand Horse. Calling up the whole Forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their Confederates, it amounted to Seven Hundred Thousand Foot, and Seventy Thousand Horse. But the number is somewhat mis-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himself by the dead Payes; for where he reckons Nine Hundred Horse too many, he falls short Nine Thousand Two Hundred of the Foot.

How great soever this Muster was, it seems to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the Twelfth invaded *Milan*: At what time, the better to encourage himself and his Subjects he took a Roll of all Persons able to bear Arms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a Tenth part of them into the Field. Certain it is, that the Battels of *Trebia*, *Thyrasene*, and *Canna*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large account. Yet were the *Romans* fain to Arm their Slaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Canna*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of such a Multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmes: Though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter preparations, the *Gauls* keep on their way: And entering into *Tuscany*, destroy, and put to fire and Sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the Field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* Army, sent into *Tuscany*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had mislead of them, came again fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: And in the same evening discovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem, that shewed no great favour of Wit, but such as well befitted those that had none other occupation than War, and flood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the Night, they cause their Foot to march away, but not far, leaving their Horse in Guard; to whom they give order to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide Battel. The

Romans, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* return, charge them, and kill Six Thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Amilius*, being at *Arminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the coming of the Consul, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should give the *Romans* Battel, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anorellus*, one of their Kings, persuades them, rather to return into their own Countreys; where, after they had disposed of the great spoils and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the War, being without carriage, peltier or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, seeing that they were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoils of their Enemies, they thought it wisdom, to hazard neither it, nor themselves any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the Enemy had been in light. But as well in the Wars of these later Ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extrem dangerous to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn head; yet in always going on from the pursuing Enemy, they find within few Miles, either Straight, Hedge, or Ditch, or place of disadvantage, which they are informed to pass in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knows it as well as the Captain, that he which forsakes the Field, perceives and fears some advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those fuccours that reason offereth, when it hath once posselt the heart of man, it causeth thence both courage and understanding. They that make retreat, are always in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be engaged: And so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retreat be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the Year 1503, upon a retreat made by the *Marquis* of *Sal*, doth testify no less. For although a great Troop of *French* Horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gave the Foot leisure to trot away, yet being retarded by other turnings, the *Spanish* Foot overtook and defeated them utterly. During the Wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Bois* and *Adone* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs fee the Enemy, before they left the Field. So was *Strati* overthrowen by the *Marquis* of *Marignan*, because he could not be persuaded to dislodge the Night before the *French* King *Francis* the First wisely: When without respect of points of honour, he dislodge from before *Landerley*, by Night, as many other the most advised Captains (not finding themselves in case to give Battel) have done. *Je ne trouve point (saith the Marshal Montreux) une fois des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraite. I find nothing in the Art of War so difficult as to make a safe retreat.* A sure rule it is that there is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noue* gives this judgment of a days retreat, made in *France*, presently before the Battel at *Montcaumon*. For (saith he) staying upon our reputations, in these

not to dislodge by Night; we lost our reputation indeed, by dislodging by day: Whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman *Count Lodowick of Nassau*, Brother to the late famous Prince of *Orange*, make the retreat at *Montcaumon* with so great resolution, as he saved the one half of the Protestant Army, then broken and disbanded; of which my self was an eye-witness, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the safe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the Enemy, and their faces homeward. *Amilius* follows them as near as he can, without engaging himself, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Asilius* the other Consul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gauls* inclined towards to Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear and Front. To Iulian *Amilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milaneses*; in the Front they range the *Piemontais*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: Which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Asilius* the Consul: Who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Comulatus* and *Anorellus*; with Forty Thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the Year following this overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to use their Victory: They gave not Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Years time to the *Gauls*, to repair their Forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Bois*; but by reason of the great Ruins that fell, and the great Pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to forsake it. In the Second Year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milaneses*; and prevail very far, being strongly assisted by the *Senonians* and the *Venetiens*. Nevertheless these Consuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resign their Office; because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only foretold little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving Letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwise advertised of the contents, was not hally to open them: But first gave Battel unto the Enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Country; then pursued the Letters; and returning home obtained a Triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the People, who yet bear him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Countrey of the *Senonians* among the People of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the People, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way of Delegacy, or grand Communion; did not stand highly upon his Birth and Degree, but courted the Multitude, and taught them to

know and use their power, over himself and his fellow Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the furer side, and found imitators, that role by the same Art, which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Collegues, being disposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that Year. The *Gauls* about this time desired Peace; and were like to have obtained it: Though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when Thirty Thousand of the *Gessates* following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyined with the *Isabrians*: All other discourse, than of present War, was at an end. So the Consul, halted into their Province, where they besieged *Acerra*, a Town not far from *Naples* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already in the Dutchy of *Milans*.) To divert them from this Siege, *Britomarus* laid down before *Clusidium*, a Town in the Lunc Tract, with a great part of his Forces: Leaving the rest, with the *Isabrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerra*; and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their Siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the Horse, and Six Hundred Foot lightly Armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clusidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him upon the way: So suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to retreat themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his Game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number; both of Horse and foot: But he thought so well of his own personal valour, that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slew and disarmed *Britomarus*, in the presence of both Armies: Whereby his own men took such courage, and his Enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the Third and last time, that ever any *Roman* General slew the General of the Enemies, with his own hand. To this kind of Victory, belonged a peculiar Triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cassius*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: Yet I dare say, that the Two *Scipios*, and divers of the *Roman* Captains, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of War than any of these Three, though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima spolia*, The Armour of a General slain by themselves, when they were Generals, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this Victory, *Acerra* was yielded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soon after: With all that belonged to the *Cisalpine*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lombardy*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many Years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City it self, brought to nothing in a short time, their pleasant and fertile Territory posselt by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon

don their Countreys, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlaws and Thieves. And thus did the Romans spend the Three and Twenty Years following the Peace made with Carthage. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of Janus: Which they never did before, (it standing always open, when they had any War) save once in the Reign of

Numa; nor in long time after, until the Reign of Augustus. But this their present happiness was not to last long: A dangerous War, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their Gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

CHAP. III.

Of the Second Punick War.

SECT. I.

The Wars of Hannibal in Spain. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. War proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.

HANNIBAL, the Son of Amilcar, was about Six and Twenty Years old, when he was chosen General of the Carthaginian Forces in Spain. He was elected by the Army, as soon as Asdrubal was dead: And the Election was ratified by the State of Carthage; wherewith Hanno and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the Third of the Barchine Family (so called of Amilcar, whose surname was Barca) that had command in chief, over the men of War. Which honour would perhaps have been less envied by these Domestical Enemies, if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine House, had not also born the whole sway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the People. This general good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of Amilcar in saving his Country from imminent ruin, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great revenues; so was it retained by the same good Arts, among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to tax the virtue of their Enemies, that was unreplicable; nor to perform the like services unto the Common-wealth; had nothing left whereby to value themselves, excepting the general reprobation of War, and cautious advice of not provoking the Romans. This they seasoned other-whiles with detraction; saying, that the Barchine faction went about to oppress the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to bear ill-will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no less Barchine, than Hannibal himself. For it was long since apparent, that the Oath of the Romans, to the Articles of Peace, afforded no security to Carthage, were the never so quiet, and officious; unless the should yield to become their subject. Since therefore the Peace was like to hold no longer, than until the Romans

could find some good advantage, to renew the War: It was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilst their own estate was in good case, the War should begin; than that in some unhappy time of Famine or Pestilence, or after some great loss of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their Enemies; and to give away safely their Lands and Treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon terms of disadvantage.

This disposition of his Country-men, Hannibal well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his Father, and other Friends, had long time devised of this business) that in making War with the Romans, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Army into Italy, without molestation; there was good hope that he should find friends and assistance, even of those People, that helped to increase the Roman Armies in foreign Wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad soever they would be, to hear that he had set the War on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen, then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discomfited, in procuring allowance for the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay Siege unto Saguntum, which might seem not greatly to concern the Romans, and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in mind the indignity of that Spanish Towns alliance with her half Friends. So should he assay both the patience of his Enemies, and the disposition of his own Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he nevertheless went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching unto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (saith Livie) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the war against Saguntum, but had been drawn thither by course of business. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needful to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the Romans. First therefore he entered upon the Territory of the Oleades; and having besieged Alibea (Livie called it Castelli) their chief City, he became, in a few days, Master not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he first undertook, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he refted his Army in new Carthage, or Carthagina, and imparted liberally to the Soldiers, the spoils he had gotten in his late Conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the war against the Paceti, and without any great difficulty, won first Salmantica, now called Salamancia; and after it, Arbucala, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in this return, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martial Judgment. For all such of the Paceti, as were able to bear arms, before the late misdeeds by the spoil of their Country, with those of Salamancia, and of the Oleades, that had escaped in the late overthrow, joining themselves with the Toletani; compounded an Army of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed Hannibal on the banks of the River Tagus, which runneth to the Sea by Lisbon in Portugal. These four Nations, having had experience of Hannibals invincible courage, and that he never saw an enemy, upon whom he durst not give charge; were thoroughly resolved, that his natural valour would at this time no less neglect the cold advice of discomfition, than at other times it had seemed to do, when the like great occasion perswaded him to use it. But he that makes himself a body of Crystal, that all men may look thorow him, and discern all the parts of his disposition, makes himself (whilst) an Ass: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wife men, though they have single hearts in all that is just and virtuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms: which when others look into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtle Carthaginian, when he served under Asdrubal, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the most adventurous: but that which may befit a Captain, or inferior Commander, doth not always become a Chief; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great-ones, as have been found more fortunate than wit. At this time, our great Man of war knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himself from the River-side, as if fearful to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude from their banks of advantage. The Spaniards, apprehending this in such sort, as Hannibal desired that they should thrust themselves in fury and disorder, into the swift stream, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary side. But when Hannibal saw them in their way, and well-near over, he turned back his Elephants to encertain them at their landing, and thrust his Horse-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. These car-

rying a kind of Lances, which they held in the midst of the river, had such an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their strokes, clattered together; and unable to move or shift their bodies, as on firm ground, that they flew all those (in manner) without resistance, which were already entered into the water; and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed; with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that side the River of Iberus, (the Saguntines excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands against the Carthaginians.

The Saguntines perceiving the danger towards them, cried before they were hurt. They sent Embassadors to Rome, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeed, only because of alliance and friendship with this honourable City, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that Saguntum was already besieged. Hereupon some cry out, that War should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into Spain, the other into Africa. But others went more Roman-like to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded; that Embassadors should be sent into Spain, to view the face of their then confederates: which were indeed none other than the Saguntines. For if Hannibal intended war against Rome, it was likely that he should give them, as were long, a more plausible occasion to take Arms against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power to determine what they liked themselves, upon the report of these Embassadors; and this their gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serve to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadors Livie reports, that they found Hannibal before Saguntum, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But Polybius an Historian of sincerity less questionable, tells, that they found him at Carthagina, and had conference with him, though such as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the rest of Hannibals whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit a more peremptory Embassy (as Livie confesseth) and fall to disputation about the covenants of Peace, if they had rejected that which was sent, upon any other pretence than prevention of war.

Whilst the Embassadors passed to and fro, Hannibal prepared not only his forces, but some Roman pretences, against Saguntum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should do as the Mamertines in Sicily had done, for the Romans; and implore his help against the Saguntines. These were the Tardetani, a Nation adjoining to Saguntum, and having many quarrels with them (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which Hannibal himself hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the Saguntines had first provoked him ere he meddled with them, he made no more ado, but fate down with his whole power before their Town. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the Roman Embassadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions:

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not only because the War, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in Italy. The Romans had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their own. Yet were they not hasty to threaten, before they were ready to strike, but meant to tempt, until they had an Army in readiness to send into Spain, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the seat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the Romans had made King over a great part of *Iblyria*, rebelled against them: either for that he found himself over-straitly tied up by them, with hard conditions; or rather because he was of an unthankful disposition. The commotion of the Gauls, and afterward the fame of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of Greece; against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and seized upon some places, that the Romans kept in their own hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer, he might have sped better. For the business which the Gauls was ended; with *Hannibal*, not thoroughly begun, when he declared himself by his doings, enemy, and was vanquished. The Roman Consul, *Æmilius*, was sent against him who in seven days won the strong Town of *Dimitium*; and thereby brought forth terror upon the Country round about, that Embassadors were sent from all places, to yield themselves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which he might have done long, if the head-headed Rebel had not been too foolish. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in covert, presenting himself the next morning with twenty ships before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consul, and was soon intercluded from the Town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a Greek, where he had shipping ready for him, and embarked himself: leaving all his estate unto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This business, though it were soon dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* lay down, as *Æmilius* was landed in *Iblyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the brave sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their General received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many days unable to move. Nevertheless, he was not unmindful of his work in the mean while; but gave order to raise certain movable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was given: but it was so well sustained by

the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which upon the first fury they had won; but they were pursued even to their own trenches and camp. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so weary the Town-men with continual travel, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindered from taking full possession of the City, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himself out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were so severe, and without all compals of honour, as *Alcon* durst not return to propound them to his Country-men. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it self to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would assign some other place for their habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustain themselves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other arms, to defend them, than their nails and teeth. Yet might they far better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have resorted at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soon after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were deflowered before their own faces; and all put to the sword, that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took; when not daring to fight, and fell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying unrevengeed. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept wherewith to pay his Army: the slaves and other booty, he divided among his Soldiers, reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

These tydings exceedingly vexed the Romans, who had good cause to be angry at their own slowness, in forbearing to send help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking still for succour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their honour, by taking sharp revenge. To this end they sent Embassadors again to *Carthage*: demanding only, Whether it were by general consent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* had made war upon *Saguntum*: which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them *Demetrius*. Hercunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required justice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-Wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the General of our Army in Spain, in besieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counsel; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is the question which the Romans ought to ask us. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is, Whether it were lawful or unlawful for *Hannibal* to do as he hath done. For it belong to us, to call our own

own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lulitani* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement between you and *Afrubal*, wherein you will say that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by that particular, that have taught us how to answer for that. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lulitani*, to your own disadvantage, you cast it upon your Consuls presumption as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and people of Rome. If then it be lawful for the Romans, to disavow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and precise warrant; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour to perform those bargains which *Afrubal* hath made for us, without our commandment and consent.

This was an impatient answer, and little better than a meer cavil. For *Lulitani* the Consul, in his Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of Rome. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alleged, That after this League was made and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withal of twelve hundred talents: which able, would reverse with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the Romans had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inferred their names into the Treaty of Peace with *Afrubal*: seeing that the Treaty with *Afrubal*, and all other business between Rome and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than Roman injuries, as implying this commination, Do whatsoever we require, else will we make War, without regard of our Oath, which we have already broken.

But this the *Carthaginians* did not allege, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Levi* himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge: we may reasonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrel, to shew that the war, now towards, had long been thought in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the Roman Embassadors, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purposes of those that sent them, and the worth of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iblyria*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his Gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you

like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cried out at once: Even which of them you your self have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and there it among you: Which the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each party had resolved to make War, it was merely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to sustain the War. The rusty sword, and the empty purse, do always plead performance of Covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (seeing Peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kind of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonians* with the *French* in *Navarre*; *Henry* the second of France, with the *Imperials*, who he wrote to *Strasbourg*, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the War broke out; *Don John*, with the *Netherlands*; and *Philip* the second of Spain, with the *English*, when in the great Embarge he took all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the Romans. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his journey into Spain, had solemnly bound him by Oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no marvel if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge of their Predecessors, that as soon as their Coasters shall be able, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of England.

SECT. II.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spain; and Africk. His Journey into Italy.

WAR being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved not to put up his sword which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*, until he had therewith opened his passage unto the gates of Rome. So began the second Punic War; second to none that ever the Senate and people of Rome sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthage*; where he licenced his Spanish Soldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the mean while he gave instructions to his Brother *Afrubal* for the Government of Spain in his absence. He also took order, to send a great many Troops of Spaniards into *Africk*, to equal the number of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into Spain; to the end, that to the one Nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, he transported into *Africk* thirteen thousand, eight hundred and fifty

a Miletus.
e. Miletus.

foot, and twelve hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Belareti*. Besides these, he selected four thousand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the best Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garisoned in *Carthage* it self, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serve for hostages: for among those four thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that wayward most in their several States, had their Sons or Kinsmen. He also left with his Brother, to guard the Coast and Ports, fifty and seven Gallies, whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the war. Of *African* and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Africa*; he sent discoverers before him, to view the Passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and of the *Alps*. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his force, by any *War* in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadors and Discoverers being returned with good satisfaction, in the beginning of the Spring, he pass'd over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army consisting of fourscore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of *Spain* into which he had not entered before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who fate still at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Soldiers returned home without asking leave, which that they might not also do, or at least, he courtuously dismissed many more that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to pass, that the Journey seemed the less tedious unto those that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he pass'd the *Pyrenes*, and entered into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms to forbid his entrance into their Country; but won them with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*, where dwell, on each side of the River, a people called *Velce*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keep him from passing over the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vivaretz* and *Lynnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Country of *Dauphiné*, thinking to defend the further bank against him: yet such as remained, being very desirous to free their Country of so many ill guests, were better pleased to have their Country-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own fowls of corn and cattle wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more easy passage, higher up the River; and lent him Guides. When the Vessels for transportation of his Army were in readiness; he sent *Hanno*, the son of *Romilear*, up the River; himself in the mean while making countenance to en-

ter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was, that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* unawares upon their own side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the River in their faces, the further bank was won, though with some difficulty; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants, who marvellously feared the water. He was therefore driven to make rafts of trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he fastened one to each bank, that might serve as a bridge, and from another of the same sort, but loose, upon which the beasts were towed over.

Having pass'd this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls* *Cisalpine*, that inhabited *Picmont* and *Malon*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alps*; that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received Guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himself extremely incumbered by the *Saguntines*; and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians* more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countries on the other side. And whereas his Journey over the Mountains cost him fifteen days travel, he was every day, more or less, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withal extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow: it being the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this passage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine* *Gauls* who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territory; gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on; having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to overcome, by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

SECT. III.

How the Romans in vain solicited the Spaniards and Gauls to take their part. The Rebellion of the *Cisalpine* *Gauls* against the Romans.

THE Countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been solicited before, by the same Roman Embassadors, who had denounced the war at *Carthage*. These, as they were intrusted by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way, home-ward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted were the *Velcians*, a people in *Spain* from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spoke for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face (saith he) can ye *Romans* persuade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise than so? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance,

have

have been utterly rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain* have found them. Yet may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us. That for our parts (and so I think, I may assure for the rest of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands, who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Velcians*, the Embassadors took their way towards the *Gauls*; using their best arguments to persuade them not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy* through their Territory: and withal greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laugh't them to scorn, and had hardly the patience to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibal's* passage into *Italy*, entrain a war which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the war among our selves, and in our own Territory, by force which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* desired to well of us, and the *Carthaginians* to ill, that we should set fire on our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians* our enemies, who have no way as yet declared us, nor we them.

With this unpleasant answer the Embassadors returned home, carrying no good news, of friends likely to help them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Massilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine* *Gauls* gave hafty proof. For when the news was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had pass'd *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stir up the *Bois*, and *Infubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand, they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it seems they could not win; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners (who belike were abroad in the Country) to fly to *Modena*: where they besegged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gauls*, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their hostages in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadors to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Mantius* the Praetor, who lay in these quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage, marched in all haste, to the relief of the besieged. But the *Gauls*, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Praetor opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few

excepted, that recovered by fast running to a little village, but defensible by upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, C. *Attilius*, another of the Praetors, was hastily sent to relieve the besieged with a Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* allies: which forces were taken out of the Consul's Army, and supplied by a new levy.

As the *Gauls* were too rash and hafty, so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not persuaded that *Carthage*, which had almost fervently endured for many indignities in time of the late peace; would be so brave and courageous on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it self. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make war in *Spain*, the other in *Africa*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Africa*, with an hundred and sixty *Quinquageme*, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which preparation may seem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. P. *Cornelius Scipio*, to which the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and used such diligence, having the wind aloft favourable, as in five days he recovered *Massilia*. There he was advertised of *Hannibal's* having pass'd the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found butte yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also news of the Consul's arrival: whereof he was neither, glad nor sorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*, *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten; yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three days before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended Voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless he sent away thither his Brother Cn. *Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done against *Asdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in the Country. He himself, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea, to *Pisa*; and by passing thorough *Tuscan* into *Lombardy*, drew together the broken troops of *Mantius* and *Attilius* that lately had been beaten by the *Gauls*; with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

SECT. IV.

Scipio the Roman Consul overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battle at Trebia.

FIVE Months *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious Journey from *Carthage*; when great matter he could make, when he had pass'd the *Alps*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foot, at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have been only twenty thousand foot and six hundred horse. *Hannibal* himself in his monument which he raised, in the Temple

Temple of *Juno Lucina*, agreeeth with the latter fumm. Yet the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyed with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Army, in short space. But when he marched Eastward from the Banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; of which, all save those remembered by himself in the Inscription of his Altar in *Juno's* Temple, are like to have perished by *diseases*, Enemies, Rivers and Mountains; which mischief he had devoured, each their several throes.

Having newly passed the *Alps*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Army in the Country of *Piemont*; he sought to try the friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Isurians*, which were his good friends, and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amity. Wherefore he assaulted their Town, and won it by force in three daies. Their spoil served well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his side: many for fear, many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ran thorough the whole Country: which joyed, or was all in readines to joyn with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio* the Consul his arrival, made some to be more advised than the rest. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in those quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Consul was already gotten thorough the most defendible passages, ere any speech had been heard of his approach; many fate still for very fear, who else would faine have concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater fear, offered their service against the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheless they had wished well to speed.

This wavering affection of the *Provinces*, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals hasten to the tryal of a battel. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondered at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it strange that the Consul, whom he had left behind him on the other side of the *Alps*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himself in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountains, and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibal's* success, and sudden arrival. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all hast unto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in *Sicily*, giving him to understand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that he should forbear to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should return the Army under his charge, with all possible speed, to save *Italy* itself. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Livium*, with direction to Land the Army at *Adrium*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: making another way from *Carthage*, whether he was quite half. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come so near, that fight they must, ere they could part afunder. Hereupon both of them prepared the minds of their Soldiers, by the best arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a present example, that he shewed upon certain prisoners of the *Saraceni*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italy*. For these, having been no less miserably fettered and chained,

than sparingly fed; and withal so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be delivered from their miseries by any kind of present death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slain, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chiefs of the *Gauls* were wont to use in single combats. Every one of those unhappy men wished, that his own lot might speed; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by Victory. That couple, whose the good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death, and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poor creatures were willing, upon whatsoever uneven terms, to rid themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the Victory had gotten his liberty, together with all horse and armour: but even him also, who being slain in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impression this dumb shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their own condition, speaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the fate fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual slavery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himself any hope of life by flight; since the Mountains, the Rivers, the great distance from their own Countries, and the pursuit of merciless Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their own case; seeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own soil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many ways to save themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withal, could no way entertain such a resolution as this: seeing the same Necessity, (to which nothing seems impossible) did no way press them, or constrain them. In this fort did *Hannibal*, with one substantial Argument, that there was no mean between *Victory* and *Death*, encourage his Companions. For (saith a great Captain of France) *La commodité de la retraite avance la fuite; La commodité de la retraite, doit greatly advance a fast running away.*

Scipio on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinum*, did not neglect to use the best arguments and reasons he could, to encourage the Army by telling: putting them in mind of the great conquests and

and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than that of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withal to consider, that at this time it was not only diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a Troop of Brigands and Thieves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but to weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustain the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (saith he) ye your selves may make judgement what during they have now remaining, after so many wars and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *Rear*, their horsemen were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himself, fearing our approach, ran headlong towards the *Alps*: thinking it a less dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharp Swords of the *Romans*, which had to often cut down his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicily*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the grofs of his Army, with his Horse; and the *Romans* having also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horse-men of the *Gauls*, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground between their Troops, to assist them: himself with his *Roman* men at arms, following softly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether desirous to try the metal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their loss that should have aided them, flunk at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without causing a Dart, for fear of being trodden down by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as presuming that they were well backed. Neither was the Consul unmindful to relieve them: their hardiness deserving his aid; and the hasty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himself so far, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been left in the place, if his Son (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this rescue to a *Ligurian* slave. Whilst the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consul; an unexpected storm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse, to give upon the *Romans* in flank, and to compass them about, whilst he with his men at Arms sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ran away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose looks were fastened upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the *Romans* were thrust together, and routed: so that they all betook them to their speed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horse-men thus beaten, and the rest of his Army thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of wisdom, having lost

so many of his Fleet upon the first puff of the wind, to take *Rear* with therelf, before the extremity of the tempest overtook him. For he saw by the lowering morning what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his battel of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the retreat; and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinum*, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left six hundred of his *Rear* behind him: who were the last that should have passed, and staid to break the Bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of War, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripit fugam: Jigis enim aliquando laudanda: quæ* which must be understood in this sort: If a General of an Army, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the success, or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to treat a false retreat, than to abide the uncertain event of battel.

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could pass the River; *Scipio* the whilst refreshing his men, and easing himself of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soon as *Hannibal* presented his Army before the Town, offering battel to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their Camp; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-deferred time was come, in which better Chiefs and Soldiers, than *Antiochus*, *Brytannicus*, and *Geslaris*, were come to help them: that they had the hearts to help themselves. Wherefore they left their camp, and followed the *Roman* Camp; wounded and lame, especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their service. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteously, and dismissed them to their own places: as men likely to be of more use to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other service at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consul stole a retreat, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and security. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, sent the *Numidians* after him: following himself with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of spoil, had not staid to ransack their Camp: and thereby given time to all (save some few in *Rear*, that were slain or taken) to pass the River of *Trebia*, and save themselves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reason of his wound, and withal, finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Consul, incamps himself strongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Needfully required that he should do so, yet this diminished his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* side; among whom came in the *Bois*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Infurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeem their own hostages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Clasidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundisian*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The news of their disasters, brought to Rome, filled the Senate and people, rather with a desire of hasty revenge, than any great sorrow for their loss received; seeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hurried away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Arminius*, where the Army, by him sent out of *Sicily*, awaited his coming. He therefore hastened thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joined in one, the Consuls devised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* received from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal's* arrival; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled, which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the state of the affairs in those parts; fought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* was recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himself the sole glory of the victory, which he had already in his imagination, certainly obtained. He also feared the Election of the new Consuls: his own time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perceived the contrary; objecting the unskillfulness of the new-come Soldiers; and withal, gave him good reason, to assure him that the *Gauls*, naturally unconstant, were upon terms of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Ty*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to find out the dishonour which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time. For the strength of his Army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no less feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out, that about the same time, the *Gauls*, inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was told to be his own Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help; and so make their tale the better, saying that this wrong is done them, because they refused to join with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falsehood, and was assured of their unfaithfulness. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of Rome, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injury; and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand Horse: which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal's* his foragers, and finding them heavy laden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* fall out against them, who caused them more pain than they came. *Sempronius* was not so lucky to lack his own men; and repelled the ene-

mies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the Roman Army was drawn forth, and a battle ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the persuasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gauls*, his Spies, that were in the Roman Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-course, over-grown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choice Horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their Camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of Numidian light-horse, to brave the enemy, and to draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but forded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arm-holes: which, together with the want of food, did to enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the arms they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latins*: having of the one sixteen, of the other twenty thousand. The masts of these they ranged in a grove Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse, thrusting their Light-armed, and Darters, in loose troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the Roman horse ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot, were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and Elephants; when finally the whole Army was unawares preft in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies' swords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the Horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferior in Horse and withal, thereby subject to the African Elephants which inclosed or uneven grounds and wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second error was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grossly over-reach'd, and inforced, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his foot-men with empty stomachs, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one faith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous than to present an Army eyed with travel, to an enemy fresh and fed, since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of mind is as an unsupportable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the Roman Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding

exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showers; or would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* elapsed with extreme danger, flying through the Country that was over-run by the enemies' horse. He was attended by more than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer than could have made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to Rome, where he did his office in choosing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

SECT. V.

The departure of Hannibal from the Cisalpine Gauls into Hetruria. Flaminius the Roman Consul slain, and his Army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Trasymene.

THE Winter growing on apace, was very sharp, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who being not able to keep the field, lay warm in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet; but vexed them with continual Alarms, assaulted divers places, and taking some, beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithful love, with two Roman Quæstors, or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. Thence, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he led in straight places, laden with Irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not only well treated, but sent them to their Countries without ransom; with the protestation, That he therefore undertook the War in Italy, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their Country the seat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason would them, at his feeding upon them, and waiving their territory. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life, others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use Periwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours: to the end that he might not be detected, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Appennine*, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more favourable than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy companions, and bring the war nearer to the gate of Rome. So away he went, having his Army greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the *Appennine* Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet since the Roman Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling thow

and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of winter, that makes all waies foul, than to any intolerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of war, together with the resistance and fortifications which may not be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards Rome: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of *Trifanc*. In those Marshes and bogs, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moistness of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading thorow deep mire and water. In brief, after he had, with much ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*; where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard news of the Roman Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and Cn. Servilius had of late been chosen Consuls for this year. *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served to again, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entered into his Office, lest his adversaries, by feigning some religious impediment, should detain him within the City, or find other business for him at home, to displace him from the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town, and meant to take possession of the Field when the day came at *Arminius*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and hastening to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assistance and victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*, hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. All the Country between *Felsule* and *Arretium*, he put to fire and sword, even under the Consul's nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have been still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captain of France hath said; *Pays gaste n'est pais gardé*; A wasted Country is not thereby lost. But by this waste of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired, and therefore, advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear; saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* were burning down all Italy before him, to the gates of Rome. Therefore he took horse, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensigns stuck to fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest, saying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded that it should be dug up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withal, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousy, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

discretion and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by succurance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battle: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Apennines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be persuaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battle: but he suffered two week in horse, he always kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns flood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in fight, though after off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was laden with spoil, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done he must pass along by the Dictators Camp, that hung over his head upon the hills of *Collicula*, and *Casilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-country, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meer error of his guide, that he first entered within their streights. For he would have been directed into *Casilinum*, whence he might both, stay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under-hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide mis-undrestood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him away another way, from *Casilinum* to *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit: as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself by a slight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the country, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose horns he dressed with dry figgots, and setting fire to them in the dark night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be a work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill tops were horribly afraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them, and ran therefore hastily away, thinking the enemies were behind their backs; and falling among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army recovered sure ground without molestation: where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the City, whilst the *Carthaginians* waited all the Plains. The *Carthaginians* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-houses for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to Rome, about some business of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius* the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully persuaded,

that his *Romans*, in plain field would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that for canelity, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Soldiers, in worthiness to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extremum peril of death. But the honor of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; and the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, took he the matter never so haughtily. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous Gamester. Therefore he drew near, and to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth the third part of his Army to waste the Country. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had to overcome. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, won it from them the next day; and intrenching himself thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his Horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next Summer: besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his own men, terrify his enemies, and give him leave to forage the Country at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many days issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battle to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the foragers, who being dispersed over all the fields, and laden with booty, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakness, which held him within his Camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name; that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Adrabal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to take fight against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not so much hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the news, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own Camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew

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as far out of liking with *Fabius* and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saying that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearful of greater danger, thence likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Master of the Horse to do so likewise, and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good success issuing from bad counsel, was more to be feared, than calamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these Sermons every one cried out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italy to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unless he also hinder others, from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forbore to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the War to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole Government both of our City and Armies. This must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him and confer it upon one more worthy. But left, in moving the people hereto, I should seem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his honour: I will only propose, That the Master of the Horse may be joined in equal authority with the Dictator, as things not more new, nor less necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the people.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill pertwaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficial at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal-publicque, was less than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand up, and formally deliver his approbation, not one of the principal Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy Personage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whose great power had freed the State at several times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Praetor, was glad of such an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the son of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew by often bragging, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor men's causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very

baseless. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot invective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobility, saying, That it grieved them to see the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they fought to humble the Commons by poverty, and to impoverish them by War; especially by War at their own doors, which would soon consume every poor mans living, and find him no other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wife; and since they had found one (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected unto them and his Country, to reward him according to his good deserts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Aet passed.

Before this busy day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of new Consul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*; and, having finished all requisite business, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude in hindering the decree. The news of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the Camps soon at *Edius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Collegue, began to treat with him as a Companion; as ing him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the Horse equal to the Dictator, but that he should never be his superior. He would therefore divide the Legions with him by lot, according to the custom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with half of the Army he could not work such wonders as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do his best, and so taking his part from the Dictator, incamped about a mile and a half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* seems to tax him for it) that he should do so. For where two several Commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joined in Commission, but have each intire and absolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies; in which regard, one Camp shall not hold them both without great inconvenience. *Polybius* never finds fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief successively (as the two Consuls used) with *Minutius*, by turns. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractory, and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For Naumes impatient of subjection when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to contest with it; as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Master of the horse to make good the opinion which was thus advanced him. Therefore he was no less careful of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired,

fired, could not long be wanting. The Country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoining, had many and spacious caves; able some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot, thrusting them to close together, that they could not be discovered. But left by his misadventure they should be found out, and torrid in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand; whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like fort as he got it; he sent first his lightarmature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own Troops with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any life to retain. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves losing many, and those of their best men; *Fabius* drew near in every good order to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, unto what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself and his followers, did the Office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to improve himself by failing to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well warded with a shower, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the hill-tops, *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*, by whose benefit he confided his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilst his Office lasted which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*; took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed over into *Africa*; and there negligently falling to spoil the Country, was himselfe been aboard his ships, with the loss of 1000. men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicily*, and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the Camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

SECT. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the war quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against Hannibal. Hannibal takes the Romans provisions in the Castle of Canus. The new Consuls set forth against Hannibal.

With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but had neither finished

the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custom; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* General had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affliction of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike, whilst the Iron was hot: his own worth being little or none; and his credit over-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Publius Furius*, then Tribune of the People, who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; that *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two; but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius* when he commanded over all as Master of the horse. That without a *Plebeian* Consul, the war would never be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobility; and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meek new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could with more, than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such persuasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other virtue, than his detaching from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alleged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose; and he again deposed either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* took name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in use at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens* or *Decuries*; and governed successively, by the space of five daies, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lillors*, or *Virgirs*, carrying the *Falces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with those Ensigns of power. This custom was retained in times of the Consuls; and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old

old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to slip five daies, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the multitude was commonly well allayed. Upon such change of those, that were Presidents of the election, it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed: but a time limited, wherein they should publicly declare themselves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over, and the malice of the Fathers, against the worthy man (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed to manifest, that when the People had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Cæcilius Paulus*, he who a few daies had since overcome the *Ilyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdom, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not therefore of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great business of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, *He*, and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgment: where *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in mind each of them in his second Consulship wherein they shall honourably approve their worthy; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victory that ever befall that Common-wealth.

The new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus* omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more, than once to have sight of *Hannibal*, which he promised to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Æmilius*, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Masters, wherein the whole Senate alit him so carefully, as if in this action they meant to reure the flanders, with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is uncertain. Four score thousand foot, at the least, and six thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Here the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had received the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed

by their own Mercenaries; so did he now lend help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barly, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruin, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly balanced. He gave them also counsel, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Titus Octavius* the *Pætor*, which was to go into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger attempt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, twenty five thousand, with *L. Publius Albinus*, another of the *Pætors*, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of their present strength might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their subject, and rebel, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Ilyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* hereafter began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Ilyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven upon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for non-payment of the whole.

Whilst the City was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could without incurring the necessity of a battle. Many skirmishes they had with him, wherein they succeeded, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal* for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him lodged about *Canusium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessities, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Canus*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* was, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needful things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open Country, fit for the service of his Horse, longer than the *Romans*, having so many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battle, which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand how this Piece taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needful, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a battle with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus

to take root in the ground of Italy. Nevertheless answer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he should have patience yet awhile: for that the *Confuls* would shortly be there, with a Power sufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the year commodious to take the field, the two *Confuls*, with their Army, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was always done with great solemnity: especially, whensoever they went forth to war against any noble or redoubted enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good success and Victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Volunteers, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Publius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable service. *Terenius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens, a troop not less in greatness, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to have exhorted his Consul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to shew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous folly of his fellow-Consul. The answer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his best for his Country, but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would think it less harmful to adventure upon the Enemies sword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

SECT. VIII.

Diffension between the two Roman Confuls. whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans press'd him to fight. The great battle of Cannæ.

These new Generals, arriving at the Camp, dismistr'd *M. Attilius*, one of the last years *Confuls*, requesting it because of his age and weakness: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their assistant. The first thing that *Attilius* thought necessary, was to hearten his Souldiers with good words, who out of their bad success hitherto, had gathered, more cause of fear, than of courage. He willed them to consider not only now, their victories in time past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers; which were no less than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. He told them in what danger their Country stood; how the state and safety thereof rested upon their hands; using some such other common matter of persuasion. But the most effectual part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stollen the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithal he

taxed the inconsiderate rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, until he was surrounded by them, the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkness whereof he went groping (as it were blind-fold) into their snares. Finally declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed against them, he exhorted them to play the men, and do their best. They were easily persuaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* virtue in matter of Arms, gave them cause to think, that under a Captain so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Attilius* was known to be, they should easily prevail against the *Carthaginians*, that came short of them in all things else, save craft, which would not always thrive. But in one thing they mistook the meaning of their General. It was his desire that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delays to be impediments; and thereby sought to rob themselves of their best help, which was, Good conduct. They remembered what talk they had heard at *Rome*; and were themselves affected with the vulgar desire, of ending the war quickly, where-in since *Attilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to use it? Thus* thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terenius*; who was no less popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is always tedious, and never more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtful passions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terenius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* think themselves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diffension* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Attilius* would do too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy must be shortly dislodged, and remove hence, into places less fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his last years provisions, return into Campania to gather a second Harvest? This would (said *Varro*) favour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth favour no less of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Attilius* lodged six miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat uneven. Thinking if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to find them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of Italy. But they came not. *Terenius* therefore the next day descended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless, he gave down close by *Hannibal*, who, as an unbidden guest, gave him but a rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light armatures, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-couriers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilst it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loss, for that the *Romans* had among their Pelles,

some

fine troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Attilius*, who could not handsonly withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Ausidus*; leaving a third part of his forces over the water, to lye upon the Eastern bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight than at this present; because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he retired not out of his Trenches, but fortified himself, expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Cerynus*, *Cannæ*, or some other place, where his force lay, for want of necessities: whereof an Army foraging the Country, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That *Lucius* differed much in his relation from *Polixenus*; telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of base courtes that he devised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (said *Lucius*) but ten days provision of meat. He had not money to pay his Souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of several Nations, so that he knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Proviant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and run over to the *Romans* side. Yea *Hannibal* himself was once upon the point, to have stollen away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot upon their miserable deficiencies. At length for lack of all other counsel, he resolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithful Souldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him, and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilst he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they even forced him to that, which he most desired, even to fight a battle upon open Champaign ground: wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Lucius*, to speak the best of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their own great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he said, *Hannibal* de *fuga in Galliam* (i. e. *de fuge*), *Hannibal* (i. e. *de fuge*) to have brought himself off flying into *Gaul*: where he makes it no more than a matter of hearsay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the process it self; it is ery incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, thorow the *Marishes* and *Bogs* of *Hetruria*, could find victuals enough, and all things needful unto his Army, the Summer fore going; what should hinder him to do the like this year; especially since he had paid the careful Husband in making a great harvest; since he had long been Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions? Suitable hereto is all the rest.

If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but Corn and Cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought gold with him into Italy: and had so well increased his Stock, since he came into that Country, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers; all *Roman*-like, and loaded his followers with spoil: having left wherewith to re-

deem as many of his own, as were taken by the enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easy to do the like. In this point therefore we are to attend the general agreement of Historians; who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he always kept his Army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations, no less different in manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he to do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men to ever fought bravely with an enemy was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly professed and swore, besides other rewards, to make many of them as should deserve and seek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a senseless device. *Hannibal* being there with his whole Army, took for little pleasure in the Country and people, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse? or could he be trusted, either there, or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to live, having betrayed all his Army, and relinquished his miserable folk to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Lucius*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians love to extol their own Country-men, and where a loss cannot be diffembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the enemy, and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own forces: as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lay incamped on the River *Ausidus*. *Varro* was persuaded, that it concerned him in honour to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vain to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to use his own authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the first break of the day he began to pass the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morning. But *Paulus* came to him, and fought, as in former times, to have dissuaded him from putting the estate of his Country to a needless hazard. Against those words and substantial arguments, *Terenius* could allege none other than point of honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battle at their Trenches: should they endure this Bravado? He had sent his *Nuvidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser Camp; and drove them shamefully to run within their defences, which also they made offer to assail: Must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier, which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Attilius* perceived that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behind, in the greater Camp opposite unto the *Carthaginian*, to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches (which out of his paucity he was less able to

ppp spare

space from the battle, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do such accidents) terrify and distract the enemies in the heat of fight. This done, the two Consuls went over the water with their Army to the Licker Camp, whence also they drew forth their men, and raged them in order of battle: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause, and without any delay, possid likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream, which ran from the South, leaving in his own Camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; he bade them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joynt battle with the *Romans* upon such a level ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither, and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are free to lose them. As for these *Romans*, it was tain to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*, and to win the open Country, and fields of *Italy*, both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Towns themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many hours past, ye shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this, his Brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what news; and what work they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are a horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (said *Hannibal*) replied I tell thee, Brother, that among them all, I search them out diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him, which gladdened the Souldiers, who thought their General would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he imagined, that the *Romans* were no less troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the sad mood of his Brother with a jest, and shew himself merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more marvellous, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battle of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: saying, That of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed, enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away,

Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battle is in hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the business: especially, where other needful care is not wanting; without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himself, expressing no less perfection of his military skill, than was greatness in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battle; he marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do his best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose Troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name, *Enfants Perdues*; but when we use our own terms, the *forlorn-hope*. The grofs of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymore*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings very deep in file. Between these he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed each after their own Country manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* using long broad swords, that were forcible in a down-right stroke; the *Spaniards*, short and well pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceness; the *Spaniards*, wearing white Callicocks embroidered with Purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew, and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soon wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that came of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were less eager, but more wary; neither affirmed to give ground, when they were over-pressed, nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; so the place which they held in this battle, added confidence joyfully unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was grown terrible in Spain, by their Conquests, and in *Gaul*, by this their present War. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these *Barbarians* had no cause to shrink, or forbear to employ the utmost of their hardiness, as knowing that the enemy could not press far upon them, without further engaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginians* had in horse; by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but no greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-hardly pressed. So, casting them

them into the form of a *Crescent*. He made them as it were his Vanguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened and thickened against all impression. The circle herself seemed to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it; though such figures, cut in brass, as I have seen of this Battle, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* when they were driven to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person found between the last ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtless well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalion and the River *Asdrubal*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, under the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Lucius* faith *Muharbel*), with the *Nuamid* light-horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his brother *Mago*, and the leading of the Rear. The whole sum of *Hannibal's* Army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and He, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usual form: but somewhat more narrow, and deep than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and short; but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disorderd troops might rally themselves. Thus much it seems, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to show more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which this manner of imballing was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Emilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wife men yield for very wantiness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horsemen, under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other *Italians*: *Cn. Scervilius* the former years Consul, had the leading of the battle. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, between the *Roman Velites*, and *Hannibal's* Darters and Slingers of the *Baleares*; *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountered; not after the manner of service on horse-back, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and break thorow. Wherefore they not only used their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies; grasped one

another: and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground, where starting up again, they began to deal blows like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were over-born, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoil. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, were not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battle work enough, and somewhat more than enough, to break that great *Crescent*, upon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battle drew towards the midst; by whose aid, these opposites were forced to disband, and fly back to their first place. This they did in great haste and fear: and were with no less haste, and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans* that stood behind them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room enough; and for as much as the Rear, or Horns of this Moon, pointed into the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-encounter them, when time should require. In this hasty retreat, or flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, it hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limb or utter compass of the half Moon, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inside outward: the horns or points thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and recovering very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an half circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thick and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot been cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principal strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side advanced to far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they encircled them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not pass far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least ease. Herby it is apparent, That the great *Crescent*, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undisturbed, until now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themselves, as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulk of their Army, into the throat of slaughter; had they seen those weapons bent against them at the first, when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness of inferior Capains: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in war, being vanquished in horse, had put himself among the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that he and they did willfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, having broken the Troops of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed them along the River side, beating down and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without

regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himself was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did cast himself among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this expectation. Nevertheless he cheered up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own stout behaviour: bearing down and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The line did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battle; and with better success. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a Troop of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harm; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakness, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Consul had given order to do as in many battles, the *Roman* men at arms had left their horses, to help their foot in distress. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Consul had willed his horsemen to dismount: He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather be would have dejection among me, bound hand and foot*: meaning that he had them now almost as late, as if they were bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of his associates, in the left wing, was marvellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Madorbal*), and the *Numidians*: who bearing up and down about that great sandy Plain, raised a loud dust; which a strong South wind, blowing there accidentally, drove into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. These, using their advantage both of number and of lightness, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and whirling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him a happy day of it. For when the battles were even ready to join; five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their shields cast behind their backs, (as was the manner of those which yielded) and throwing down their arms, rendered themselves. This was good luck to begin withal, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as he bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Under policy, for which they had thus yielded, besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field of such as were slain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. *Asdrubal* (having in short space broken the *Roman* Troops of horse, and cut in pieces all, save the Company of *Æmilius* that rushed into the grove of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, between the River and their own Battalions) did not stay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*: with whom he joined, and gave upon *Terentius*.

This fearful Cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismal storm unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work toward, than they could hope to sustain; thought it the best way, to avoid the danger by present flight. The Consul was no less wise than they, in apprehending the greatness of his own peril: nor more desperate, in striving to work impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many thrank from him, to sustain the impression alone, which he could not have induced with their assistance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to encounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heels of him and his flying Troops, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself, with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; who before had little resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pitiful slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither or which way, whilst every one sought to avoid those enemies, whom he saw nearest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got up to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly understood how they could do; yet I will rather believe, than suppose that *Livie* to reporteth, to grace thereby his History with this following Tale: *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, galloping along by a place where he saw the Consul fighting all bloodied upon a stone, intrusted him to rise and save himself; offering him his assistance and horse. But *Paulus* refused it; willing *Lentulus* to fight for himself, and not to lose time: saying, *That it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgment by the People, either as an accuser of his colleague, or as guilty himself of that day's loss*. Forther, he willed *Lentulus* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *Fabius*: willing them to forsake *Rome*, as fast as well they could; and telling *Fabius*, that he loved and died mindful of his whole family's conflict. These words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawn to that battle, or when he beheld the first defeat of his horse; at what time he put himself in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul and his Troop, in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Grofs of the *Romans*, was inclosed indeed as within a calf; whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed up the mouth: in which part, they first of all were thrust together, and began the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not fit his horse, whilst the battle yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himself, was now (had he never so well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way to close a throng of his own mile

rable followers, and so many heaps of bodies, as fell after the day that great Carnage. It fullness unto his honour, that in the Battle he fought no less valiantly, than he had warily before, both abstained himself, and dissuaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly lost, it had been in his power to save his own life unto the good of his Country, never more needing it, I should think, that he either too much disesteemed himself; or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankful Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the English verse of the Lord John Talbot, Viscount Lisle, son to that famous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battle of *Coswallon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally wounded, and accountable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flower of his youth, unhurt, easily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that day's misfortune, when he refused to forsake his Father, who foretelling the loss of the battle, and not meaning to stain his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble son to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, save two or three thousand, who (as *Livie* faith) escaped into the lesser Camp; whence the same night, about six hundred of them brake forth, and joining with such of those in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troops, partly dispersed into *Cannulum*: the next day the *Roman* Camps, both less and greater, were yielded *Unto Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polibius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of *Ausidus* (as was thence before) to set upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the battle was lost: and *Hannibal*, coming over the water to them, drove them into their own Camp, which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first fight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did fly, and thereby escaped, whilst their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the enemy buffed. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Cannae*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Pensula*, with threecore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel, for *Pensula* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his nearest way thither, had been through the midst of *Hannibal's* Army, if the passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned up some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted contre. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took other ways, and were scattered over the fields, 2000 or there about, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save 300, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this

great Battle of *Cannae*, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quætors or Treasurers, and 21 Colonels or Tribunes of the Soldiers, 80 Senators, or such as had born office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of special mark, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Miminius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battle, *Livie* makes no greater than 3000 foot, and 300 horse; too few to have defended for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps, which yet the same *Livie* faith, to have been over-completely yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than 8000. It may therefore be, that these 3000 were only such as the Enemy spared, when the jury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about 5000 more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host, nothing to chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some 4000 *Gauls*, 1500 *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and 2000 Horse, at thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of to great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Mahabari* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the war had presently been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to lose a victory.

SECT. IX.

Of things following the Battle at *Cannae*.

Not without good cause doth *Polibius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*; who, regarding more the pleasure of them unto whose honour they consecrated their travels, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites and Fathers conspire. No man of sound judgement will condemn this liberty of censure, which *Polibius* hath used. For, to recompense his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial arguments, to justify his own Relation; and confute the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think or there about, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save 300, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this

five circumfpection is needful at the prefent : fuch is the treperanguity, or forgetfulnefs, which we find in the brief narration of things, following the Batel of *Canne*. For it is faid, that four thoufand foot and horfe gathered together about the Conful *Terentius* at *Venuſia*, that others to the number of ten thoufand got into *Cannifum*, chufing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Conful *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannifum*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well near ten thoufand men about him; that thefe letters of the Conful were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had been taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the City, which grew upon the firſt ruiſe of the overthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadors from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, where he it were meet to fend any, or without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a pretty while before he wrote thoſe letters, which overlook (in a manner) at *Rome* the firſt news of the overthrow. Among ſuch incoherence, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath no more particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no real argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* Camp, and trufled up the ſpoils, forthwith he diſlodged, and marched away unto *Cannium*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hipſines*, and many other people thereabout, to forſake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt Town that opened the gates unto him, was *Cafſa*, where he laid up his baggage; and leaving his Brother *Magus* to take in other places, he haſted into *Campania*. The general affection of the multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclining unto him; not only in regard of their grievous loſſes ſuſtained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themſelves, who could not hinder him from ſpoiling the Country, eſpecially the poorer fort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving reſpect unto that great courage (as it ſeemed) which he uſed unto ſuch of them as became his priſoners. For as at other times, ſo now after this great victory at *Cannus*, he had lovingly diſmiſſed as many of the *Italian* Conſederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands; reluking them gently for being ſo obſtinate againſt him that had fought to deliver them from bondage. Neither ſpared he to win their love by gifts, pretending to admire their valour; but ſeeking indeed, by all ways and means, to make them his, whilſt all other motives were concurrent. At this time alſo he began to deal kindly (though againſt his nature) with the *Roman* priſoners; telling them that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Eſtate; but being provoked by injuries, fought to right himſelf and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of theſe two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, ſhould bear ſovereign Rule, not which of them ſhould be deſtroyed. So he gave them leave to chuſe ſuch of their number, that ſhould be ſent home to treat with the Fathers about their ranſome: and together with theſe he ſent *Carthago* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and General of his Horſe, to ſee the diſpoſition of the Senate, whether it were bowed as yet by ſo much adverſity, and could ſtoop unto deſire of peace. But with the *Romans* theſe Arts prevailed not, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or moſt of them, ſave the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latinæ*, were not only weary of their loſſes paſt, but entertained a deceivable hope, of

changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucanes*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not until the former Generation utterly ſubdued, began to re-ſuſcite their wonted ſpirits: but the *Campanians*, a Nation of all in *Italy* moſt bound unto the Senate of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith as ſtraightly conjoined, as were any ſave the *Latinæ*, changed on a ſudden their love into hatred, without any other cauſe found, than change of fortune.

Campania is the moſt goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as ſome then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, anſwerable unto the Country, whereof it was Head; ſo great, ſo fair, and wealthy, that it ſeemed no leſs convenient a feat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, Bravery is the laſt requiſite unto ſovereign command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themſelves like *Jayes* by their feathers, deſpised the unfortunate virtue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpecial regard unto the Maſtity of *Rome*, and could not indure to hear of Innovation. But the *Clitavian* faction had lately prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleaſure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whoſe credit grew, and was upheld by furthering all popular deſires; whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginians* ſhortly after the battel of *Thyrſacene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*: the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the narrowſs of the *Roman* Army, or ſome other fear of the *Capuans* hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any article of new Conſederacy: or, had leiſure ſerved, yet were the multitude (whoſe inconstant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle uſage, and free diſmiſſing of ſome priſoners in good account among them) unable to hold any ſuch negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and meet him on the way, with ſome of their Nobility that ſhould aſſure him of all faithful meanings, were driven to fit ſtill in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens; who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate, on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their own cowardice. The people holding ſo tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawfull government of Magiſtrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to fear left the Senators would become the Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans* bring them under a more ſtraight ſubjection, than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made uſe of to ſerve his own ambition. He diſcouraged unto the Senate, as they ſate in Council, about thoſe motions troubling the City: and ſaid, That he himſelf had both married a *Roman* Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman* boy; but, that the danger of forſaking of the *Roman* party was not now the greateſt: for that the people were violently bent

to murder all the Senate, and after to joyne themſelves with *Hannibal*, who ſhould conſentance the fact, and ſave them harmleſs. This he ſpoke as a man well known to be beloved himſelf by the people, and privy unto their deſigns. Having thoroughly terrified the Senate, by ſaying open the danger hanging over them: he promiſed nevertheless to deliver them all, and to let things in quiet, if they would freely put themſelves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leave: he called the people to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that theſe wicked Governors were ſurprized by his policy, and all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he adviſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, That they ſhould chuſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger upon the old. Sorehearing unto them the names of one or two Senators; he asked what the judgement was of thoſe. All cryed out. That they were worthy of death. Chuſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for ſuch an election, was ſilent, until at laſt ſome one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were utterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for more known fault, baſeneſs and inſufficiency; or elfe even becauſe they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilſt more were to be choſen; (the ſtuffe man to be ſubſtituted, having been named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and eaſily prevailed with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter, which (doublets) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not only the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted, for ſaving all their lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by all obſequiouſneſs, to court the people, giving the reins unto their lawleſs Will, who elfe were likely to caſt them down. All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battel at *Canne*, this impediment was removed; and ſew there were that would open their mouths to ſpeak againſt the rebellion. Yet forſmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campanians*, did then ſerve the *Romans* in the Iſle of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe prevailed ſo far, that Embaſſadors were ſent unto *Terentius* the Conful, to ſee his preſent caſe, and what he could miniſter of Hope unto them. Theſe, whereſoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in ſpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſervice of their State, and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented unto them the greiveneſs of the *Romans* miſfortune: ſaying, That all was loſt; and that the *Campanians* muſt now not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themſelves, but make war in their defence againſt the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had ſometimes done for the *Campanians* againſt the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is ſaid to have added a fooliſh invective againſt *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, how he had taught them

to make bridges of ſlaughtered carcafes, and to feed upon mans fleſh, with ſuch other ſtuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campanians* themſelves, he put them in mind of their preſent ſtrength: having thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, with money, and all provisions, in abundance. This he diſmiſſed them prouder than they came; and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordſhip; whereas before they were ſomewhat timorous in adventuring to ſeck their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*: the ſame Embaſſadors were diſpatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they eaſily made alliance, upon theſe conditions, that the *Campanians* ſhould be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizens of theſe ſhould be ſubject unto any *Carthaginian* Magiſtrate, in what caſe ſoever, whether in War or Peace; and that three hundred *Roman* priſoners, ſuch as themſelves would chuſe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Againſt all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, oppoſed himſelf earneſtly; uſing, in vain, many perſwaſions, to the willful and head-ſtrong Multitude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wiſhing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were ſending Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*; and this alſo did he, when the new alliance was concluded; but moſt earneſtly, when a *Carthaginian* Garriſon was entering the Town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by ſuch a notable piece of ſervice, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forſaken.

Advertiſement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not far off, ſent for *Magius* to come ſpeak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* reſuſed: alleging, that he was by the late concluded Articles, free from ſubjection unto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon haſted himſelf towards *Capua*; forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*, which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalatus*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided to lay ſiege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great ſolemnity and pomp: all the people iſſuing forth of the Town, to behold the great Commander, which had won ſo many noble victories. Having taken his pleaſure in the ſight of that goodly City, and paſſed over his firſt entertainments, he came into their Senate, where he commended their reſolution, in ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke; promiſing, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf, ſhould be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies, he prayed them, that they would not uſe him as a *Campanian*, but a Traitor to the State, and uſe him accordingly, giving ſentence out of hand upon him, as he deſerved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his firſt coming, by putting to great a man to death, yet fearing that they might fuſe for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it beſt to ſend him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* ſettled his friendſhip with the *Campanians*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to ſpeak againſt him; being ſifted by *Perolla* the Son of *Pacuvius*, whilſt he was at ſupper, the firſt night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from accompanying any ſuch attempt. All the Town (beſides) were

were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have innocthered them to death in an hot Bath.

The fame course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabouts which depended on this, as their Mother City, *Nola*, *Neapolis*, *Capri*, *Castellum*, and *Acerra*, where the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in cale, to put Garrisons into all their walled Towns, but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extreme fear of *Hannibal* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Canna*; and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently to come, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stifle the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Couriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gauls* and *Greeks*, in their Ox-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions, we may justly think that *Sibyl* herself was instructed by the Devil; yet is not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked South-fayers; whose detestable calumnies they afterwards for their own honour (as abashed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollon*; and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacify the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prætor of *Ostacium*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africa*. In these were contained news of one *Carthago*, a fleet that waited the Kingdom of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles of *Sicily*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take sovereign charge of the Weal-publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks for that he had not *despised of the Weal-publick*. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outrages of the people; what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength.

This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Lucius* Liv. 1. 26. would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to follow their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few years after, *Cæ. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator, and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised four new Legions, and one thousand horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very boys. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for the custody of the City. So it may be Liv. 23. that these two Legions being drawn into the field; four new ones of *Prætorians*, or Striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manifold service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies that had been there set up; among which were goodly Armour of the *Gauls*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to suffice forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

About the same time it was that *Carthago* with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canna*, came to *Rome*. *Carthago* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their fault; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former War; not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy, much was alleged against those who now craved ransom: but the special point was, that they were willingly lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others do. It is sufficient not unto these poor men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the war, are said to have cost more, than the sum of them amounted unto, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance

tenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been severe; when as indeed they were fain to be present fortune, poor and somewhat beggerly. Hereof it is no little proof, that *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ransom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereas he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we lightly consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbear the price of them (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchised) until the war should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, seeing he dealt only for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like austerity, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great battel. These were charged for having fled: as the prisoners were for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call *Ragione del Stato*, may serve for an excuse: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miserable exigent, is fain to help it self, by doing injuries to the private.

As to deal the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had served at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serve, not as others did, until they had fulfilled twenty years in the War, or else were fifty years of age, but until this War should be ended, how longsoever it lasted, and that without reward. The same strict censure was afterwards laid upon others, for their misbehaviour: but never upon any man of quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other brain'd fools his companions; who, being frightened out of their wits, with the terror of so great a loss, were desirous, after the usual way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce grown shortly distasteful to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the people; nevertheless it was quickly digested, the excuse being Liv. 24. no less apparent than the fault.

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched all needful business within the City, took the field with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil: for of any evil done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weakest estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ofizia*, with a Fleet ready to set sail for *Sicily*, having one Legion aboard his ships, and fifteen hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces he was to defend that Island, and do what harm he could in *Africa*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Canna*, he sent these of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the City; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannus*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence he was called by the Magistrates, and chief Citi-

zens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanians*) to let in the *Carthaginians*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by leaning to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: affaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of dissuality: had also a sure Haven, where, by its flood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Country. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, that *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratify the *Carthaginians*. Of these, one *L. Banius* was chief, a stout young Gentleman, and Souldier of especial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* half dead at *Canna*; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks perceiving this, wrought upon the same false nature of the Gentleman; and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personal valour, he made this *Banius* so far in love with him, that no thing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition; and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stir in his quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly beset, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*; not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make show of a meaning to take the Town; which he sought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed much league between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, whereby it was concluded, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. 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were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabout which depended on this, as their Mother City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Castellum*, and *Aversa*, where the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Towns, but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extrem fear of *Hannibal* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Canna*: and the grief of that loss was so general, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stifle the noise and lamentations, whereas the streets were full. Couriers were sent farth, to bring afflicted tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varrus* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gauls* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions, we may justly think that *Sibyl* herself was instructed by the Devil. Yet it is not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked South-fayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassadour was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*, and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacify the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prætor of *Ostacium*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africa*. In these were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet that wasted the Kingdom of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate, and of another fleet, riding among the Isles *Ægæis*, which was in readiness to set upon *Lilybeum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take sovereign charge of the Wealth-public, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks for that he had not despaired of the Wealth-public. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks, they notified abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength.

This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Livy* 1. 28. would have us think, that it was done generally, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to fiew their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator, and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Soldiers, of whom they raised four new Legions, and one thousand horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very boys. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for the custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field, four new ones of *Prætorians*, or triplings were left in their places. In such raw Soldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manual service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies that had been there let up: among which, were 6000 *Armours* of the *Gauls*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *G. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward for their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed Roman-like.

About the same time it was that *Carthago* with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canna*, came to *Rome*. *Carthago* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Soldiers, commending their suit; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former War) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy, much was alleged against those who now craved ransom: but the special point was, that they were willingly lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto those poor men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; that they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuses; whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the war, are said to have cost more, than the sum of money amounting, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance

renance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been severe; when as indeed they were fuitable to the present fortune, poor and somewhat beggerly. Hereof it is no little proof, that *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Soldiers ransom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, which he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we wishal consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbear the price of them

(when by order of the Senate they were enfranchised) until the war should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, seeing he dealt only for ready money, they chose rather so say, *We will not give, than we cannot*. The like austerity, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the Soldiers that escaped from that great battle. These were charged for having fled: as the prisoners were for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever *Jeha* which they call *Ragione del Stato*, may serve for an excuse: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miserable exigent, is fain to help it self, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had served at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serve, not as others did, until they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or else were fifty years of age, but until this War should be ended, how long soever it lasted, and that without reward. The same strict censure was afterwards laid upon others, for their misbehaviour: but never upon any man of quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hard-brained fools his companions; who, being frightened out of their wits, with the terror of so great a loss, were devoting, after the usual way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distasteful to the Commonality: and was openly blamed by a *Tribune* of the people; nevertheless it was quickly digested, the excuse being

that it was less apparent than the fault. *M. Junius* the Dictator, having dispatched all needful business within the City, took the field with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil: for of any evil done by *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weak estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ofis*, with a Fleet ready to set sail for *Sicily*, having one Legion aboard his ships; and fifteen hundred other Soldiers newly taken up: with which forces he was to defend that Island, and do what harm he could in *Africa*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Canna*, he sent these of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence toward *Canusium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Soldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chief Citi-

zens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seceding to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward; and arrived in seven time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many like wise *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: allaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any least touch of disloyalty: had also a sure Haven, whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the Lands and Villages abroad the Country. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Banius* was chief, a stout young Gentleman, and Soldier of especial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* had dead at *Canna*; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks perceiving this, wrought upon the same false nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who so desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly repaid for his personal valour, he made this *Banius* go far in love with him, that no thing could be attempted not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and allayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*; but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition, and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stir in his quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* Prætor, yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly beset, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it might be, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make show of a meaning to force the Town; which he sought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messengers between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was forced, could be trained into the field, the multitude within the Town should presently rise; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing lest the *Carthaginians* would shortly adventure, even to find him buffed within the City, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls; he thought it the surest way to

cut off the Enemies hope, and send him away before them. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three several gales, looking towards the enemy: he gave a straight command, that all the Citizens should keep their houses. That he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder, against whom he had customarily ifted forth before more early, every day to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought Hannibal, that surely all was discovered, and Marcellus now buffed with the Citizens. Whereupon he had his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the Carthaginians were at the very walls, and thought nothing less, than that the Romans would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, wherewith Marcellus, with the best and oldest of his Soldiers, broke forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected fall the more terrible. Whilst the Carthaginians, much out of order, were come of them flying before Marcellus, the rest making head against him: the other two gales opened, wherewith in like sort issued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The sudden terror was more available unto the Romans, than their force; yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that War, forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that Hannibal might be overcome. After this, Marcellus being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a first account of the Citizens of Nola, condemning above three score and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and leaving the Town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. Hannibal in the mean season was gone to *Acerra*: where being excluded; he thought it no wisdom to loiter in persuasions, but laid siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore before his Works were finished, and they quite surrounded, they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing news of the Dictator, that he was about *Cap sine*, thither went Hannibal, as being unwilling that an enemy so near should disquiet him at *Capua*, where he meant to Winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of Marcellus had nothing abated the spirit of the Carthaginians: who durst with a small part of his Army seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the Roman strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon to fight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slain in plain battle, but by a sudden eruption; winneth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of Hannibal, and how Crest-fallen they were: that having three years since demanded at Carthage the body of Hannibal, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good news, to hear, That in a skirmish not far from *Rome*, he appeared to be a man, and not refitless. At *Cap sine* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Præfines* there were, and about four hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latins*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battle at *Cerna*, being sent by their several States to the Camp: whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of

that great misfortune encountered them, and sent them back forrowful, for they loved well their Lords the Romans, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another to *Cap sine*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*. How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Cap sine* were effected as they of *Capua*: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those *Præfines* and their fellows; but the Soldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Western part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Cap sine* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place winneth, upon what honest reasons they furnished it. Hannibal came thither, thinking to have encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers assaults he gave, but was still repelled with loss: and many sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the Horse, lay with the Roman Army higher up the River: who fain would have relieved *Cap sine*, but that the Dictator being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had given him an express charge not to fight till his return. Marcellus from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the over-flowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his journey, such intreaties were needless. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Cap sine*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was lost, because the Romans durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of Corn were sent by night, floating down the River; and when some of these, being carried away by an Eddie of water, stuck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the poor besieged men. At length when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallies, the Carthaginians ploughed up the ground; whereupon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seed. Hannibal seeing this, admired their patience, and said, That he meant not to stay at *Cap sine* until the Rape were grown. Wherefore though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others; by punishing their obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ransom; which when they had paid, he quietly dimissed them, according to his promise. Seven hundred Carthaginians he placed in *Cap sine*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he restored it. To the *Præfines* Soldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their virtue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were in *Præfines*: which

which is no weak proof, of the good estate wherewith the Cities flourished, that were subject to the Roman Government. This siege of *Cap sine* was not a little beneficial to the Romans; as having long detained Hannibal, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For winter overtook him long before he could dispatch the business; which was to quit with his honor he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though effeminate as it was, He therewithal did often beat the Romans in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

SECT. X.

Of the great Supply that was decreed at Carthage, to be sent to Hannibal into Italy. How by the malice of Hanno and Stobor perfunctory of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of Fabius and other old Romans Historians, how partial they were in their writings.

When *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar* had spent some time about the taking in such *Italian*, as fell from the Romans after the battle at *Cerna*; his brother Hannibal sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to Carthage, with the joyful message of Victory. He told the Carthaginian Senate with how many Roman Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chafed, wounded or slain; how the stout Romans, that in the former war never shunned any occasion of fight, were now grown so calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, because he never durst adventure to come to battle; That not without reason their spirits were thus abated, since Hannibal had slain of them above 200000. and taken above fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of Italy, that followed the fortune of those great victories, and revolted unto the Carthaginians. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief feat of their Dominion in Italy: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained, where he meant to rest that winter attending their supply. As for the war, He said it was even at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the Romans any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Country: that so many battles had much diminished his brothers Army: that the Soldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new Italian friends, with exactions of money, Corn, and other necessities; but that these things must be sent from Carthage; which the victory would require with large amends. Finally, he called the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were slain, to be poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels, or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatness of the Roman calamity, forasmuch as none but

the * principal of that order, were accustomed to. Thus Livy reports Hannibal's credulity is, that while Rome was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwise *his Amicitia*. The wearing of the Ring, was the general privilege of the Roman Equites.

Who fo considers the former *Punic War*, may easily find, that the State of Carthage never did receive, in all the duration thereof, any such hopeful advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcom. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of Hanno, is said to have demanded of that great perfwader unto peace with Rome, Whether he were still of opinion, that Hannibal should be yielded up unto the Romans; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for their good success. Hereunto he made no answer, but likely that Hanno made the same formal answer, which *Livius* puts into his mouth, calling the Carthaginian Senators *Patres Conscripti*, by a term proper to the Romans; and putting them in mind of his own shameful overthrow received at the Islands *Agates*: yet the sum of his speech appears to have been no less malicious than is set down, forasmuch as Hannibal himself, at his departure out of Italy, exclaimed against the wickedness of this Hanno; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchinians*, had oppressed their Family, when otherwise it could not, with the ruin of Carthage. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jeit of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill befitted him, who had vanquished the Romans, to call for more help as if he had been beaten, or that he had taken their Camp, filled forthwith with spoil, to make request for meat and money. To these cavils, if answer were needful, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the Roman Camp: the best of the Soldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few silver studs in the bridles, and trappings of their horses. If Hannibal had taken any main convey of money and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Province, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards said to have done, when they won the Camp of *Ad-drahal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of Spain, in his journey towards Italy) then might such an objection more justly have been made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of Hanno his Oration, and wherein he best might hope to prevail, contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek peace, whilst they had so much the better in war.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easy to say. For though it be likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing Italy from the danger of war; yet it is not likely that the faith, so often broken to the Carthaginians in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shameful overthrows; since after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve Carthage from ruin, longer, than until such time as Rome was at leisure from all other wars. This counsel therefore of Hanno, though it might seem temperate, was indeed very pestilent, and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a main consent of the Senate, that forty thousand

Numidians, forty Elephants, and great abundance of silver, should be sent over to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, should be levied in *Spain*; not only to supply, as need should require, the Armies in their Province, but to be transported into *Italy*.

This great Aid, had it been as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not have found cause, to tax the reticels impudence of *Hannibal*, in forsaking to march directly from *Canna* to *Rome*, or in relieving his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finished the business, with less dangerous adventure, and the pleasures, which he men enjoyed among the *Campanians*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that wereto be employed in the following War. But either the too much carelessness of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreme necessity required it; or the craty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than sense of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been so well set down. The * Elephants were sent: and some money adventure, uncertain it is how long after. But those great forces of threecore thousand foot, and four thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of war. Only some small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*: and the journey of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their Subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the War of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace: after the loss of *Agathis*. Yet we see, what great Armes of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans* on the other side, having three or four years before been forced to some extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit; even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, even from *Tyrrus* their Mother-City in the bottom of the Straights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When the time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it self, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* fallshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of Faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousy was bred, that this mighty City would again rebel. For the *Car-*

thaginians, having given up hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to perform whatsoever should be enjoined them, with condition, that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their weapons, and engines of War: the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withal, but the Town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the *Sea*. For (said the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandize, by which ye now live, is not fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry, an wholesome kind of life, and ending men with many laudable qualities which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though suggered with glowing words, plainly shews, what good observations the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added fill to this conclusion, *Thus I think, that Carthage should be destroyed*. He may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these times, and the great height wherunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilful than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or most of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) even the first heat of their affection, wherein they concluded to pursue the war strongly) was ver-¹ past, go more leisurely to work, than had been requisite, in the execution. It was as if for *Hanno* to perfwade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italy*; to going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the enemies, or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could do so) finished the war, might easily make * *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own slackness, incredulity, dullness, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perfwaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spain*, than to set up all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible to hold a Country of so large extent, and to open a coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affliction of the Naturals being (as in a new conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been, to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garisons or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their main intent against *Rome* it self, until such time as every little thorn were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province, then must *Emporia* have been besieged and forced: which, by reason of alliance with

Of such ambition *Hanno* directly called *Hannibal*, laying that he made war, that so he might live compelled with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himself a King.

with the *Majilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporia*, was too strong to be won in battle: it had long defended it self against the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceeding well fortified: a great *Spanish* Town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compass, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Gracians*, though not over-much trusted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporia*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Majilians*, *Romans* and some *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little less difficulty, than was the *Roman* war (in appearance) after the battle at *Canna*: yea, it had been ineffect none other, than to alter the fear of the war; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it to be forborn, a great folly it was to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making for war upon their City. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavoured to change the fear of the war transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is necessary to their own purposes, did make them easily win at opportunity, and hope that somewhat would fall out well of it self, though they set not to their helping hands, *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keep the people full. In the mean while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travel for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barchines* had been somewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far less honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their own estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Wealth above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony used toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finished: so the conclusion of this war present, will make them complain, with feeling sighs, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Canna*; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let pass, as if it were cost enough to fend a few handfulls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* business, and the state of *Africk* it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, upon success of things in *Italy*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governments, it is very hard and almost impossible to tell down. For, though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Livy*, the tender love of his own Country, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others; yet must we not, for his sake believe those lies, which the unpartial judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them original. It were needless to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untutth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example

Pol. lib. 1.

may suffice. He faith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having clean spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in the life of *Amilcar*, set down by *A. milius Probus*; That *Eryx* was in such fort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any war. These words, being referred to the brave resolution of the *Carthaginian* soldiers, and the singular virtue of the General, insinuating such spirit into them, may be taken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when the *Roman* fleet of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay down their arms and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly made him chuse, whether he would talk of it or no; for that the Arms which his Country had put into his hands to use against her enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were contented to let *Amilcar* have his will, and not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; saying, That howsoever *Amilcar* and his Soldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* story) and those that had more regard of truth, in the narration of the mighty City of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livy* introduced *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful overthrow at the Islands * *Agathis*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet † elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That affairs of *Carthage* were never better, than little before the loss of their Fleet in that battle at *Sea*; wherein himself was General. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipios* in this war, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *P. Scipio*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livy* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to think too well of their relations; which are such as follow.

SECT. XI.

Strange reports of the *Romans* victories in *Spain*, before *Asdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar* followed thence his Brother *Hannibal* into *Italy*.

It hath been shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alps*, fell before him his Brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with 14000. foot of the Confederates, and 1200. horse, had been allotted unto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spain* against *Hannibal*; who, since he was marching into *Italy* with

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with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; and therefore made hold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himself remained in *Italy* all the time of his Consulship; which being expired, he was sent Proconsul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of 8000. men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain* against the *Carthaginians*; whom they vanquished in so many battles, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win unto their Concoyde, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and must adventure to break it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serve to arm the Natives against these Invaders, and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill Effects, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure; which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant (but in that Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in the *Italian* Wars; or serving the *Carthaginians* in *Africa*. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipios* were neither so many, nor so great as they are let out by *Livius*. This we may be bold to say, that the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth answer. That if *Adrubal* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say by him in *Spain*: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Adrubal*, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battle, gave only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his money, Elephants and broken Troops, over *Tages*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and to toward *Italy*, upon which he fell with more than three thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most inconvenient for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that these Elephants being so few before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so are they said to have done in the last battle between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this War, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us; unto whom it was no wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipios* in *Spain*, not greatly insinuating particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporia*, an Haven Town, not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still

the same name with little inflexion. That by the flame of his clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto Rome, as the story begins to hint, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into the love of the *Barbarians*, among whom his dexterity in practice had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand than freeing them at liberty. This pretext availed with some; others were to be hired with money: and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially when he had won a battle against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of Accord, made with these people, likely it is, that he remembered to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgot, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conservent*, which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Majesty of the people of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome; yet implicitly denied an oblique covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, that the *Spaniards* became *ditissimi Romanæ*, of the *Roman* jurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience, particularly in the *Burgundians*; *Hannibal* had found at his coming among them such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them flart from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governor over them, as over the rest of the Province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their Lord, that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heirs) he made him not only Lieutenant-General over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferior Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoice at the coming of *Scipio*, with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joy, in seeing the custom of all conquered Nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indirectly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanovs*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as some sensible still of the present evil which they felt, than regardless of the greater mischief, whereto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affliction of this Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battle with *Scipio*, wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stisnum*, a Town hard by, and won it. But *Adrubal*, having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found careless, as after a victory, roving abroad in the Country; and with great slaughter drave them aboard their ships.

ships. This done, he ran up into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean season was gone to visit and aid his Fleet; where having set things in order, he returned back, and made towards *Adrubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having lost *Athanasia* their chief City, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Asturan* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty days hoping in vain, that the sharp Winter and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were fain at length to yield; and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to help their distressed neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause contented, become *Carthaginians* on the sudden, in the next news that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditissimi Romanæ*, subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Adrubal*, as it were by a charm, stirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Arms in his quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond *Iberus*. *Publius* perhaps or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Country, was beaten by *Adrubal* back to his ships, whence he durst not stir until *Winter* came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they fought their own benefit; helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyrannies, under which they were to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promises of those that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Country Laws, and not under Governours sent from Rome or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testify: even from henceforth unto the times of *Augustus Caesar*, till when they were never thoroughly conquered.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory against the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ran not too far on ground, he took; and thereby grew Master of the whole Coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty states in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the *Romans*, or given Hostages; whereby *Adrubal* was compelled to fly into the uttermost corners of the Land, and hide himself in *Lusitania*. Yet it follows, that the *Ilergetes* did again rebel; that *Ad-*

drubal hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him Hostages. These took from the *Carthaginians* three Towns, and vanquished him in two battles; wherein they slew fifteen thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren jointly administered the business in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian* War, the two *Scipios* did send envoies, without both fear or doubt, past over *Iberus*, and besieged *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many other, the same *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Adrubal*. *Bostor*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself to be persuaded by one *Acdex* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely restoring unto them their Hostages, as resting without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them all to the *Roman* General; persuaded them, as he had done *Roman* officers, to make the Liberty their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much love, if the tale were true, and it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearsing for many particulars, whereof I can believe so few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The year following was like unto this: *Adrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipios* divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Adrubal*; with much labour and cruelty, hath gotten four thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Africa*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Masters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*, because they had been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetanians*, or *Carpetani*, an Inland people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. These do much mischief, so that *Adrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making a head, do valiantly assail him, that they drive him for very fear, to encamp himself strongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battle. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Country round about. This good success breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Adrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, tears them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Adrubal* should lead his Army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what bad case he was; and had he weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported; and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Adrubal* therefore presently sends word to *Carthage*, That this must not be so; or, if they will needs have it

it fo, that then they must lend him a successor, and threefolded a strong Army, which to employ they should find work more than enough; such notable men were the Roman Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuse; *Adrubal* must needs be gone: *Himilco*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that service, both by Land and Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Adrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of money, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose Countries he must pass, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembering to ease him of his care. But since it can be no better, he lays great impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his subjects; and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. *Scipio's* hearing these news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest Town in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Adrubal*; who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battle with him; which they win the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be hailed into *Italy*. Great numbers are slain; and few should have escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battles were fully joined. Their Camp the *Romans* take and spoil; where by (questionless) they are marvellously enriched; all the money that could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this Italian Expedition. This days event joins all *Spain* to the *Romans*; if any part of the Country stood in doubt before; and puts *Adrubal* so far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they have neither money, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to sustain their Army and Fleet; that all is wanting: so as unless they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an evil season; the State being scarcely able, after the loss at *Canna*, to help it self at home. Yet relief is sent; how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere into the relation of things, whereof the truth is less questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipios* pursue *Adrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking-holes. What else can we think, that remember the late news of him, and how fearfully he misruled his own safety? They find him, and *Agas* and *Amilcar* the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of three-score thousand men, besieging *Iliturgi*; (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carrinensa* is now in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Iliturgi*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Ilurgenses* their nearest Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly distressed, but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible laughter of all that resisted them: and having victualled the place, encourage Townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalf. So

they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against three-score thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight ensigns.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Iliturgi*, fall upon *Incibilis*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Adrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his Journey, had lost his wealthy carriages when his Camp was taken after the battle by *Iberus*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custom) are beaten again at *Incibilis*; where there were of them above thirteen thousand slain, and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Levy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one Year, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans* notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Adrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castrom Altum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* encampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Country round about it is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought best, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws himself unto *Mons vitioria*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibilis*, overlooketh the Southern Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Adrubal* the son of *Gefso*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio* with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great City of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Batis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Iliturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them

them the next day, and in two battels kills above 12000, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fix and thirty Ensigns. This victory (doublets) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*, where the *Romans* are loon at their heels. There is a great battle fought, that lasted four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory: and a more notable would they have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirteen and nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and sixteen and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* fly to *Auringer*, and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquished the *Carthaginians* again; but kills not half so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to let war on foot, quickly fly to the broken troops of *Adrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again; and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensigns, and other apparences. After to many victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* embarralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that City, they had at first entered into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Country once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were slain (as appears) to go their way without it: so as they need not to blush, for having to long forbore to do that which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they won *Saguntum*; and restored the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed Citizens as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had misruled unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them if they had been able.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Adrubal's* journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporia*, an Haven Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phoenicians*, kin to the *Maspians*, friends to the *Romans*. They have easily won their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by periwallow, other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their own unsettled passions, and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprize; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we find no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think,

that all those battels lately remembered, after every one of which *Adrubal* fate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For is it not the custom of Armies vanquished, to carry to war from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoining people. Yet made they this, little less than two years business. Of these *Celtiberians* we heard before, that they had yielded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given Hostages to *Scipio*; and, in his appointment, made war against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and not without express condition of a great sum, hired to serve in the *Roman* Camp. How this may hold together, I cannot perceive; unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman* custom, or rather the custom of some bad Author whom *Levy* follows, so call every messenger, or frailer, that entered that Camp, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, lend an Army of thirty thousand to help the *Romans*: one of which, 3000, of the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of these three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibal's* men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow *Adrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when the mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipios* presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the Enemies, who lie not far off with three Armies. *Adrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Antioche*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order; but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Agas* the Son of *Gefso*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five days march, and by running into the furthest part of the Country save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Soldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army, leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his Brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Agas* and *Adrubal* the Son of *Gefso*, are not studying how to run away; they find no such necessity. They joyn their forces together, and with *Publius Scipio*, and lay to him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his Trenches; wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Malantius*, Prince of the *Maspians*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritaniam*, in the Region called now *Tremizem*: to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Incibilis* a Spanish Prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suffetani*, to joyn with his Enemies. Fearing therefore

to be strait shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indubius* upon the way, leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indubius*, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Namian* horde appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides; neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come to fast upon him in a Reay, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck thorow with a lance, and slain: very few of his Army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty days after. At his meeting with *Afrubal*, the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own Country. If *Antiochus*, where *Afrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Herodotus* takes it, a *Ciliberian* Town, this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by *Afrubal*, and easily persuaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them, and not less unable, without their help either to resist the enemy, or to join with his Brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Afrubal* pursues and harpeth him: and *Mago* with *Afrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his Brother after him. *Scipio* flees from them all by night, but is overtaken the next day by their horde, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds of ease affording on every side: which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-ladders, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder; and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they who were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and throw themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* Camp, on the North side of *Iberia*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life, since his General, with two names of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a noble spirit; who having gathered together the scattered Soldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Soldiers, being to chafe a General by moit voices, prefer this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Afrubal* the Son of *Gisco* coming upon them; this *L. Martius* to encourage his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonishing them of their present necessity, that he bears the *Carthaginians* into their Treaches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but he wisely sounds the retreat; recovering the fury of his Soldiers to a greater occa-

sion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished, and now again little better than slain: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security; and, utterly despising him, set neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Soldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no advantage more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon the Camp of *Afrubal*; where, finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowsie, he enters without resistance, fires their Cabins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all are affrighted the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath well possessed, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the Rampart; which as many do, as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Afrubal* the Son of *Amilear*, that lay six miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But left perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soon as they. By which design speed, he comes early in the morning upon this further Camp; which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* Shields, foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives head-long into flight, all that can save themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty seven thousand of the enemies perish in this nights work; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slain; and that in another battle with *Afrubal*, there were slain ten thousand more; besides four thousand three hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Livius* therefore hath elsewhere well observed, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battles. That whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his Soldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Livius* reports as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name, which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

Of these occurrences *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in his wife, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vice-gerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto him, he filled himself Proprietor. The Fathers were no less moved with the tidings than the case required; and therefore took such careful order, for supplying their Forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies levied to serve that Province could be sent away, yet could they not stay a day for

for defence of the City it self, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for the title of Proprietor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was matter of ill consequence, to have the Soldiers abroad make choice among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *Claudius Nero* was dispatched away with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well that about these times, the affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and offered means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise the victories of *Martius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the Alps. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Festus*; he found there tokens of the overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends; whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Afrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*; whom he found among the *Asturian*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapidarius*, out of which there was no issue, but only through a strait, whereon the *Roman* seized at the first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find; and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, that *Afrubal* seeing himself thus locked up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain* and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed. That he spent many days, in entertaining parley with *Claudius* about this business. That night by night, he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages out of the danger, and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Afrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. Howsoever it was; neither this nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Soldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Proprietor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good services, had repeated their election, and sent a Proprietor whom they fancied not to well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*, and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius* likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these,

or upon other reasons, *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the war into *Africa*; where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other virtues that purchase love; of which qualities, who great use he made, shall appear in the memoir of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too much of the great *Alexander's* vanity; how he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; how a Dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entering her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them not better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this Noble City might seem not only to have surpassed other Nations in virtue of the generality, but a life in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of unquestionable truth, that when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there desert not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; that the people of *Rome* were much amazed thereto; That when the day of election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on a high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams; and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Proprietor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Afrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences which I find in the two partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joynted *M. Junius Silianus*, as Proprietor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Centuriæ* Gallies, with which they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarragona* along the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province; which he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him; and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of a young man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (as some think, all the next Year) he did nothing; but spent the time perhaps, as his forefathers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprise

was against new Carthage: upon which he came unexpected, with 25000 foot, and 2500 horse; his Sea forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by assault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some Fishermen of Tarracon had not discovered unto Scipio, a secret passage unto the Walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of new Carthage, resembled the old and great Carthage in situation; standing upon a demy-Iland, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Western side of the Walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fishermen of Tarracon had found; and finding some part thereof a shelf, whereat at low water men might pass knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navil, Scipio thrust thierinto some companies of his men; who recovered the top of the Walls without resistance; the place being left without guard, as able to defend it self by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the Carthaginians within the City, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the Roman Army. What booty was found within the Town, Livie himself cannot certainly affirm; but is said to say, that some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by Scipio into the Roman Treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, that all the wealth of Africa and Spain was contained in that one Town. But therein into before we all the Spanish Hostages (or at least of the adjoining Provinces) whom Scipio intreated with singular courtesie: restoring them unto their kindred and friends in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks, due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the Celtiberians, and two petty Kings of the Ilergetes and Lacesians, nearest Neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North-side of Iberus, forsook the Carthaginian party, and joined with the Romans. The speech of Indibilis, K. of the Ilergetes is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself as commonly fugitives do of the pleasure, which he did unto the Romans, in revolting from their enemies, but rather excusing this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the Carthaginians, and invited by the honourable dealing of Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the Ilergetes had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the Carthaginian party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to Cn. Scipio: then could nothing have been devised more vain, than this Oration of Indibilis their King, excusing as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder Scipio's had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the Romans never masters of the Country, till this worthy Commander by recovering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The Carthaginians

Generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry: yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, that a young man, having stoln a Town by surprize, was too far transported, and over-joyed, that that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle, which would alter his mode, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture; I should be bold to say, that the Carthaginians were at this time busy, in seeking forth towards Italy; and that Scipio, to divert them undertook new Carthage, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, late down before Ilora. And in this respect I would suppose that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had been undiscovered, and the Town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business between Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that Adribal should be stayed from going into Italy, than that half of Spain should be taken from him.

Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; Mago, and Asdrubal the son of Gessio, were thought sufficient to hold Scipio work, in that lingering War of taking and retaking Towns, whilst the main of the Carthaginian forces, under Asdrubal the son of Anibalcar, went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in trial of the Empire. But the Roman Historians tell in that another fashion; and say, That Asdrubal was beaten into Italy: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but bear the name of Scipio. Scipio, say they, coming upon Asdrubal's his Vanc-curers charged so lustily the Carthaginian horse, that they drove them into their Trenches, and made it all apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the Romans Army was, and how dejected the enemy. Asdrubal therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the River, very steep of ascent, and not easie of access on the other side, by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he strongly encamped himself: and in the mid-way between the top and roof of the Hill, was also another Plain; into which he defended, more upon bravery, than he might not seem to hide himself within the Trenches, and for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazard of a battle, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the Romans. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the Carthaginians had got up before them, they drove both men and Elephants headlong, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flee. Out of such a battle, wherein he had lost eight thousand men, Asdrubal is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have marched toward the Pyrenes, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless, Mago, and Asdrubal the son of Gessio, are reported after this to have consulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs

needs must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards as far as might be, from the name of Scipio. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into Italy; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affairs have too long detained us.

SECT. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome. Polthumius the Roman General, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls. Philip King of Macedon enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joining with the E. lians, make war upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the Carthaginians.

WE left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates rejoiced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from Carthage of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the Romans corn into his own barns, and to drive away their Cattel to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled Towns in like sort as he did Geryon, and the Cattle of Canne: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and the Spring following, until corn were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such employment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon Rome, after his victory at Canne. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his first coming, want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened to hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious success, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battle; if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of necessities to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the walls of Rome, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unless they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was past, when for many States of Italy were become his: the year following, the Samnites, and other old enemies to Rome, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege unto that proud City, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the winter was passed over joyfully, saving that there came not any rydings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the promised supply there arrived no more than only the Elephants. How late it was that these came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, save one, that he brought over the Alps, had been lost in his journey through the Maritimes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse for this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perfwasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly

Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a safer, though a further way about, to pass along through Spain and Gaul, as he himself had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the Barbarians in the Journey: than to commit the main strength of their City, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needful provisions. With these allegations Hannibal must rest content; and seek, as well as he can, to satisfy his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the year served, he took the field: and having finished what rested to be done at Capisnum, sought to make himself Master of some good Haven-town thereabout; that might serve to entertain the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse which they might pretend by want thereof To the same purpose and to do what else was needful, he sent Himilco unto the Locrians, and Hanno to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to satisfy all quarters of Italy, yea, the Isles of Sicily and Sardinia, since the siege of Rome must needs be deferred unto another year. Hanno made an ill Journey, of it, being met, or overtaken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who slew above two thousand of his men, with the loss of fewer than three hundred Romans. But Himilco sped far better. By help of the Brutians, his good friends, he won Petelia, or Petilia, by force; after it had held out some months. He won likewise Consentia, and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of Locri, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of Rhegium, over against Sicily.

The great faith of the Petilians is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government under which the Roman Subjects lived. As for the Samnites, Campanians, and others, whose earliness in rebellion may seem to prove the contrary; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Sovereignty, an were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefit allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to Rome for help: where their messengers received answer from the Senate, That the public misfortunes had not left means, to relieve their Associates that were so far distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadors they are termed, as well as others, publicly sent from Cities of the Roman Subjection, that had a private jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the Father, nor to give them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Town, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation again: and having thoroughly considered all their forces remaining plainly confessed, that it was not in their own power to give any relief. Wherefore these Embassadors were willing to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own safety, as having already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was said) held out some months; and having driven in vain to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility, gave to the Carthaginians a bloody victory over them; by being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assaults.

The Romans at this time were indeed in such ill case, that Hannibal with a little help from Carthage, might have reduced them unto terms of great extremity. For whereas in a great bravery, before their

their loss at *Canna*, they had shewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithstanding the great war that lay upon them to near at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whiter better than at home. *L. Posthumus Albinus* their Prætor they had sent, with an Army of five and twenty thousand, to the *Illyrian* King *Pirrus* they had sent for their tribute due, whereas the pay-day was past; willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver Hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius* their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear rydings little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumus* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litania*; thorough which he was to pass. Against his coming, the Enemies had felled the trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumus*, with his whole Army, was entered into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls* that lay about the Wood, began to cut down the trees, which falling one against another, bore all down to earth, that the *Romans* were overwhelmed. Men and Horses, in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious work of felling many trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some wind that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entered, or by some other of those many accidents, where to the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done, and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lombardy*, a Country now to civil, was infected in elder times, that of *Posthumus* his skull, being cleaned and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy vessel for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*, the amazement was no less than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedy to the mischief: and anger was vain, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none, neither do I find, that there was a second time demanded; this we find that with *Pleuratus*, and *Serdaitus*, *Illyrian* Kings, as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their duty, as Vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having assured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, he sent Embassadors to *Hannibal*, with whom he made a League, upon these conditions, That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, until it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the Spoil therein to be gotten, should be left intire unto the State of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army should pass into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, until he had subdued all his enemies (which were the *Enolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus* and others) leaving feebly unto him the full possession of that Country, and the Isles adjoining. But such

predisposition of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by divine providence, which therein shews it felt; not (as *Herodotus* falsely terms it, and like an *Abbeis*) envious or malicious, but verily just and Majestical in upholding that unpeakable greatness of Sovereignty, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadors that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These news were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey fell wilfully into the Camp of *Hannibal*, who entertained them after a better fashion, and concluded the business about which they came, upon the points before remembered. In their return homeward they happened again unluckily to be detected by the *Roman* Fleet, which mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chase. They did their best to have escaped: but being overtaken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboard; and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it again, That having been sent from King *Philip* to make a League with the people of *Rome*, they were not able by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to go any further than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before; and (which marred all) *Gesio*, *Bellar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratify the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to find all out: so that at length *Hannibal* his own letters to *K. Philip* were delivered up, and the whole business confessed. The Embassadors and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*; where the chief of them were cast into prison, and the rest sold for bondslaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding as was agreed before, only with some loss of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed, thinking that what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble resolution, and suitable unto that, whereby they kept off the storm, that else would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easy with small force to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that she very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joining with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegiance, not only of the *Latins*, and others, their most faithful subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all privileges of the City, it will appear by the following success of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quingentum* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was busied about the Sea Towns, that looked towards *Italy*, setting

feeting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epiris* craved help of *M. Valerius*; or rather accepted his kind offers; who had none other business to do. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Town-men in good order, but not to keep out the *Romans*, of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Town, and sent thence a thousand men, under *Nevius Crispus*, an undertaking and expert Captain, which got by night into *Apollonia*. There made a notable fall, and brake into *Philip's* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his Camp, and raise the siege. The King pursued (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the River, so that he was fain to burn his ships (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation always enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*; and easily persuaded them (being so affected, as hath elsewhere been shewed) to make strong war on *Philip*, wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*; after which they had gaped long, and whereof the *Roman* was as *Babel* in making promise, as it already it had been his own. So a league was made between them; and afterward solemnly published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their Capitol. The conditions were, that from *Ætolia* to *Cercyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country should be subdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer than whilst he abstained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeed the only point whereof *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalf, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unless it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedemonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or favoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Serdaitus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamum* in *Asia* the less, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of, the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so far from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates are thrust into the Treaty rather to give it countenance than for any readiness which they disclose to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet awhile the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals must make much; as the late French King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had *Poland*, was said to court the title of *Nauwarre*, was said to court the title of *Rachel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard wherewith the *Ætolian* tended. He repaired his Army, made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that

were wont in times of danger to infect the Kingdom of *Macedon*; waited the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and over-running the *Pelagonians*, *Dardaniens*, and others, whom he held suspected, came down into *Thessaly*, whence he made them as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the chance of this Expedition, he thought to stir up all the *Greeks* adjoining, against the *Ætolians* whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Country. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaching into *Greece* he left *Perseus* his Son and Heir, with four thousand men, upon their borders; with the rest of his Army, before greater business should overtake and intrange him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*, in hope to subdue the *Ætolians* their daily enemies, in hope to subdue the *Ætolians* their daily enemies, and win their little Country, yet he should be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Otricoli* and *Nepesin*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently situated to let in on them; and assigned them unto the *Ætolians* according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians* to dye (as we say) every Mothers Son to die, in defence of their Country; together with the great hate of the *Macedonian* (who laid aside all other business) to succour these his friends, caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Acarya*, which they took: the *Romans* assailed by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the Spoil.

For these good services *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* sent in his stead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* help, *Attalus* out of *Asia* came over to assist the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved by his own jealousy of *Philip's* greatness; though somewhat also tickled with the vanity of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titular, he took in very loving part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being joined with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battles; and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome neighbours desired peace of him, and used their best means to get it. And when the day appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadors, instead of making submission, proposed him such intolerable conditions, as ill seemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well testify, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being besieged in their own Towns, that had made them desirous of composition. This fear being taken away, by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever; and thrust a Garrison of their own, and some *Roman* friends into *Elis*; which threatened *Acchaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the Streight from *Nauropolis*, waited the Country in a terrible bravery; wherein *Philip* required them, coming upon them in great haste from the *Neuman* Games (which he was then celebrating) and tending thence faster away, but nothing thither than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no less than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*, sent a Navy into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*; and upon greater reason as being more interested in the success of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the *Romans Quinqueres*. Wherefore it behoved him to use the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came somewhat too late; which might better at first have kept those Enemies from fastening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could serve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needful that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaïans* his principal Confederates. But in attacking their Town, he was encountered by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garrison, which drove him back with some loss. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment in his retreat from *Elis*: rather he had given testimony of his personal valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slain under him. He had also soon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thousand, with some twenty thousand head of Cattel which they had brought together in a place of safety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* foragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily under a low tree, had torn off one of the horns, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip's* death. The horn was well known, and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar; and not only the borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but some Captains of *Philip* easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ran into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men to assist his friends the *Achaïans*. He also took order, to have beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings, upon whom he meant formerly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill favourably; especially in the Isle of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it: where also the strong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hasty marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*: this City, lying over against *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won more through the cowardice of the people, than any great force that he had used: now because the *Roman* Soldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum* and taken all to themselves, it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his tharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much money as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tydings of *Philip's* arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his

ships, finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this misadventure, or tydings of *Prusias* to *Bithynia*: his invasion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Troene*, *Trisona*, *Drymus* and many small Towns in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more bravery than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the mean season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been busie in *Peloponnesus*, but hearing of *Philip's* arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chuse two new Kings, and to conform themselves to their old manner of government. But their estate was so far out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the City, proved no less unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycergus* a Tyrant rose up among them: upon whom succeeded this *Machanidas*, and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* side, for fear of the *Achaïans*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speak more hereafter.

Philip entering into *Achaïa*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Country; spake brave words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to do with an Enemy that was very nimble, and made War by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaïa*; but could no where find them, such haste they made, for fear of being overtaken. But *Philip*, he said, was not always prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and fill to their loss. The *Achaïans* were glad to hear these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored unto their Nation some Towns that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megabolians* their confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymaïans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, redeemed, and put in quiet possession of their own City. Further, passing over the *Cyniatick* Gulf, he fell upon the *Ætolians*; whom he drove into the Mountains and woods, or other their strongest holds, and wasted their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Achaïans*, and returned home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants, and animated them so well, that they refted fearless of any threatening danger. Then had he leisure to make war upon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*; with whom nevertheless he was not so far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himself Master of the Sea, the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ran along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good success added much reputation unto the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make strong war upon the *Ætolians*, at their own doors. As for the *Romans*, either some displeasure, conceived against

against their Confederates, or some fear of danger at home, when *Afrubas* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; caused them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore being driven to great extremity, were fain to sue for peace unto *Philip*; and accepted, upon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempromius* with 10000 foot, 1000 horse, and 35 Gallies, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he had been invited to *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, making a great noise, as it with these his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The *K*. presented him battle, but he refused it; and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himself close within the walls of *Apollonia*, making some overtures of peace: which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not to great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as he *Philip* to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royal offer that he made them, to serve their turn in *Italy*, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not firm any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his need of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation of his Army, or to fresh his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Piracies. Only once they came to his help, which was at his last journey into *Achaïa*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing, and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip* with his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretched dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hannibal's* tricks, whereby *Hannibal* to bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly to hear that to great a *K*. made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as envy could suggest, to persuade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their Italian wars to mighty a Prince; whom the change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrify the *Romans*, and compel them to send part of their forces from home, that might find this Enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the war, be urged unto the prosecution, by his own necessity: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges: yea, farce to the labor of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africa*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all

requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsel of *Hannibal* and his fellows were such as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their late protest which they most pretended. And this was part of the reason, why he began the building 1000 Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the war, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had willingly entered into trouble for their sakes; but they despaired him as if the quarrel were merely his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Episcopi*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should receive in three or four Towns of *Ætolia*, which they had recovered by this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inferred into the Covenants, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Acarnanians* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*; who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Country about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* standon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their loss.

The Confederates and Dependents of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achaïans*, *Bœotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Episcopi*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Roman* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, *Pluratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians* and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, helike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by themselves most likely) comprised in their league with *Philip* were also inserted by the *Romans*; that were never less in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*; they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing in all great actions. Yet the setting down of their names in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busy people, and ministered occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to stop it.

SECT. XIII.

How the *Romans* began to recover their strength by degrees. The nobles affection of the *Romans*, in relieving the publick necessities of their Common-wealth.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many enterprises at once, they still

followed all by the halves; and walled more men and money to no purpose, than could have served (if good order had been) to finish the whole War, as far shorter space and more themselves Lords of all that the Romans held. This error had become the less harmful, if their care of Italy had been fought as it ought. But they suffered Hannibal to weary himself with expectation of their promised favours; which being ill deferred from year to year, caused so great opportunities to be lost, as a Conjuratour could have desired. The death of *Publius*, and destruction of this whole Army in *Gaul*; the legun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *their* friend in *Syracusa*; with great alterations to their prejudice, in the whole life of *Syracusa*; as also that War, of which we last spoke threatened from *Alexandria*, happening all at one time; and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of their Italian Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administered matter unto *Hannibal*, or such as *Hannibal* was, whereupon to work. For though it was in the power of Carthage to perform all that was decreed for Italy; yet could not that prohibition hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many excusations offered had been thoroughly prosecuted; as though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his Italian war, should have been strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troops, slender Carthage, slender Italy, War in *Syracusa*; the lingering aid which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Libya*; and (among all these their attempts) their hairy catching at *Syracusa*; little deferred to be thought good reasons of neglecting the main point, whereof all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered apart by it self, was no otherwise to be allowed, as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition. That the care of Italy made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatness, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the late at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himself to necessity; to feed his Italian friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Nepes*, *Cume*, and other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard siege, that was to be recovered for a work of more importance. Many others he made upon *Nola*, but always with bad success. Once *Marcellus* fought a battle with him there, yet under the very walls of the Town; having the assistance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads that inclined to the rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and employed in sundry pairs of Italy at once. *Nepes* was even in those days, a strong City: and needed a years work to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was always fruitless. Upon the Town of *Cume* they of *Cape* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the *Roman* during, them (as being also *Cumans*) to be present at a solemn sacrifice of the Nation, where they would confer about their general good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly from any danger that might come by the Romans. This motion the *Cumans* made flow to entertain; but privily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*; the *Roman* Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of War, and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have been *Publius*, *Albanus*, that was lately slain by the *Gauls*; after whose death *Gracchus* was chosen, as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Avarice either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they feigned so to have done, because this was the first time, that ever two great opportunities to be lost, as a Conjuratour could have desired. The death of *Publius*, and destruction of this whole Army in *Gaul*; the legun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *their* friend in *Syracusa*; with great alterations to their prejudice, in the whole life of *Syracusa*; as also that War, of which we last spoke threatened from *Alexandria*, happening all at one time; and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of their Italian Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administered matter unto *Hannibal*, or such as *Hannibal* was, whereupon to work. For though it was in the power of Carthage to perform all that was decreed for Italy; yet could not that prohibition hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many excusations offered had been thoroughly prosecuted; as though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his Italian war, should have been strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troops, slender Carthage, slender Italy, War in *Syracusa*; the lingering aid which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Libya*; and (among all these their attempts) their hairy catching at *Syracusa*; little deferred to be thought good reasons of neglecting the main point, whereof all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered apart by it self, was no otherwise to be allowed, as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition. That the care of Italy made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatness, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the late at home.

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The *Carthaginian* Army was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yielded; and withal to abide (as it must do) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it self, was driven in the mean time to alter his course of war: and instead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invasion upon the whole Country, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Country of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*; as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul, when *Hannibal*, having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the loss before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their Lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to be a Sovereigns. They held it their own, that they should be provoked by such as thought they had dominion over them; whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; & gave unto their old, more easy means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intensive as necessity constrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship; and joined with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the Shield; and *Marcellus*, the *Roman* Sword. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon just reason, commended, that he did not stand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but caused himself to be chosen with *Marcellus*, knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, served to put the *Campanians* in fear, that *Capua* it self should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreaty, came from *Arpi* (where he lay, hearkening after news from *Tarentum*) and having with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*; about which he spent three dates in vain, hoping to have won it. The Garrison in *Puteoli* was 6000, strong; and in their duty so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good success, could only throw his anger upon the fields there, and about *Nepes*, which having done, and once more (with as ill success as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilst he was in his progress thither; *Hannibal* made a journey against *Beneventum*; and *T. Gracchus*, the last year's Consul, having from *Nucerina*, met him there and fought with him. *Hannibal* had with him about 17000 foot, *Britannians* and *Lusitani* for the most part; besides 12000 horse, very few of which were *Italians*, all the rest *Numidians* and *Moor*. He held the *Romans* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his soldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed slaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, that this day or never they must purchase their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The fierce reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour, afforded by their General, of cutting off the slain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the service by imploy-

ment of too many hands in a work so little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* therefore finding his own error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cut away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all they have liberty immediately after the battle, it should have the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their desperate fury had soon overthrown; if the *Roman* horde could have made their part good against the *Numidians*. But though *Hannibal* did what he could, and pressed to hard upon the *Romans* battle, that four thousand of the slaves, (for fear either of them, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatened before the battle unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the Griefs of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loss. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand, most of which were horse; all the rest were either slain or taken. The *Roman* General gave unto all his Soldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but unto those four thousand, which had recoiled unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they lived in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink churcheless standing, unless sickness forced them to break his order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchised Soldiers were feasted in publick by the Townsmen; some sitting, some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of slaves manumitted) with caps of white wool. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterwards hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battle, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into Italy: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Clanne*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans*, through industry, by little and little, repaired the great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and longer after this, their Treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help it. The fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any surplage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities. Few there was in Italy that continued to pay them tribute; which also they could worse do than before; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniences, which ensleaved *Rome* it self. *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great prey, hardly now maintaining the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained; and could now do least for his Country, when most need was; as also the number of them was much decreased; so as money should be raised upon them by the *Pol*, yet it must be far less than in former times. The Senate therefore diligently considering the greatness of the war within the bowels of Italy, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicily* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the *Naturals*, declining from

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the friendship or subjection of *Rome*, the threats of the *Alaccianians*, ready to land in the Eastern parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Alfabrad*, to follow his Brother over the *Alpias* foon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortal dangers; were driven almost even to extreme want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the 2 *Scipio's* from *Spain*, they resolved upon the only course, without which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly. Wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor laid open the publick wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be naking of money for victuals, weapons, apparel, or the like things needful to the Souldiers; but that suchas had stuff, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities and labors, until the war were ended. Hereunto he to be effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain*, as well supplied, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the Roman Censors, taking in hand the redress of disorders within the City, were chiefly intensive to the correction of those, that had mis-behaved themselves in this present war. They began with *L. Cæcilium Metellus*, who after the battle at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellow-men prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath, but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp, with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the wars, after them which the Laws appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtful only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereto, by this Decree of the Senate, following, That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into Sicily, there to serve until the end of the War, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainers of the Army beaten at *Cannæ*. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and account of the Citizens; to chuse or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those whose unhesitant or unfeignly behaviour fell not within the compass of the Law. They took also an account of the Roman Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publick Offices of service, unto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their mis-behaviour. Generally, they had the oversight of mens lives and manners; and their censure was much revered and feared; thought it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But, besides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick Works, as mending of High-ways, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porticoes, and such other buildings. If any man

incroached upon the Streets, High-ways, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors coming out to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customs, and other publick Revenues to farm: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholden to this office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were always of that Order, and careful to uphold the reputation thereof. But the Common-wealth being now impoverished by war, and having small store of Lands to let, or of Customs that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with pursuing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations; or, if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the Romans. They that had been accustomed in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly as the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the war. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had been enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the City were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widows lying under Patronage, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Quæstor kept a book of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these Widows and Orphans: whilst the whole flock was used by the City. This good example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad; so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in so great want.

The 1200. Talents wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride, yielded half so much commodity, as might be laid in balance against these miseries, wherein their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather enable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom the forthwith undertook, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, wherein she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the Roman metal grew more hard and solid; and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athens*, when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is, (as *Sir Francis Bacon* has judiciously observed) That a State, whose defence or item is small, may apply force to be foundation of a great Monarchy, which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestick prosperity is laid aside, and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say that our Age hath been a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived itself to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed

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by the Duke of *Alva*, were it so, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as, by extreme indolence, and straining themselves to fill their publick Treasury, they are all grown wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Common-wealth, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times; we may truly say, That the City was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, should in all reason have been more dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens and subjects of *Rome* could have believed their own interest to be as great, in those wars which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon so great virtue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they never so many. But unto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of those ways, by which Kingdoms rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

SECT. XIV.

The Romans win some Towns back from Hannibal. Hannibal wins Tarentum. The Siege of Capua. Two Victories of Hannibal. The Journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the War: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The Town of *Castine*, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to have been relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the assistance of his Collegue. Nevertheless, the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to give it over: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, that many such things, as were not at first to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted unto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Town was pressed so hard, that the *Campani* dwelling therein, grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, wherein they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversely reported) *Marcellus* seizing upon a Gate, entered with his Army, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fifty of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul, who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slain, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deferred Commendations, by holding his word good unto these fifty; I

know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himself after the Roman fashion, with some equivocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsum* in *Gallia* taken by the *Marshall Monks*, when I was a young man in *France*. For will it be entertained parley about composition: the besieged ran all from their several guards, upon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The *Marshall* therefore discovering a party of the Walls unguarded, entered by *Scalado*, and put all five the Governour unto the sword. Herein the Governour of *Mount Marsum* committed two gross errors; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parley without Pledges for assurance given and received. Some such oversight the Governour of *Castine* seemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monius*, was very honourable. When this Work was ended, many small Towns of the *Samnites*, and some of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken or slain, about 25000. of the Enemies; and the Country grievously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from those, that had promised to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius* the Roman Prætor had thrust so many men into it, that the Traitors durst not stir. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* were fain to depart, having wearied himself in vain with expectation. Yet he waited till the Country, but contented himself with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence towards *Salapia*, which he chose for his wintering place; and began to victual it when Summer was but half past. It is said, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard if he began his Winter more timely than otherwise he required, he did not like the Romans whom necessity informed, to make their Summer last as long as they were able to travel up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicily*, whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take the order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than the Consulship, we will speak hereafter.

The new Consuls chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the Son of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The Romans found it needful for the publick service, to employ oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the war, to reconstitute their Officers, and chuse such as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reverence, to pass by him on horse-back, which was against the custom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feet. The Father cheerfully did so, saying, It was my mine the Son to make royal, whether thou didst understand thy self to be *Cæsar*. *Cassius* *Albinus* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who after the battle at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginians*

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an into that Town, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend, came privily to this *Conful Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The *Conful* purposed to follow old examples; and to make this *Atinius* a pattern to all Traitors; using him as *Camillus* and *Fabriceius* had done those that offered their faithful service against the *Falisci*, and King *Pyrrius*. But *Q. Fabius* the Father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, that *Rome* should be thought more fain to revolt from the *Romans*; than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he should be sent to the Town of *Capua*; and there kept as prisoner, until they could better resolve, what to do with him, or what use to make of him. *Hannibal* understanding that *Atinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not for sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion to seize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might seem rather severe, than covetous, he sent for the wife and children of *Atinius* into his Camp; where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himself. *Fabius* the *Conful* shortly after came to *Arpi*: which he won by *Scalado*, in a stormy and rainy night. 5000 of *Hannibal's* Soldiers lay in the Town; and of the *Apines* themselves, there were about 3000. These were thrust foremost by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; when it was understood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Soldiers held the Townfmen suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdom to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the *Apines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: protesting, they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In process of this discourse, the *Apine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* *Conful*; and receiving his faith for security of the Town, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is that *Hannibal* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost 1000 of them that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the *Romans* side, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to pass forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loss, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time *Cliturnus* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus* one of the Prætors; and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, 112 Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their service; upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the general hatred of the *Campanians* towards *Rome*, it served to discover the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from *Carthage*. The *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Bruttians*, which had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himself a Captain, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in foraging the Country, was slain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the

mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to find. Long he waited ere he could bring his desire to pass; and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; he contented himself with taking in some poor Towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Embassador, practising with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his company the next day were to be closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*: where they suffered death as Traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their business the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent again to *Hannibal*; and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico*, and *Philomenes*, two of the chief among them, used much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they missed of their game; for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seem to have been abroad upon other occasion: From the Camp of *Hannibal* it was about three dayes journey to *Tarentum*, if he should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place the less to be suspected; as also, to make his enemies the more secure, he caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careless of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their business in order, he took with him 10000 the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before break of day, made all speed thitherward. 80 light horse of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for fear left he, and his troop following him, should be discovered: It had been often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governor, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a sign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gave order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their booty, and send them gone. But when it grew dark night, *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the Town: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to show his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, answered him with another light, in sign that he was ready. Presently *Nico* began to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen, *Philomenes* went toward another gate; and whistling, as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heavy, that scarce two men could stand under it. So heavy, that scarce two men could stand under it. The Porter opened the wicket; and forthwith entered two young men, laden with wine, to be worthy the *hail* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondering at the largeness of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-spear: and letting in some 30 armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had slain,

lain, he entered the great gate. So the Army of *Hannibal* entering *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly towards the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their General, and sent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willd the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheer. All the Town was in an uproar: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskillfully founded by a *Greek* in the Theatre: which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governor fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that stood in the mouth of the Haven, whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal* sending the *Tarentines*, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them, inveighing bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done, and having gotten such spoil as was to be had of the Soldiers goods in the Town, he addressed himself against the Citadel; hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery falling forth, gave charge upon his men; who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawn on themselves as they could; and so far from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a sign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting upon the Enemy, drove him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could run; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadel stood upon a Demi-Island, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall against the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a cawley. This cawley *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like fort against the Citadel: to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themselves from all danger thence. His work in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the piece it self, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But while it he was busied in his works, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counsel. Now forasmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not pass forth, while it the *Romans* held the Citadel: it seemed likely that the Town would suffer want, being debar'd of accomodation of trade and provisions by Sea: while if the *Roman* garrison by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town standing in plain ground, and their fleets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and launch them into the Sea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garrison was reduced into great necessity, though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwise buffed, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loss on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen *Confuls*, prepared to besiege the great City of *Capua*. 23 Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hasty growth from that want of men, and of all necessities, whereunto the loss at *Canus* had reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, they were fain to take up young Boys, that were under seventeen years of age; and to send Comitia-ners above fifty mile round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appear servicable, and pressing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of service, whereinto they were bound by order of the City, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning to young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campani* felt great want of victuals, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by loth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoil, which the *Romans* had in foregoing years made upon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to be shortly. He gave them comfortable words, and sent *Hanno* with an Army to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day, against which they should be ready with all manner of carriages, to force themselves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts, or Wagons, with a few pack-horses, as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the reachfulness of the *Campani*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not reach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day, against which he made provision to force them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* *Confuls*, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the *Conful*, taking with him such strength as he thought needful for the service, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make provisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carts and other Varies, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their camp; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set upon a great harvest. Hereupon the *Conful* bade his men prepare themselves to assail the enemies Camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that he was there with the first break of day. By coming so unexpected, he had well near forced the Camp on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the less desire had *Fulvius* to lose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to go more leisurely and substantially to work; to send for his fellow-*Conful*, with the rest of their Army; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campani* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus discouraging, and about to found the retreat; he saw that some of his men had gotten over the enemies Rampart. There was great booy; or (which was all one to the Soldiers) an opinion of

of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore some Ensign-bearers threw their Ensigns over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unless they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a loss. Fear of such ignominy (than which nothing could be greater) made the Souldiers adventure to do so. Next, that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were slain above 6000; and taken above 7000, besides all the store of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hannibal* had lately gotten from the Roman Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a piteous Embassy to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of all the love that he was wont to profess unto their City; and how he had made shew to affect it no less than *Carthage*. But now, they said it would be lost, as *Aspi* was lately, if he gave not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away 2000 horse, to keep their grounds from spoil, whilst he himself was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the disposition, which he law in many Towns adjoining, to yield unto him. Among the hostages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, suffered death for their attempt, were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eastern part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Græcia*. These people took to heart the death of their hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soon as the Roman garrison was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reason, had not some companies lain in their Town, which they feared that they should not be able to master. Nevertheless, they helped themselves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand: against whom whilst they proffered their service to *Atinius* the Roman Captain, they drew him forth to fight, and recolving from him, closed up their gates. A little formality they used in pretending fear, lest the enemy should break in together with the Romans, in saving *Atinius* himself, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chief men were unconquainted with the practice) whether they should yield to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this dissipation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, easily prevailed in the rest; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good success, and hope of the like, detain'd *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilst the Consuls fortifying *Beneventum* to secure their backs, addressed themselves to the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befall the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Consul, was slain, either by treachery of some *Lucians*, that drew him into ambush, or by some *Carthaginian* stragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himself, or (for the reports agree not) by the Romans; to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lye in *Beneventum*, there to secure the back of the Army that should besiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hindrance of that business. The Volones or Slaves

lately manumitted, forsook their Ensigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decafe of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheless, the Consuls went forward with their work, and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hostility, which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above 1500 Romans were lost. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better; insomuch that it caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went several ways: *Fulvius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* unto *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compass about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vanities to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be trusted with the leading of 5000 men. The Fathers were unwilling in such a time, to reject the virtue of any good Soldier, how mean forever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of 8000: and he himself being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up to many volunteers, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) slain, scarce 1000 of them escaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneius Fulvius* a Roman Praetor with 18000 men was in *Apulia*, very careless and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he hasted to visit him: hoping to deal the better with the main strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should have cut off those forces that lay in the Provinces about, under men of small ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men for jolly, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with 3000 of his lightest armed, in places therabout most fit for ambush. Then offered battle to *Fulvius*, he soon had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape alive; leaving all, save 2000 of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blows, received the one presently after the other, much astonished the Romans. Nevertheless, all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Army: and that the Consuls should go substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*: which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls fate down before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Suessula*, to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whoever would issue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed up, they sent messengers to the *Carthaginian*, which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long journey in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brundisium*, upon

advertisement that he should be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them consider, how, a few daies since he had chafed the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither again, and fend the Romans going as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the Romans had almost without inrenewed round. As for *Hannibal* himself, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendship, would hold out a long time, and therefore give him leisure to do what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those Eastern parts of *Italy*; whilst the Roman Army spent it self in a tedious siege. Thence he lingered, and thereby gave the Consuls time both to fortifie themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in *Rome*; whilst he himself pursued hopes that never found success.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*, retaining the same Armies, as Proconsuls. The Town-folk often fell out, rather into a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to lull them by famine. Yet against the *Capuan* horse (for their foot was easily beaten) he *Hannibal* used to thrust out some Troops, that should hold them skirmish. In these exercises the *Capuans* usually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who scorned to take foil at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore provided that some active and courageous young men should learn to ride behind the Roman men at arms; leaping up, and again dismounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the *Vetites*, having each of them three or four small darts: which alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick upon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kind of service, they much disheartened in the main. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the Romans; and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the same time the *Capuans* issued with their whole power, in as terrible a manner as they could devise: setting all their multitude of unserviceable people by the walls, which with a loud noise of Pans and Bassoons troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himself to the *Capuans*, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repulsed them, that he drove them at length back into their City. Nevertheless, in pursuing them to their gates, he received a wound that accompanied him in short space after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to this task by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The Roman Camp was even at point to have been lost, and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slain upon it, fell into the ditch, and filled it up in such sort, that their bodies served as a bridge to the assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitives that could speak Latin well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Consuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should fight for himself, and fly betimes unto the next hills, for as much as the Camp was already lost. But all would not serve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched it self, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* to self: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadel, had well-near lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadel, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himself and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater use: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, even to set upon *Rome*; and carry to the walls of that proud City the danger of War that threatened *Capua*. This, he thought, would be a means, to draw the Roman Generals, or one of them at least, unto the defence of their own home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Capuans*, should well enough deal with them a-part. Neither did he despair, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His only fear was, lest the *Capuans*, being ignorant of his purpose, should think he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numbidian*; who running as a fugitive into the Roman Camp, conveyed himself thence over the innermost Trenches into the City. The Journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good success resting in the suddenness of his arrival there. Wherefore he caused his men to have in a readines ten daies victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Army over the River *Tiber*. This could not be done so closely, but that the Roman Generals, by some fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore, he acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diversity of men opinions in a case of such importance. Some gave counsel, to let alone *Capua*, yet, and all places else, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the enemy. Others were so far from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, should judge himself strong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore stoutly did, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serve the turn well enough, to keep him out, and find him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needful to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought best: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their flags, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took 15000 foot, and 1000 horse, the choice of his whole Army; with which he hasted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal having passed over *Fulvius*, burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted he away toward *Rome*, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Fregella*: which, as it stopped him

a little on his way, so it made him the more grievously to spoil their Lands, while the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him driving the Country, & killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Messengers of these news came apace, one after another into the City, some few bringing true advertisements, but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the Streets and Temples in *Rome* were pestered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, because they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with soldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was lying in the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his return home, and entering into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the City in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should have equal power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in passing over *Vulturnus*, and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Consuls, and *Fulvius* incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater, so took they more careful and especial order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Arno*, or *Arce*, thence miles from the Town, whence he advanced with 2000. horse, and rode along a great way under the Walls, viewing the siege thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story saith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by the care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had shifted aside, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some 1200. then in *Rome*, which were appointed by the Consuls, to pass through the Morn, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colatina*, where it was thought that their service might be useful, among broken waives, and Gardens walls lying in the Suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*, bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproar among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the fires were so full of cauel, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stopp'd up: and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house tops, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, That all which had been Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should have authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following *Hannibal* passed over *Arno*, and presented battle to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they understood it. It is said, that a terrible shower of rain, caused both *Romans* and *Car-*

thaginians to return into their several Camps, and that this happened two daies together, the weather breaking up and clearing as soon as they were departed: a wonder: certain it is; that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten daies provision, could not endure to stay there, until his victuals were all spent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they suffered him to wait his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibal's* coming to the City, how great to ever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared less than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soon abated. Hereupon it helped well, that at the same time the Supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, were sent out of the Town, and went forth at the Gate, whilst one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panmix* *terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his soldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of they wist not what. And thus did *Clearchus* practise a foolish uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell who had sent the As into the Camp. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appears withal a great magnanimity, whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no less, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemy, and taken away the disgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This dignity coming to his ear, incensed *Hannibal* forward, that he made port-sale of the Silver-smiths shops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*, as if his own title to the houses within the Town were no whit worse, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground. whereon he raised his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceived, *Hannibal*, to make them of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed unto himself, this Journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what spoil he could to the *Roman* Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest over the Country, and ran toward the Eastern Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the City *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have curied the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair City, since he had no other way to vent his grief.

Q. *Fabius* returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, what who-so would yield before a cer-

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tain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their cause desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his own civil defects, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given by *Hanno* and *Byfar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Town, that *Hannibal* should come again, if means could only be found, how to convey such Letters unto them as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by some *Numidians*, who running as fugitives, out of the Town into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packers. But it happened ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town, and the Letters of *Byfar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make War against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions, wheresoever they lye, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking such a course, have we gotten those victories at *Trebis*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannae*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another away, as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full view; promising to make a desperate assault, if he would come no more adventure to it, upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Byfar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best; and now began to faint under the burden of that War, whereon as afterward he protested he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Persians, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had been sent ever by the *Hannoniens*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Capuans*, so that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, caused them to assemble and consult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the Senators and such as a few years since, had been most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper, telling them, that when they had made good cheer, he would drink to them such an health, as should free them from that cruel revenge, which the Enemies freight upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together by drinking poison. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yielded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; whereas a *Roman* Legion, with some other Companies, entering, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid Irons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe cu-

stody; some to *Cales*, others to *Torinum*. Touching the general multitude, they were reserved unto the discretion of the Senate, yet so hardly used by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received; yet was he not inexorable to the *Capuans*; as having loved them well in former times, and having given his Daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom he spoke before. But this facility of his Colleague made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance; for fear, left upon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common safety, and honour of their estate. Wherefore he took the pains to ride by night unto *Theramus*, and from thence to *Cales*; where he caused all the *Capuans* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of Italy the less apt to follow the vain hope of the *Capuans*; and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatinenses*, and *Subitines*, people of the *Capuans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made allow the like submission, for very fear and want of ability to resist. They were therefore used with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*; who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young Gentlemen burning with fire of revenge got into *Rome*; where they found means by night time, to set on fire many houses, that a great part of the City was like to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave and other sufficient reward for any free-men, that should discover who those incendiaries were. Thus all came out, and the *Capuans* being detected by a slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the sum of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to their defects. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people held them in a manner as prisoners within their Walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become supplicants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day, and confined unto several places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beautey and commodious site: but no corporation or form of polity was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Provost was every year sent to govern over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest afflict, and most importunate, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oyl being far spent, and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

SECT. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a party in Sardinia and Sicily, held War against the Romans in those Islands, and were overcome.

WHILST things passed thus in Italy, the commotions raised in Sardinia and Sicily by the Carthaginians and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end by the industrious valour of the Romans. The Sardinian rebellion was great and sudden: above 30000 being up in arms, ere the Roman forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Hierofcar* with his Son *Hysfus*, mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a Carthaginian, that promised the assistance of his Country. Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their main undertakings, at the same time. Yet it had been better if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that main business in Italy; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindered the Romans from sending an Army into Sardinia. *Hierofcar* with his followers might well enough have served to drive out *Quintus Marius* the Praetor; who lay sick in the Province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilst they fought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiring those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such, as may seem to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent over *Afridbal* furnished the *Bald*, with a complete Fleet and Army, assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and near kinsman to *Hannibal*; it so fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was cast upon the *Baleares*; to be beaten, and in such evil plight, that the Sardinians had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from Rome with 20000 foot, and 1200 horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the Roman Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custom of the Romans, to preserve and uphold in their several Provinces, the greatness and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had been first subdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron, the first conqueror, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. In every the Romans held very pure intelligence in every Province, and had always in a readiness fit men to reclaim their subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far off. Yet was *Hierofcar* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Mariners; without whom he could not have made up that number of 22000, whereof we have spoken before: he landed at *Calaris*, or *Caralis*, where mooring his ship, he passed up into the Country, and fought out the enemy. *Hysfus*, the

Son of *Hierofcar*, had then the command of the Sardinians; he left unto him by his Father, who was gone abroad into the Country, to draw in more friends to their side. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battle to the Romans at his own discretion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old Souldier; by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day above thirty thousand of his followers. *Hysfus* himself, with the rest of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Island; whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soon after this defeat came *Afridbal* with his Carthaginians; too late to win all Sardinia in such haste as he might have done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage; yet soon enough, and strong enough to save the Town of *Cornus*, and put a new spirit into the rebels. *Manlius* hereupon with-drew himself back to *Calaris*; where he had not stayed long ere the Sardinians (such of them as adhered to the Roman party) craved his assistance; their Country being wasted by the Carthaginians, and the rebels, with whom they had refused to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*; where, if he had stayed a little longer, *Afridbal* would have fought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Afridbal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their strength. For after some trial made of them in a few skirmishes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazard of a battle; wherein he slew twelve thousand of the enemies; and took of the Sardinians and Carthaginians thirty thousand. Four hours the battle lasted; and victory at length fell to the Romans; by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had been broken in their unprosperous fight, not many days before. The death of young *Hysfus*, and of his Father *Hierofcar*, that slew himself for grief, together with the captivity of *Afridbal* himself, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the Carthaginians, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Army fled into *Cornus*, whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space won the Town. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, following the example of *Cornus* yielded unto the Roman; who, imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their several offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to Rome leaving Sardinia in quiet.

The war in Sicily was of greater length, and every way more burdensome to Rome: as also the victory brought more honour and profit; for that the Romans became thereby, not only favourers of their own, as in Sardinia, but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the City and Dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battle at *Canna*, the old King of *Syracuse* died; who had continued long a steadfast friend unto the Romans, and greatly relieved them in this present war. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo* his Son, that should have been his heir, being dead before. To this young King his successor, *Hieronymus* appointed fifteen tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the Kingdom, by the same Art, whereby himself had gotten, and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of so many Coadjutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and said that he was

was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he caused others to do the like; hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to pass in a fort as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of government, gave himself wholly over to his pleasures; or, if he had any regard of his Royal dignity, it was only in matter of exterior show; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never seen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, suitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that in course of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, lustful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him; so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death to itself.

Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thersa*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counsellors, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoever they agreed in other points, were at some difference about the main point of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleasure, which was set on change; but *Thersa*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amity with Rome. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtful which way the King would incline, a conspiracy against his person was detected by a Groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speak any thing; but yielding (as it seemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confessed, that he had been set on by *Thersa*; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were near in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime whereunto they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and never shrunk for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all escaped, and soon after found means to execute their purpose. The King himself, when *Thersa* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved upon siding with the Carthaginians, where he was very inclinate before. Young men, when first they grow masters of themselves, love to seem wiser than their Fathers, by taking different Courses. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the Romans, in their great necessity, had of late been such as might have been termed excessive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own estate, that depended upon theirs.

But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things present, the weakness of Rome, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*, who readily entered into good correspondence with him, that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, Carthaginian born, but Grand-children of a banished *Syracusan*. These grew into such favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when

App. Claudius the Roman Praetor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the people of Rome, and the King of *Syracuse*; his messengers were dismissed with an open scold. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Canna*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himself, saying, that he could hardly believe the Carthaginians; to wonderful was the victory, as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the Romans, he sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league; with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he should reign over all Sicily; and the Carthaginians rest satisfied with what they could get in Italy. At these doings *Appian Claudius* did not greatly rise; partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the Romans to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by necessity; and partly (as may seem) for that the reputation, both of himself, and of his City, had received such blemish, by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much discounted him when he came into Sicily, and forbade him to look big. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed formerly upon the Romans, wherewith to relieve them in their necessity, this *Appian* was to carry back unto him; it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater reason than their present fortune would allow. But instead of returning the money with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been notified abroad that he should do, the war against *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whomsoever we have spoken before) compelled the Romans to lay aside vain-glory, and send word after him, that he should consign that money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyage into Greece, the City had not otherwise wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the Roman magnanimity, into such a pitiful tune of thanksgiving, as must needs have bred sorrow and commiseration in to true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn, in *Hieronymus* the new Kings.

But whilst *Hieronymus* was more desirous of war, than well resolved how to begin it; his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the State of *Syracuse*; which thereby might have prospered more than ever, had it been wisely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, of whom we spoke before, were sent about the Country with two thousand men, to solicit the Towns, and persuade them to shake off their obedience to the Romans. The King himself with an Army of fifteen thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium* a City of his own Dominion; hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste; and accept him for Sovereign. There the Conspirators took him on the sudden, as he was passing thorow a narrow street; and rushing between him and his guard, struck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed; and the found of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Masters death. Yet, for fear of the worst, a great largess was promised unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought so effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcase to lie unburied. This news ran quickly to *Syracuse*; whither

whither some of the Conspirators, taking also of the Kings horses, posted away; to signify all that had passed, to stir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his followers would make offer to usurp a tyranny. The *Syracusans* hereupon presently took arms, and made themselves Masters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island; being yet uncertain what to do: between desire of making himself a sovereign Lord, and fear of suffering punishment as a Tyrant; if his enterprise miscarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes; putting him in mind of that well-known Proverb, which *Dionysius* had used; That a Tyrant should keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on horse-back. But fear, and better counsel, prevailed so far, that *Andronodorus*, having let up his hopes, diffembled his affections, and deterred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a speech unto the people; telling them that he was glad to see, how prudently they behaved themselves in to great a change; that he had stood in fear, lest they would not have contained themselves within the bounds of discretion; but rather have sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to ravish their liberty performance, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered up the charge committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Master both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors chosen (as in former times) to govern the City, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But such was his desire of Sovereignty, and so vehement were the indignations of his wife, that shortly he began to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himself strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracusian* Prætors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronimus*, they, according to instructions of their Captain, had done him, will't he lived, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to return home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily granted; both for that the *Syracusian* Magistrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good Soldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made show; they were more mindful of the business for which *Herbessus* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the tomesons of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the *Roman* fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the Sister of *Hieronimus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his own, and of his wife. But seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed to matter the one, that revealed all to the rest of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed,

that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slain out of hand: and afterward accursed to the people, of all the evil which they had done, whilst *Hieronimus* lived, as by his authority; and now since attempted, in seeking to usurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were necessary to this dangerous treason: and that the unique issue of these women would never cease to work, until they had recovered those royal ornaments and Sovereign power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were also condemned to dye, and executioners presently fell by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserved this heavy sentence: but *Heracles*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sosippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash judgement. Her husband *Sosippus* was a lover of the Commonwealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronimus*, that being sent Ambassador to King *Ptolemy*, &c. he durst not return home, but stayed in *Egypt* as a banished man. This consideration when it was too late, together with some pitiful accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude, that (pardoning themselves) all cried out unto the Authors of so foul a butchery. Being thus incited against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfy their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slain: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of soldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the less that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But having striven in vain, and seeing that the people stood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicily*, they gave way unto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practice. The *Leontines* had some need of a garrison; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by such fugitives, and mercenary soldiers, as were most troublesome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of hostility against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word unto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would never be kept sincerely, until this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicides*, fearing to sustain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the war, than to excuse any breach of peace, went himself unto the *Leontines*, whom he persuaded to rebel against the *Syracusians*. For he said, that since they had all late served one Master, there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was slain, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented to enjoy the Freedom purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should bear Dominion over those that

that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that such their arrogance should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the League, made out of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusians*. For it was agreed, That all which had been subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronimus*, should henceforth be Vassals unto the State of *Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due, *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it unreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been subdued by the same hand, which took liberty from the *Syracusians*. But seeing they had long since yielded unto *Syracuse*, and been subject unto that City, by what form loever it was grounded; this claim of liberty was rather reasonable, than just. Nevertheless, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inasmuch that when messengers came soon after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they should get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in *Sicily*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusians*, to make any bargains for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This preliminary answer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusians*, who offered him their assistance in doing justice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forthwith took the business in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault *Leontium* was taken, all save the Castle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and stealing thence away by night, conveyed themselves into the Town of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the same, which other *Roman* Captains used after victory, to seek out the fugitive *Roman* slaves and renegades, whom he caused all to dye: the rest both of the Townsmen and Soldiers, he took to mercy, forbearing also to strip or spoil them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slain Man, Woman and Child, and put the Town to sack. These news met the *Syracusian* Army upon the way, as it was going to join with *Marcellus*, who had ended his business before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had been sent forth of *Syracuse*, under *Sofis* and *Leontines*, two of the Prætors; to serve against the *Leontines* and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Country: but the Soldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow soldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had been so cruelly butchered; and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it best to turn their thought towards another way, and set them work in some quiet place: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their service. So towards *Herbesus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischief, devising what further harm they might do;

but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed unable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no less well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little less desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesus* unarmed, with Clive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vanguard; that had greatly bound unto *Hieronimus*; and some of them formerly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the *Italian* war, and lovingly dismissed them. These *Creteans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheer, saying That no man should do them harm, as long as they could use their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this ancient ran swiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by severity, which would not serve. For when they commanded these two traitors to be laid in Irons, the exclamation was so violent against them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what course to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* devised a trick, whereby to help himself, and better the uncertain case wherein he stood. He caused Letters of his own penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trusty *Creteans*, directed (as they made show) from the *Syracusian* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*; but that it further became his duty, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City; and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed, the uproar was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forsake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracusians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Soldiers, if the two Artificers of the sedition had not saved their lives; rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They persuaded also a mischiefous knave, that had served amongst the *Leontines*, to justify the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the news to *Syracuse*; as an eye-witness. This incited not only the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with causeless indignation. In good time (said some) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would have dealt much worse; where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilst they were thus discouraging, and devising how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unless for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the best and wisest of the Senate, would have kept him out: but the violence of the soldiersiers to break it open. So he entered, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers till night. The next day he went openly to work; and after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all slaves and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himself and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was advertised of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to *Syracuse*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a half of the Town, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracusanians*, which were oppressed by Tyrans; and to puniſh those that had murdered and banished so many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Town, might be suffered to return and enjoy their own; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicles* briefly answered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to say to them: but since it was directed unto others, they should do well to return, when those to whom they were sent, had the government in their hands. As for the War which they threatened, he told them, they should find by experience, That to belieg *Syracuse* was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he sent them gone; and returned back into the City. Immediately began the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and easy winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of walls as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kind of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terror in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Nevertheless all his labour was disappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill success of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the virtue of the Defendants, or any strength of the City, that bred such despair of happy victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuse* *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero*, the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of war, as being in this extremity put in use, did more mischief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Cannon, or any instruments of Gunpowder; had they at that age been known. This *Archimedes* discouraging once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place void of footing, whereon a man might stand. For proof of this bold assertion, he performed some strange works; which made the King enreat him to convert his busy unto things of use, that might preserve the City from danger of enemies. To such Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal sciences, to submit learned Propositions, unto the workmanship, and gain of base handi-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians, that seemed unto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither mult we rashly tax a man for *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious superiority, or affected singularity in his reprehension. For'th' hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were published: and being once made known, to be undervalued; as falling within compass of the meanest wit; and things that everyone could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that

memorable example of *Columbus* his discovery, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he underwent before and after it in a familiar and most homely example we may see most apparent proof. He that looks upon our *English Brewers*, and their fer-vans, that are daily exercised in the trade, will think it ridiculous to hear one say, that the making of *Malt* was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philosophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any while the less, for that the labour of workmanship grows to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handi-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being devised and bettered by great scholars and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such as could flubber things easily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others that have, or would seem to have any secret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kind of injustice, that the long travels of an understanding brain, beside the loss of time, and other expense, should be cast away upon men of no worth; yield less benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Envy have in it any thing allowable and natural, as having Anger, Fear, and other like affections; it is in fact such case as this; and serveth against those, which would usurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheless, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generality of mankind, alter the example of him that *suffereth his Sun to shine upon just, and unjust*: it will appear more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves and publish unto the world, those good things that lay buried in their own bosoms. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a mischievous use. For'th' secret of any rare *Artis* contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison: much better it were, that such a Jewel remain close in the hands of a wife and honest man, than being made common, bind all men to use the remedy, by teaching the world men how to do mischief. But the works which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, serving unto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusanians* to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to use them, but reserved so much to his own direction, that after his death more of the same kind were not made, nor those of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his science; and done especial benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanical trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certain of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these *Archimedes* had sundry devices, of which any one fort might have repelled the assailants: but all of them together heaved the multiplicity of his great wit. He shot heavy stones, and long pieces of timber, like unto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight.

weight. These afflicted such as lay far off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volley of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the prow, and hoisted up, shaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by frange Engines were lifted up into the Air, where turning round a while, they were broken against the rocks or cast upon the rocks; and all them were so beaten, that they durst never come again to any second assault. In the like fort was the Land-Army handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like hail, did not only over-whelm the men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery, and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For the remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get near unto the walls, they should be (as it were) under the point-blank, and receive no hurt by these terrible instruments, which were wound up hard to shoot a great compass. But this vain hope cost many of the assailants lives: For the shot came down right upon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did to terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the wall, they ran away, crying out, That *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that fear, against the cause whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had stood upon the walls, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without, he might have holpen it by some device, to make them unrevocable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streets behind the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of victuals, both by Land and Sea.

This was a very desperate piece of work. For the enemies having to goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely to soon to be confuted with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before a strong City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there to deal with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horses and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians* did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Pelorus* and *Herbessus*, which yielded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force, and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusanians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army much have somewhat to keep it in heart. His special desire was to have saved *Agri-genum*: whether he came too late; for *Himi-*

co had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumstance that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had not misfructured. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately lifted out of the City, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, intending to join his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other; and the *Romans* being in good order, got an easy victory against the dispersed and half unarmed *Syracusanians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joining with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battle to *Marcellus* even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and distubled the City. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed to again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and flew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving some of his Army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the siege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intensive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turn all his forces to *Agri-genum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as unable to prevail; and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feasible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remainings before; and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that the continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfil his desire. Especially he assayed to prevail by treason, against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusan* Gentlemen that were in his Camp; exhorting them to practice with their friends that remained in the City. This was not easy for them to do, because the Town would hearken to no parole. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a filther-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were grown to the number of fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they like Traitors put to death. In the mean while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been sent out of the Town as an Embassadour to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicles* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometry, fell to numbering the stones; and making an estimate of

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the height, judged it less than it had been formerly deemed. He re-wrote he acquainted *Marcellus* who finding better notice to be taken of the place; and causing that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it, made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Town, and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great fleet was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to last three days: and that, because other good cheer was not to plentiful within the City, as in former times, *Epicles*, to gratify the people, had made the more large distribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be withheld. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Festival night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuse* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epicles* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some pieces, he had the commodiety of a better and safe lodging, with good store of booty, and better opportunity than before, to deal with the rest. For there were now a great many as well of those in *Acradina* and the Island, inner parts of the Town, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto composition, as being much terrified by the loss of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and taken. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none they did, unto those that were sheltered under strong houses; although it may seem, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurnished with help, since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegades, were more careful than ever to defend the rest of the City: being sure to be rewarded with cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilear* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicles* sallied out of *Acradina* and *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the *Affiliants* were repelled. Nevertheless they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as frantically besieged, as he himself did besiege the Town. But the pellence at length consumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat less) afflicted with the same pellence, inasmuch that *Bomilear* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilear* wanted no desire to do his Country service; but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pagani-nus* with a strong fleet: where he stayed, being loth to double the Cape; for that the winds did better serve the enemy than him. Thither sailed *Epicles* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he stood off into the deep; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicily* farewell. Then durst not *Epicles* return into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agriumentum*: where he expected the issue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* Soldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* and his Army, lay as near as they could safely, unto *Marcellus*, and some of them, in a strong Town three miles off. These had done what good

they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicily* was given as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear: for he had stayed there long enough; and had cause to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong again. He therefore agreed both with the Citizens, and with the Soldiers that lay abroad, that they should be Masters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicles* had left his charge, were put to death, new Prators chosen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their own condition to be desperate, perished the other Mercenary Soldiers, that the Citizens had bargained only for themselves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently took Arms, and fell upon the new chosen Prators; whom they slew, and made election of six Captains that should command over all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Soldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty was therefore again set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delayed; either by some fear of the Citizens, that had been (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avare in the sack of *Epipola*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken, or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might enjoy the liberty of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subject to Rome. *Marcus a Spaniard* was one of the six Captains that had been chosen in the last communion: a man of such faith, as usually is found in Mercenaries, holding his own particular benefit above all other respects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This crafty Agent perwaded *Marcus*, that the *Romans* had already gotten all fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where else; it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himself to the will of the *Roman* General. By such hopes the Spanish Captain was easily won, and sent forth his own brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors to ratify the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusans*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to Rome. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been such as deserved not to be requited with the ruin of his Country: much less, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister unto the people of Rome, advantage against them. The poor Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired Soldiers; and therefore were faine to yield unto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicles*: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of Rome. They had lately slain many of the principal of *Epicles*'s followers; and many of themselves had also been slain, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire unto peace. What though it were true, that the *Rafalcians*, and some ill advised persons

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joined with the Soldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their own City which was taken? Though therefore the *Roman* General, in a treaty of peace held with the *Syracusans*, to make a bargain under-hand against them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his return home: but the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracusans* with gentle words, and promise of good usage in time to come; than to restore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, to great, wealthy, strong, and many waies important. Nevertheless if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by evil neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed; we may truly affirm, that it received so small benefit, by becoming subject unto Rome. For thereby it was not only assured against all foreign enemies, domestic conspiracies, and such Tyrannies as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering, the most worthy Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a host of the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation any such long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of Rome; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition, whereof by *Marcellus* his victory it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable: unless we should approve the answer of that thief, who being found to have stolen a silver cup from a sick man said, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the reason of *Marcus*, the *Roman* Army was let into possession of all *Syracuse*: wherein the booty that it found, was said to have been no less, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* in self, that maintained war by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherein *Syracuse* was miraculously adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing left untouched, save only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitiful accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himself. He was so busie about his Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkened not to the noise, and uproar in the City: no, nor greatly attended the rude Soldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him, and caused his body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tomb, as he had ordained in his life-time, was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion between them; which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great Artist better, than the devising of all those Engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would think the money lost, that had been spent upon a Son, whose Studies in the University had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Towns in *Sicily* yielded unto the *Romans*, except *Agriumentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agriumentum* lay *Epicles* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an African, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good pieces of service, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side;

and withal made his own name great. By his persuasions, *Hanno* and *Epicles* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town, and not but themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was he more valiant in counsel, than in execution. Once and again he set upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them heartily into their Trenches. This bred envy in *Epicles* and *Hanno*; especially in *Epicles*, that having been lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authority from the State, thought himself wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had sent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon himlike as good a man as himself. The indignity seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to Repulse into *Hydruntis*, for the pacifying home troubles there among the *Nomadicus* advised (as did formerly *Hanno* and *Epicles*) not to meddle with the enemy, until his return. So moved therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight; and offered battle unto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required; which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatever disproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For however the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favor; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of war. The *Nomadicus*, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains; and being therefore faine of them gone away to *Hydruntis*, were much more offended, when they saw that the vain-glourious envy of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a foolish desire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines* their Country-man. Wherefore they sent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident, for that it was not their purpose to let themselves be enemies that day, but only look on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten by whom they had been misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily fell upon the enemies, that he broke them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them back unto *Agriumentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himself, and not to have hazarded a battle without need; the *Romans* would shortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus* was shortly faine to leave the Province & soon upon his departure, the *Romans* landed in the Island a supply of 8000 foot, and 3000 *Nomadicus* horse that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* unto rebellion. The *Roman* Army consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Canna*, took it very haughtily, that no good service done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent far from home, and not suffered to return back to Rome with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his country-men the *Nomadicus*, and like an honest man, did what he could for those whom he served, without concerning against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration, and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prator, used all diligence, both to pacify his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those inland towns that had rebelled; and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Country; yet he hindered the Country from revolving unto *Mutines*. Above three score Towns,

great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*: of which *Agri-genum* was the principal, and far bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despite of the *Romans*; not only to the succour of his own adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But *Hannibal*, instead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with envy, against the man that performed them. He had (believe) received instruction from old *Hannibal* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have a share in the honour of the *Sicilian Wars*: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should have been regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Assistant, or Director: He took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own Son, thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spiteful dealing occasioned the loss of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Country-man, being such a brave Commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong, and were thenceforth absolutely at his own disposition. *M. Valerius Leuvinus*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come unto the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook these indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by those that bore all the way in *Carthage*, he thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his own game, and forsake that City, which was likely to perish by the evil counsel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Country-men had lately done, content himself to see his Adversaries reap the bitter fruits of his own malicious overweening, and to suffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conspired against them to deliver up *Agri-genum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicily*. The Consul was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his advices. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* had forcibly seized upon a gate; whereto they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. *Hannibal*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when making haste to pacify the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himself to flight: and saving himself, with *Epistides*, in a small Bark, let sail for *Africa*; leaving all his Army and adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued Masters of the whole Island.

Leuvinus the Consul having taken *Agri-genum*, did harsh execution of justice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the money that was raised of the booty. This was indeed a time wherein *Rome* stood in no less necessity of gold than of steel; which may have been the reason, why *Leuvinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Agri-genians*. Nevertheless, the same of such severity bred a terror among all the Dependents of the *Carthaginians*, so that in great haste they fought to make

their peace. About forty Towns yielded themselves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treason; and six only stayed to be won by force. These things done, *Leuvinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about four thousand men from *Agri-genia*, that were a company of fellows, bankrupts, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoil of others in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their own occupation against the *Bruttians*; a thievish kind of people, that were enemies unto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good account; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their journey against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as is said) a very especial service. So by this enterprise of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this war, the entire possession of this Island; which they wanted when it began.

SECT. XVI.

How the war passed between the Romans and Hannibal in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the great victory of Metaurus.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good services done in the Island of *Sicily*, he had granted unto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the war, but was lain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He stayed not long in *Rome*, before he was again chosen Consul together with *M. Valerius Leuvinus*, who succeeded him in the Government of *Sicily*, and was, at the time of his election, making war against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great Complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done unto them, in obliging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*; in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance; as were not greater enemies to *Rome*, than to all good other side, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him; willing them to be men to themselves to the *Carthaginians*, that had helped them in their necessity; and not unto the *Romans*, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having found good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controversy, as best agreed with the benefit of their own Common-wealth, blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring that booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopeful promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls war, as their loss should fall out; the one in *Italy*, *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not seem hindered by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatched, he gently undertook the

the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicily*, whose doings there have been already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Soldiers to the war, and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer sort, that used to be employed in Sea-services, especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there many enough in the Treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of private men; who in this necessity of the State, were driven to sustain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter unto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already incurred to much, as well it could undergo; and somewhat more than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was impossible to maintain the war against the *Carthaginians*; or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy* without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That since the common Treasury was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no persuasions would be so effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it with the people, they also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, that every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasury, all the money that he had; and that no Senator should keep any vessel of gold, or plate whatsoever; excepting one Salt-feller, and a Bowl wherewith to make their offering unto the gods; as also a Ring for himself, with such other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did use, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded; and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publick necessity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wreck, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimity deserved well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet; *Marcellus* went forth of the City against *Hannibal*, and *Leuvinus* toward *Sicily*. The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard services: neither did his *Carthaginians* seem to remember him, and think upon lending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakened, by the loss of *Capua*: which gave them cause to look unto themselves; as if in his help there were little trust to be repaid, when they should stand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all the Towns he suspected, and thereby to diminish his Army, that he should not be able to keep the field; or else he must leave them to their own fidelity, which

now began to waver. At length his jealousy grew so outrageous, that he sacked and wasted those places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himself; and make unprofitable to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him: and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*, and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that served under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loss, than the Town it self. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect, without getting the consent of one *Dafnus*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dafnus* in private, and was by him accused unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convicted and charged of Treason, he so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently provoked his accuser with the false fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter devised out of meer malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and feeling that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to press his adversary anew, and urge him from time to time, with such lively reason; that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Previously after this, the Consul took by force, *Maronia* and *Melies*, Towns of the *Samnites*; where-in he flew above 3000 of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once; but was fain to catch advantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown stronger in the field than he. The best way was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themselves with ill speed in many petty enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow business of far less importance; had now at length refused, to lend presently the great supply, that had been so long promised and expected. This, if they had done in better season; *Rome* it self might have been stricken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot be amended; *Hannibal* must force himself to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty success would come time enough. For *Masaniassa* was at *Carthage* with 5000 *Numidians*, ready to set sail for *Spain*; whither, when he came, it was appointed that *Adribal* should forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been so much talk. These news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrify the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best; the *Romans*, to prevent the threatening mischief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother, *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own; and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Praetor, lay near unto *Herdenna*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long since, near unto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; and came to *Herdenna* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As soon as he came, he offered battle to the *Roman* Praetor, who accepted it with more haste than good speed. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout, and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himself, with 12 Tribunes or Colonels, were lost: of the common Soldiers, that were slain, the number is uncertain; some reporting seven, others thirteen thousand. The

The Town of *Herdonia*, because it was at point to have yielded unto *Fabius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting torch to each that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude, whom he followed among the *Tarentines* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Atrebius* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good cheer; for that he would shortly take the enemies prize; for he followed the *Carthaginian* space; and overtaking him at *Novisiro* in the Country of the *Lecani*, fought with him a battle: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted until night, and ended, by reason of the darkness, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Vesuvius* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often, and fought to bring the enemy within danger of battle, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus passed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius* considering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that year to besiege *Tarentum*; which if he could win, like as that scarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Collegue, and *Marcellus* (whom was continued the command of those Legions that served under him the year before) to press the *Carthaginian* to hard, as he might have no leisure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge; for he thought no *Roman* fiercer than himself, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Canniffum*, and thence from place to place: desiring ever to come to battle, put upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had no mind to hazard much in fight; but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keep his Army strong until the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the opportunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be lusty, and to batte foundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captain, that would never suffer them to be at quiet; until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battle; where, in *Hannibal* had the victory; took six Ensigns; and drew of the *Romans* almost 3000, among which were some of mark. *Marcellus* was, as *Belians*, and bade towards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any stratagem. With these and many other like words, which they were ashamed to hear, he did to vex them, that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their General, they besought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies for-most, that had lost their Ensigns the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory, whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet; and therefore was ready to fight again; since all other motives continued the fame, and his men had been heartened by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred up by desire of revenge, and of repairing their honour lost, which affections gave a sharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were

grown dull, and weary by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battle *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at a dear rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if 8000 of the *Carthaginians* were slain, and 3000 of the *Roman* side, in this next battle, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing the victory, that he was forced to retire. Nevertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his business at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consul about the same time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucani*, and *Volentes*, that willingly yielded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns; whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had been authors, or busy doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Silurian* thieves, which *Lucius* had lately brought from *Adgatonis*, was then also set on work to besiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Bruttians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serve to divert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salentines*, laid down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needful to carry it either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Town, a good part were *Bruttians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother served under *Fabius*. Hereof he gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these news: and said, that if the *Bruttian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intricacy of his Mistress, to do what he would have him. The Consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, will his Soldier to convey himself into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Soldier grew acquainted with this *Bruttian* Captain; and partly by his own persuasions, partly by the flattering intricacy of his sister; won him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the business, and resolved how to order it; the same Soldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part the *Bruttian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Bruttians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Soldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but as happened in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nicias*, *Democritus*, and *Philomenus*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthago*, who commanded

commanded the *Garrison* within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used because of his hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come to *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Bruttians*. This slaughter of the *Bruttians*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the Town by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone; and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture, as if they were fighting; he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he halted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, The *Romans* have also their *Hannibals*; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few daies together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, befooth himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same City; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot was given, or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Romans*, the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again; but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they had lost a company of such few fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have been to rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Cannae*, and those unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they lived, in a fort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies

of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear, or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently fend home their people this was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to pass within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new soldiers were daily pressed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they should boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. It was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace: whereof otherwise they few little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Towns make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to return home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campani* or *Tarentines*; but the offspring of the *Romans*; and no less partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not serve, the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could, and that they had had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was then that the *Romans* made the other twelve Colonies did not imitate these twelve; but showed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be laid upon them, without thinking under the burden. This their offer was to highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithful Colonies, were brought into the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commendation of all their former good services, this their present love unto the State was magnified, and thanks that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to dismiss them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own consideration of their ill deserving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were willing to help the State. If *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* have betaken themselves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate success. Nevertheless, they were fain to open their most privy treasury; and thence rake out the gold that had been laid up to serve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Consul, to let him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army, and to provide that *Asdrubal* might not pass from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easy success at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any

The Town of *Hepherus*, because it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting those to death that had professed with the Enemy, carried away the multitude, whom he bestowed among the *Tunians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Atretilus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good cheer; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* space; and overtaking him at *Novusiro* in the Country of the *Lucanis*, fought with him a battle: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted until night, and ended, by reason of the darkness, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Canusium* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often, and fought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battle, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus passed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fulvius* considering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that year to besiege *Tarentum*; which if he could win, like it was, that scarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus* (whom was continued the command of those Legions that served under him the year before) to press the *Carthaginian* to hard, as he might have no leisure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* sifter than himself, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring ever to come to battle, put upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazard much in fight; but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keep his Army strong until the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be lusty, and to bat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captain, that would never suffer them to be at quiet; until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battle; where in *Hannibal* had the victory; took six English; and slew of the *Romans* almost 3000, among which were some of mark. *Marcellus* was so impatient of his dishonour, that he rated his men, as Felans, and bade cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any stratagem. With these and many other like words, which they were ashamed to hear, he did vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their General, they besought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies forward, that had lost their English the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet; and therefore was ready to fight again; since all other motives continued the same, and his men had been terrified by the late victory. But the *Romans* were hurried up with desire of revenge, and of repairing their honour lost, which affections gave a sharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were

grown dull, and weary by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battle *Marcellus* got the victory; which he purchased at a dear rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if 8000 of the *Carthaginians* were slain, and 3000 of the *Roman* side, in this next battle, the difference was no greater, than even to recompense the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Nevertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his business at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consul, about the same time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucanis*, and *Vulturni*, that willingly yielded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns; whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had been authors, or busie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Laevinus* had lately brought from *Agatena*, was then also set on work to besiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Bruttians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serve to divert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salernitani*, laid down a siege to *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed useful to carry it either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Town, a good part were *Bruttians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother served under *Fabius*. Hereof he gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these news: and said, that if the *Bruttian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Mistress, to do what she would have him. The Consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his Souldier to convey himself into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Bruttian* Captain: and partly by his own persuasions, partly by the flattering intreaty of his sifter; wan him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the business, and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Bruttian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Bruttians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereas the Army was lying. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as happened in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very ordinarily. *Nico*, *Democritus* and *Philomenus*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthago*, who commanded

commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used because of his hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come to *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Bruttians*. This slaughter of the *Bruttians*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, so end that he might seem to have won the Town by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great, whereof the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming; but he was to fear, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he halted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, The *Romans* have also their *Hannibals*; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few days together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*; and thence departing to *Metapontum*, he thought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same City; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again; but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they had lost a company of such well fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have been so rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars, and it was considered, that the Legions of *Canus*, and those unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies

of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear, or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made their people. For *Hannibal* did gently find home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to pass within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new soldiers were daily pressed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, that they should boldly deny unto the *Romans* their further help. This was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Towns make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to return home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Romans* or *Tarentines*, but the offspring of the *Romans*; and no less partners of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not serve the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could, and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans* that the other eighteen Colonies did not imitate these twelve; but showed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be laid upon them, without thinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls, that the Embassadors of those faithful Colonies, were brought into the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commendation of all their former good services, their present love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed upon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to dismiss them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own consideration of their ill deserving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were so willing to help the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* have betaken themselves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate success. Nevertheless, they were fain to open their most privy treasury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to serve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Consul, to let him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army, and to provide that *Asdrubal* might not pass from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money, finding such easy success at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any

any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Nevertheless, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and thence were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at less warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiss to note, that since the *Romans*, being in to great a necessity of money, were driven to furnish the Army in *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stock that was left: it must needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far less than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had been not as yet won it: howsoever *Levi* rather inclines to those, who say that he soon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Ardubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. After the great battle at *Cannae*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cannae* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himself Master of a good haven; for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turn his principal care to the Eastern parts of *Italy*, where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Ardubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his Brother was past, that therein he might make a party against the *Romans*. The loss of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from hearkening to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and weariness of their adherents, together with the fear of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*, did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Arretines*, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of this conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrify them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the year following they were devising how to break out: as contrarywise the *Roman* Propraetors, partly by terror of severe judgments and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporising; persuading themselves, that in battle they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*, one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all sorts of Engines, sending for a fleet out of *Sicily* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieve the City: the time of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desert from his enterprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Vendia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*, to whom the Consuls daily offered band. This great man of War had no need to stand upon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto fear; but rather deemed as

part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and fought to take them at some advantage; relieving his own numbers as full as he could unto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but fought to compel the Enemy to battle, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Vendia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, wherein the *Romans* fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and save their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal* to waite their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should straggle from the *Roman* Camp; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom he would to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground *Marcellus* thought it fit to remove their Camp: unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows, who discovered not themselves until they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger; to the weak assistance of no more than forty horsemen, that were of the Colonie of *Fregella*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorough with a Lance and fell down dead; then began every one to shift for himself, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two covered their camp: The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funerals, according to the custom of those times: and crowning his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a bow of gold; and so sent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this *Crispinus* bethought himself, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was fallen into the custody of *Hannibal*: who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had happened were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard to give no credit unto any letters therewithal signed. This providence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite.

requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Messenger arrived there first from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captive Kings; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readines, for such employment as he should think needful. The device was plain, and no less plain was the revengeful mind which he bare against that City, because of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapines* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their enemy in his own snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any sign of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readines, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troop of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened fair and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when six hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapines*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this stratagem, hasted away to *Locri*, whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet about *Cecil*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal*'s Vantcuirs, made the *Romans* in all confused haste, run to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever was in their Camp, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of these accidents, sent unto *Crispinus* the surviving Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Common-Wealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other business; whereunto himself was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soon after he died. Then was it thought needful, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay so near unto the Enemy, without any General. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men as were not only valiant, but well advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Dares, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himself so strangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their Army unto rash leaders. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the alloy of a more staid wit. The Fathers therefore endeavoured to joyn unto him in the Consulship, *M. Livius*: one that had born the same office long before. This *M. Livius* had been with *L. Amilius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their Consulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called into judgement by the people: and this *Livius* condemned, *Amilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankful *Romans*, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable

men. For in the battle at *Cannae*, it was apparent what lamentable effects the memory of their injustice wrought: when *L. Amilius* rather chose to yield to the forward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatness of overthrow than ever fall upon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious counsels of *Tarentum*, to call himself a new upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will continue, to tell the people of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been absent out of the City, and lived in his Country Grange, till vexing himself with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Levius*, being Consuls two or three years ago, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private in discontented sort, as might appear, both by his carelessness in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Consuls, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he used to sit silent, and signify his assent or dislike to what was proposed, either in short formal words, or in passing from side to side, when the house was divided. At length it happened, that in some business weightily concerning one that was his kinsman, he stood up and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, that he was, and what he had been. The Senate was much affected since he had left it; many brave men were lost: new ones were chosen as such as rather served to fill up the number, than to answer to the dignity of the place; and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Virtues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to say; that it was a great pity, for worthy and able a Man as this *Livius*, had been in this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need; yet had not used in this dangerous war. Now seeing that the Consuls sought one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*: the other of necessity a *Plébeian*: and since neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius* *Levius*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that these could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livius* would not endure to hear of this. He said it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by persuasions and examples received by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himself to a Palm-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for shelter in a storm. Such unthankfulness to well deserving men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the second King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, upon some final offence conceived, without all regard of his former defects: yet when his intended Conquest of *Portugal*, required the service of a man more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the

any victories won by Scipio could suffice. Nevertheless, it tell us happily for the people of Rome, that this year, and the next were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at less warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiss to note, that since the Romans, being in so great a necessity of money, were driven to furnish the Army in Spain, with the greatest part of all their stock that was left: it must needs be, that either the booty taken in new Carthage, was far less than fame had reported it; or else that Scipio had not as yet won it: howsoever Livie rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and T. Quintus Crispinus, were chosen Consuls after Fabius and Fulvius. In their year it was, that Adribal took his journey out of Spain, though he came not into Italy until the year following. After the great battle at Cannæ, Hannibal had lost much time about Cannæ and Naples, in seeking to make himself Master of a good haven; for the landing of those forces that were promised from Carthage. The hope that he reposed in Philip, caused him to turn his principal care to the Eastern parts of Italy; where he made ready a fair entrance for the Macedonian, if he had been ready to come; but since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of Adribal was (though far later than had been expected) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of Hetruria, through whose Countries his Brother was past, that therein he might make a party against the Romans. The loss of Capua, Tarentum, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the Italian Towns, from hearkning to any solicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet the poverty of the Romans, and wantiness of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which Hannibal brought into Italy, did embolden many of the Hetrurians, especially the Arretines, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to Rome. The Roman Senate, hearing the rumour of this conspiracy, sent Marcellus the new chosen Consul into Hetruria: whose coming did so terrify them, that they retired quiet for a while. All the year following they were devising how to break out: as contrarywise the Roman Propozitors, partly by terror of severe judgments and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong War upon Hannibal without more temporising; persuading themselves, that in battle they should be too strong for him. Crispinus had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Town: as Fulvius and Fabius had gotten honour by Capua and Tarentum. Therefore he went about the siege of Locri; one of the best Cities which the Carthaginian then held in Italy: and brought thither all sorts of Engines, sending for a fleet out of Sicily to help him. But Hannibal was not slow to relieve the City: the time of whose approach, made Crispinus desist from his enterprise, and retire unto his Collegue, that lay at Venusia. Thither followed Hannibal, to whom the Consuls daily offered battle. This great man of War had no need to stand upon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto fear; but rather deemed as

part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and fought to take them at some advantage; reserving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of War, Marcellus took no pleasure: but sought to compel the Enemy to battle, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the Roman fleet about Sicily, L. Cincius, was commanded again to assail the Town of Locri: which might well enough be forced, if Hannibal continued as he began, to trifle away the time at Venusia. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of Cincius. But Hannibal had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between Tarentum and Locri, whereto the Romans fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and save their own lives within Tarentum. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of Hannibal to waste their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should frangle from the Roman Camp, and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of Numidians: whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the Consuls thought it fit to remove their Camp: Marcellus thinking that he never lay near enough unto Hannibal. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of Marcellus, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them Hetrurians. The Numidian Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows, who discovered not themselves until they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Consuls, as needfully compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the Hetrurians ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than forty horsemen, that were of the Colonie of Fregella. These Fregellians aided the Consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when Marcellus was stricken thorow with a Lance and fell down dead, then began every one to flit for himself, and escape as they might. Crispinus the other Consul, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young Marcellus was likewise wounded: yet these two recovered their camp. The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lighters that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul Marcellus, Hannibal gave honourable Funeral, according to the custom of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to young Marcellus, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this Crispinus bethought himself, how that the signet Ring of Marcellus was fallen into the custody of Hannibal, who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had happened were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the Towns about; that his Collegue was slain, and that Hannibal had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithal signed. This providence of Crispinus was not more than requisite.

requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to Salapia, when another Messenger arrived there sent from Hannibal, bringing letters in the name of Marcellus, and sealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night unto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readines, for such employment as he should think needful. The device was plain, and no less plain was the revengeful mind which he bare against that City, because of his brave Numidian companies that had therein been betrayed. The Salapines hereupon besought themselves, how to take their enemy in his own snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a Roman fugitive, without letting him perceive any sign of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readines, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troop of Roman fugitives armed Roman-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened fair and quietly, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when six hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves: being laid at on all hands by the Salapines, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this stratagem, halted away to Locri, wherunto Cincius the Admiral of the Roman fleet about Sicily, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the Numidians, Hannibal's Vantcuors, made the Romans in all confusion hate, run to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever was in their Camp, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, sent unto Crispinus the surviving Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Common-Wealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other business; whereunto himself was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soon after he died. Then was it thought needful, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Armies lay so near unto the Enemy, without any General. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men as were not only valiant, but well advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Dares, M. Marcellus, by losing himself so strangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their Army unto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, C. Claudius Nero, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the alloy of a more laid wit. The Fathers therefore endeavoured to joyn unto him in the Consulship, M. Livius: one that had born the same office long before. This M. Livius had be Consul with L. Amilius Paullus, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their Consulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called into judgement by the people: and this Livius condemned; Amilius hardly escaping. Though it hath been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankful Romans, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable

men. For in the battle at Cannæ, it was apparent what lamentable effects the memory of their injustice wrought: when L. Amilius rather chose to yield to the forward ignorance of his Collegue; and afterward to die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell upon the State of Rome. But, to call himself a new Livius upon the danger of the popular fury, As for M. Livius, he is even now ready, and will continue, to tell the people of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been absent out of the City, and lived in his Country Grange, still vexing himself with the indignity of his condemnation. Marcellus and Livius, being Consuls two or three years ago, had brought him into Rome: where he lived private in discontented sort, as might appear, both by his carelessness in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Consors, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he did sit silent, and signify his assent or dislike to what was propounded, either in short formal words, or in passing from side to side, when the house was divided. At length it happened, that in some business weightily concerning one that was his kinsman, he stood up and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention and bade them enquire of him, had been. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many brave men were lost; new ones were chosen chief as rather served to fill up the number, than to answer to the dignity of the place; and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to say; that it was a great pity, so worthy and able a Man as this Livius, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need, yet had not used in this dangerous war. Now seeing that the Consuls sought one of them, to be chosen a Patriarch; the other of necessity a Plebeian: and since neither Fabius, nor Valerius Livinus, being both of them Patriarchians, could be joyned with Claudius Nero; every one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than C. Claudius, and this Marcus Livius. But Livie would not endure to hear of this. He said it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by persuasions and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which Themistocles checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: resembling himself to a Palm-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for shelter in a storm. Such unthankfulness to well deserving men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of Philip the second King of Spain his dealing with the Duke of Alva. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, upon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended Conquest of Portugal, required the service of a man more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the

scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. This is wisdom often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when C. *Claudius Nero*, and M. *Livius* were chosen Consuls, *Asdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the ways of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his passage into *Italy*. The *Roman* used at this time the service of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for many more, if they had known how to levy and maintain them. Of these which they had, four served in *Spain*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*: the rest were to be disposed, in several parts of *Italy*, where need seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution; and would not be tied to the punctual observance of what the Senate thought fit. M. *Livius* would not stir out of *Rome*, against so mighty a power as followed *Asdrubal*, until he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and those of the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true that two Legions appointed to serve under *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that year, among the *Cisalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an addendum to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salernitan*, near unto *Tarentum*, unto another of the Pretors be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Nevertheless, the Consuls, by the special instance of *Livius*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own discretion. For news came that *Asdrubal* was already passing the Alps, the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in that Country about *Genoa*, with their neighbour people, were in readiness to join with him; and L. *Porcius* felt word, that he would adventure no further, than he safely might. When all was ordered as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the City, each his several way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected, than they had been, when L. *Amilius Paulus*, and C. *Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and win the victory betimes; but rather they stood in fear, left all diligence, wisdom and valour should prove too little. For since few years had passed, where in some one of their Generals had not been slain; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith join, and make short work with the other: it seemed a greater happiness than could be expected, that each of them should return home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mighty opposition, as he was like to find. With extrem difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever since the battle of *Cannae*: though it were to that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed a man of more sufficiency than *Hannibal* himself. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Army: this *Asdrubal* in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, defended from the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than

he came over the Pyrenees at his first setting out of *Spain*. These considerations, and the like, of which fear presented many unto them, caused the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Consuls out of the Town, like a penitential train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, upon whom in the like sort they had given attendance the last year; but few either of them return alive, from a man's dangerous War. Particularly, old *Salvius* gave his accustomed advice to M. *Livius*, that he should abstain from giving or taking battle, until he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, that he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victory; or by being the overthrow of his own unjust Citizens, satisfy himself with the joy of a great, though not an honest revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his Journey into *Italy*, such mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Livius*. Yet I think it not amiss to add in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his History concerning that accident: *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reason of those Captains that were sent from the City of *Carthage*, to join with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to say, thus far forth Traitors, that they preferred the advantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courage, I will not undertake, it cannot be known; since those Books which *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the spiteful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicily* with *Mutius*, a better man of War than himself, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Island: we may conceive, that against the Brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needful, by these mischievous Partisans of *Hanno*, to use the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Nevertheless, *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutius* could not long digest. His Journey into *Italy* being resolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not far upon the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furnish his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*, and drew him out of his Camp; though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could or would come to his assistance. The overthrow seems not to have been so great, as it must have been supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appears, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and seeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, sent away all money with the Elephants before him: but stayed behind himself to sustain the *Roman* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire, afterwards he gathered his broken troops together, and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his Brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*; that thought himself the fittest man for the administration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have stopped him in his Journey, by sending to defend against him the ordinary

ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Asdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had sent to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly flows to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the steps of his Brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his money, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country, whilst that the passages of the Alps were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his Journey over the Alps, were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he travelled thence toward their Country. For these poor men, at the first coming of *Hannibal*, were verily perfwaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattle; and to make spoil of that little wealth which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in process of time, they were better informed. Therefore, understanding that there were two mighty Cities, far dis-jointed asunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lie in the way: they gladly consented to take their part in the fortune of the invaders. The like affection upon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also joined with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country, there was no other *Roman* Army near, than L. *Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Town. But there he lost a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Consuls leisure to make ready for him; and caused his Brother *Hannibal* (who upon the first birth of *Asdrubal* he so timely, and easily passing the Alps, was about to leave his wintering Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to sit still a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. *Claudius Nero* the *Roman* Consul, made what speed he could to meet with *Hannibal* and stop him from joining with his Brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he dayly offered battle to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was only driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salernitan* and *Apulians*, unto the Country of the *Bruttians*, there to increase his forces: which were otherwise too weak for the Journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucanians*; there fought unprofitably with *Nero* the Consul. Nevertheless, he got off; and marched away to *Vesuntia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there again the better of him; wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joining *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assayed again, to make way by force to his Brother. So he passed onward, and came again to *Vesuntia*, having *Nero* still at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Asidua*, to *Casunum*, where he fate down, not far from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit down by him: and

both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Country very well: that his Brother might with little impediment, overcome the way to *Casunum*; where, if he could once again deal with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Country. If this had to fall out; *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* should not have need to wish any second victory, in the naked *Campana* about *Cannae*: If such an Army as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in full strength; and the *Roman* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reason afterward to say that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did bear him out of *Italy*; which else no power of the *Roman* could have done.

Whilst *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their succour: he was advertised of *Asdrubal* his approach by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gave notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his Brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Livius* the Consul. Of these news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyed as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparent, that howsoever the fortune of *Rome* should avail, for the present, any great calamity; yet the very countenance of so strong a War at home, would enforce the *Latiner*, and other faithful Associates to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose plentiful influence, if not on the field, yet within few years, was like to work most lamentable effects. It seemed apparent, that his *Colleague* was unable to stay the progress of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readiness, that could do service in such a needful case, excepting those, that were already employed under the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himself to his own charge, which was the war against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his *Colleague*. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* Brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trull, with that which was the less important. Six thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making them, as if he would only step aside, to do some small piece of service near at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow-Consul. His Messengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to pass, that they should be ready to meet him with victuals, and all other necessities for his Army. *Livius* the other Consul at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal*, within half a mile of him. In six days *Nero* had finished his Journey thither; and when he drew near, sent Messengers before him

him, to give notice of his coming. *Livie* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of covert until dark night, and then enter secretly into the Camp: left the Enemy, perceiving this acccess of strength, took accordingly flame his counsels. This was done, and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as well horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, should be lodged and entertained by men of their own sort. Their Company was somewhat increased by Volunteers that joined with him on the way. Nevertheless it was not needful that the Quarter which received them, should be enlarged: since they had brought with them nothing but their arms. The next day they held a Council of war: wherein some were of opinion, that it were best for these new arrived Companies to refresh themselves a few days after their weary Journey, before they should be drawn forth to battle. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make use of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp. *Cæ* *Hannibal* should have notice of his absence. The Souldiers also of *Nero* were full of spirit: perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battle would not have been undertaken, without their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Council brake up, that the sign of battle should be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pavilions.

Asdrubal was no less willing than the *Romans* to come to battle, having long desired it, and his thereto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and some of their Arms and Horses looked as though they had wanted drilling, after a long Journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet should there good observation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted; that might shew their forces to be increased. The Camp, as hath been said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded once in the Quarter of *L. Porcius* the Prætor, did now, contrary to former custom, sound twice in the Quarter of *Livius* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a sure token, that the other Consul had there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good case, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the best way, to go luckily to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own Forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Roman*; nor troubling himself perhaps with over-forgently fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*: whereby to keep himself as long as he could, from necessity of battle. But whether it were so, that his guide did lead away from him in the dark, so that he could not find the way to the Forde; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindered his speed: far he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heels with all

the *Roman* horse, and stayed him from passing any further. Soon after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions: in good order, and ready for battle. *Asdrubal*, seeing himself overtaken with necessity to fight, omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gauls*, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy should not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he stood himself with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midst; and his Elephants he bestowed in the front of his battles. On the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battle. Both *Roman* and *Carthaginians* well understood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there was unto the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion: that they were to fight with men desirous to have fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Livius* the Consul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*, by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the victory seemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the less; or were able now to do, being placed in the midst. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* Engines were driven to fall back. All this while *Clodius Nero*, labouring much in vain against a steep Hill, was unable to come to blows with the *Gauls*, that stood opposite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who, seeing his own left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his Forces and led them round behind the Forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compassed, he fell upon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flank. Here began the Victory to be manifest on the *Roman* side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of *Asdrubal*'s battle: and falling upon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part was slain. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive; the rest were slain: some by the Enemies weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being forewarned, began to wade unruled, and rush back upon their own battles following them, the guide had in readiness a Mallet and a Chizel, wherewith he gave them a stroke between the ears, in the joint of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beasts upon a sudden. This speedy way of preventing such harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the Squadrons following them, is said to have been the device of *Asdrubal* himself, who died in this Battle.

Great

Great commendations are given to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Livie*. He is said at all times to have shewed himself worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother: to have striven with great patience against many difficulties, whereto he fell by the means of those Captains that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*: to have performed in this last battle all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he saw the loss irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the number that died with him in this battle, the report of *Livie* and *Polybius* do very much disagree. For *Livie* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no less an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*: that fifty six thousand of them were slain, five thousand and four hundred taken prisoners, and above four thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered and set at liberty. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates, there were slain eight thousand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and silver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with money. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battle of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side; and two thousand of the *Romans*, to have been slain. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive, and that all the rest died in the battle. Wherby it may seem that they were all *Berberies*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no less in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever since it were known in what fort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal*'s coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure, and either pursue him, or set upon the Army that laid behind, much weakened, and without a General? Thus they talk, yet relieving their fears upon the success, with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the Temples with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsel, waiting still ready at hand upon the Magistrates; as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would ask every ones help. In brief, they were all so full of melancholy, that when the first news of victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Consul, with Letters contained all that had passed, there was not only great and joyful concourse of all sorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private business; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) and attending their own affairs in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*:

and producing his *African* prisoners bound, sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had happened. These two prisoners might have served well enough to convince *Hannibal* of the misfortune, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcus* yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seem, that howsoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weal: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civil, and less prone to the infidelity of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terror of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which passed, to make a deep impression of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himself, being over-joyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For it was the battle of *Metaurus* that weighed down the balances, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebb, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within its banks. *Hannibal* having lost in this unhappy right (besides the worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that he for long fulfilled him in *Italy*, withdrew himself into the Country of the *Bruttians*: and thither he caused all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places, as he held at the present, because they lay too far asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass, in the utmost corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much fertility, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this business *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, having all his forces united; or because it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Consul, tarried among the *Cisalpine Gauls* until the end of summer; there to set things in such order, as he thought requisite; which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause he desired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was to have the honour of triumph, as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well known, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was to given, that not only *Livie* with his Army should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp wherof, *Livie* made the greater show, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers: because in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Army also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horseback, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Venturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to

the Generals, the due acknowledgment of their good service. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls; and Consuls they were chosen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Consulship. Neither indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of this present war, until the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italy; save only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by surprise. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer; and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruin, yet in him alone, they thought there was force enough to hold himself upright. And surely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polypius*, whom *Livie* therein follows. That making war upon a People, of all other the most war-like, he obtained so many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of so many sundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians* and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they never fell to sedition among themselves, or against their General. But that which *Livie* adds here, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he finished his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry soil of the *Bruttians*: which when it was best maw-like, in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It's therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and virtue, he kept his Army in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatness of reward and booty; since after the death of *Afrdubal*, he made no invasion upon the wealthier parts of Italy, but held himself still among the poor *Bruttians*. Where we must leave him's until he be drawn into *Africa* by *Scipio*; whose doing will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

SECT. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman, made entire conquest of Spain.

t. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

Mago and *Afrdubal* the son of *Gesce*, took upon them the charge of Spain, when *Afrdubal* the Son of *Amilcar* departed thence into Italy. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levy a supply of men; and *Afrdubal* withdraw himself into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soon ended his business, and returned into Spain: where he met with one *Hanno* (the same perhaps that had lately been employed in *Sicily*) who

brought new forces out of *Africa*; and came to succeed in place of *Afrdubal* the *Barchino*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needful from *Carthage*: when this Son of *Amilcar*, whose authority had been great, was thence departed. For hereby might the famous diligence of old *Hanno* approve it self, against that noble race of Warriors: when it should appear, that things did prosper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over; *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purposing afresh to set upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the country of the *Celiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by money, and over-persuasions, he levied above nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himself in the Eastern parts of Spain: attentive, as it may seem to the proceedings of *Afrdubal*, the son of *Amilcar*; against whom he is reported by some Writers to have sent part of his forces into Italy, to the assistance of *C. Claudius Nere*, and *M. Livius* the Consuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celiberians*, he sent *M. Syllanus* the Pro-prefor, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitive *Celiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countrymen incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew near to these *Celiberians*: and falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their succour, instead of heartening and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loss. *Mago* saved himself with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten days journey, brought them safe to *Afrdubal*. The rest of the *Africans* were either slain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken prisoner, though he kept himself out of the fight until all was lost. As for the *Celiberians*, they knew better how to make shift; and saved most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could not otherwise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein Italy stood, by the coming thither of *Afrdubal*. Ten thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spain (as it is reported by some Authors to the defence of his own Country; or was perhaps, about to send them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentive to the necessity and success of his Countrymen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conquest of Spain; which must needs be alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an overthrow. The *Spanish* Soldiers that served under *Hannibal*, and those that had been sent over into *Africa*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noised abroad, that all which hath followed *Afrdubal* into Italy, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was closed up in a straight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly beehove the *Spaniards* to conform themselves unto the will of the Victors.

Ators. That it was the success of things in Italy, which gave such confidence unto *Scipio*; it was the more probable, because he took not this great enterprise in hand, until the Summer was almost spent. *Afrdubal* therefore used the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Army into many Garrisons, hindered the Enemy from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, caused *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by assault the Town of *Oringis*.

Against the next years danger, *Afrdubal* prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, nor travel, in strengthening himself, for the trial of his last fortune in Spain. With seventy thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I believe, that he could hardly have raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italy. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weak to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to use the help of his *Spanish* friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made him on the other side very doubtful of relying upon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Colebus*, that was Lord of eight and twenty Towns, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his service: he resolved to make use of those; and some few others, that might help to make a show, and yet not be able to do any great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he fought out the Enemy; near unto whom he incamped. At this first coming, *Mago* and *Massinissa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilst he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain Troops of Horse in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betook themselves to plain flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmishes between the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Afrdubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many days: *Afrdubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himself into his Trenches. The *Spanish* Auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at distance, many days together: it grew to be the common opinion; that they should shortly meet in the same form, and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before designed. But *Scipio*, when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his men and horses to be well fed before in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: using

herein the same trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battle of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he bestowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battle. *Afrdubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertain the *Romans*; whilst he himself arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since, being over-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat unto their foot; and one troop succeeding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was portrayed by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noon he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battle of *Spaniards* far behind them, that came on suddenly, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Afrdubal* his wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Soldiers that came against them; for they were fresh Soldiers, levied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the same time, by the *Roman* *Veltari*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose, they were sorely pressed, and with much difficulty made retreat. The *Carthaginians* would fain have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battle which was coming against them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the best part of *Afrdubal* his Army stood idle, until the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he must have cast himself into the open place that lay before him between the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof, when he had arrived, he should have found himself inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battle of *Cannae*. Wherefore he did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled as their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In process of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lustily; when the others began to faint with travel and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed the more hotly; and gave not over till they had forced the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Afrdubal* did his best to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward again to have caused his men to turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it easy to purchase courage into the vanquished, led by the oblate passion of fear, which hearkens to no persuasion. The Camp of *Afrdubal* had that day been taken, if a storm of rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some confusion in the *Romans*, had not caused them to give over.

The same night *Afrdubal* gave no rest to his men; but caused them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* soldiers. One *Atanes*, that was Lord of

the *Turdani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his Subjects: many followed this example; and soon after two strong Towns were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the *Garrisons* betrayed. It seems that the perverse fortune of this late battle, whereupon *Afrubal* had set his rest, lived in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Afrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himself, and marched away after then ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them to often to make found, that they were at last attacked by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel slaughter: for there was no refuge made, but all fell to rout, save only seven thousand, that, with *Afrubal* himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift to those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one, and healing from his Company by night away to the Sea side, that was not far thence, he took shippings and set sail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Afrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege their Camp, which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Massinissa* lay'd it; whilst he took the rest of the Army did what was useful in the Country abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Massinissa* followed *Afrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army dispersed it self, some flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they like. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Illurgi*, *Castulo*, and *Asapa*, that made continuation of war against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garrison, consisting of such as had saved themselves by flight in the late overthrow. Hereby it seems that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yielded long since unto the *Romans*; though *Hamul* took a wife in that City. For this was one of the last three towns that held out to the *Carthaginians* side. *Illurgi* had sometimes been inclinable to the *Romans*, if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipios*, following too carelessly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and flew the poor men that escaped thence from the overthrows. *Asapa* was a Town that still adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thence by the spoil of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) *Scipio* went against these, and took himself *Illurgi* and *Castulo*: *Illurgi* by assault, and with a general slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by reason of one *Credubalar*. *Asapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*, or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market place, whereunto was thrown all the gold, and silver, with whatsoever else was precious: the women and children standing by it under a sure guard, that should kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This provision being made, and all the Inhabitants that could bear Arms, rushed forth desperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where striving beyond their power, they were every one slain. Then was the Town forthwith set on fire,

by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flames, whilst they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Afrubal being beaten into the Island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Masæsis*, a people of the *Nuimidian*; hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings Port, as it were landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith betwix himself, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distress in *Africa*. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement, of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seek revenge. He had also been beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a Captain into *Africa*, who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons, the *Nuimidian* King sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and made league with the City in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africa*, upon the friendship of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over *C. Lælius* his Embassador to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to do in *Spain*, easily persuaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested that the *Roman* General should visit him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereo *Scipio* condescended, thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far distant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquagena* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time with *Afrubal*. This would have been very dangerous unto him, had he been decyved by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbore to make offer one upon another. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captains of two most powerful Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: But the *Romans* excused himself, by want of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entered into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily broke,

† II.

† II.

Funeral games held by Scipio. A Duel between two Spanish Princes. A digression concerning Duels.

Scipio returning into *Spain*, and resting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon those of *Illurgi*, *Castulo*, and *Asapa*, as hath been said before. The conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vows that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funeral games, especially of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the City of *Rome*: for there were now, that either offered, themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their several Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to defer the decision of their Controversies, to trial of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbin* and *Orfisa*; Colen-gewans; that contended for the principality of a Town called *Beta*. *Corbin* was the younger, and the elder brothers long before he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish* *Lampshire*. But the father of *Orfisa* took lately seized of the principality: which though himself received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his Son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, that all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up their quarrels; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battle, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skillful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardiness of the younger.

Such combats have been very ancient and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*; by *Thesius*, *Heracles*, *Peleus*, and others: as also of two more at the War of *Troy*, the one between *Pentarus* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrews*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *David*'s Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertain the fight between twelve of the Tribes of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjaminites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren the *Curatii*, that were the *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after: of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of less importance, as having only reference to bravery. In England there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Cannus the Dane*, for no less matter than the

Kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mumfry*, against the Earl of *Blois*, contending for the Duchy of *Britany*; there was a fight for honour of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britans*, and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverley*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Kewley* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French* and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayete de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of several Nations: for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else occasion unto men, desirous to fight out themselves. But besides those of this fort, there are two other natures of combats which are, either upon accusation for life, or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we speak even now, between *Corbin* and *Orfisa*. Unto these (methinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliath*, and that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, in which without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Brabant* Duke of *Herser*, and *Mowbray* Duke of *Notfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ashley* and one *Cattringer*: whom *Ashley* charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mumfry* and *Henry* *Essex*. The like also, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Wells* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had betrayed him; and was therefore drawn and hanged.

Whether our trial by battle to determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved, I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accused of treason, or according to the customs of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, he shall suffer the pains appointed for those crimes. In combats for trial of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Parsons* and *Laur*, or offered to do, in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten or yieldeth, loseth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accusation, or trial of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in *Camp clost*, that is, within rails. Now this trial by combat was so ordinary in *France*, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip* the fair his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their proficiency thereby. For in the *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if *desist*, or if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings.

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And upon this custom grew the French Proverb, which they use when any man hath had an hard and unjust judgement; saying, *That He was tryed by the Law of Lory or Berne; ou le battit oye l'amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence.

Of the the frequent trials by battle that great learned man *Ivo*, Bishop of *Chartres* did often complain, and specially against the French Church-men; as appears by *His Letters* to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Arch-bishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein in he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kind of trial, was retrencht by *S. Lewis*, and *Philip le fair*, so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the French King, as to the Lord of *Carregues*, against *Jacques le Gris*, and to *Julian Romero the Spaniard*, against *Moro* his country-man; wherein *Sir Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Robert* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chabli*. Now in these challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, other offences deserving death (and in those only) the rule held, *That le defendeur s'oit tenu de proposer ses defences par un dementir*; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the *Lye*: otherwise it was concluded, that the defendant did *taffablement confesser le crime*; silently confess the crime. But after such time as *Francis the French King*, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had lent the *Lye* unto the Emperor *Charles the fifth*, thereby to draw him to personal combats; every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the *Lye* mortality it self; holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, *That the meanest Gentleman in France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles V.* had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryal of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter seeming worthy of anger, in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes unto himself a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats, the giving of the *Lye*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word of terrible, and a wrong to unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the French Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a custom: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are reduced. Yea, there are (among many no less ridiculous) some of mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a flight thought with a Cane, than a found blow with a Sword; the one having relation to a slave, the other to a soldier. I confess that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and

and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lye*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and behave falsely. Yea, it is thereby, that they blurt and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed and sworn to pay the moneys, and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promise, as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lysers* by Record, by being sued in some Court or other of Justice, upon breach of word or Bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now a daies? What is the vowling of their service, and of all they have, used in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid not good morning, or salute, other than a courteous and Court-like kind of lying? It is (saith a wise French man, deriding therein the Apish custom of his Country) *un marche & complot fait ensemble, le maquer, mentar, & piper les uns les autres*; A kind of merchandize, and compleat made among them, to mock, boyle, and deride each other: and so far now-adaies in fashion, and in use; as he that uteth it not, is accounted either dull or Cynical. True it is not withstanding, committing the old distinction; that there is great difference between these mannerly and complementary lies, with those which are sometimes swayed by necessity upon breach of promise; and those which men use out of cowardize and fear: the latter confelling themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other filled the most villainous. But now for the *Lye* it self, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrels in effect; to it I say, That whosoever giveth another man the *Lye*, when it is manifest that he hath lyed, doth himself no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more heinously taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promitteth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he had made himself a *Lyar*. On the other side, He that gives any man the *Lye*, when he himself knows, that he, to whom it is given, hath not lyed; doth therein give the *Lye* directly to himself. And what cause have I, if I say that the Sun shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lye, for it's midnight, to prosecute such an one to death, for making himself a foolish Ruffian and a *lyar* in his own knowledge? For he that gives the *Lye* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudeness to tax any man in publick with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to this prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered:) But all that is rude, ought not to be civilized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a French custom, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsel of God. But you will say, that these discourses favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas he that is truly wife, and truly

valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword, we shall find ten thousand seven penny-men (I was at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance less, than any profest Sword-man in the world. *Diligentius in intel. sui Fortitudinis Fortitudo est a diligens professor of it self*. It is faith *Arthole* a modiciority between doubting and daring. *Sic non Martyrem penas fac nec fortem pingu, sed causa*: As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man: but fighting in a good cause. In which, whosoever shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit; in defence of his Prince, Religion or Country: as he may justly be numbered among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or punish the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our own consciences; *Animas in vulnere ponere*; And to draw our souls in the wounds and blood of our enemies. Hereupon you will again ask me, if I condemn, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honours, being prest With injuries? I say that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternal Law; and the Laws of all Christian Kingdoms and States; doth out him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the assaillant. You will secondly ask me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to satisfy the challenger in private combat? I answer that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour. The Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can destroy it; except you will file choise Acts honourable, where the Hang-men give the Garland. For, seeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror, and the Laws of God appointed the Devil to second the Conquered, dying in malice: I say, that he is both base and a foul, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this, perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of England, and other Christian Kings, have seldom taken any such advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have slain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and convulsion they have not often done it; so did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, sue unto the King, to approve themselves by battle and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; so did they disdain to submit themselves unto the shameful revenge thereof, the same revenge (because it detecteth murder) that hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Thieves: Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders: yet it is not the manly-tyer freed from his pardon. For these two remedies hath the party enjoyed notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by grand Assize, or by battle, upon his appeal, which (saith *Sir Thomas Smith*) is not denied, and he further faith (for I use his own words) That if the Defendant (for wit, the manlayer) be convinced either by great

Assize or by Battle, upon that appeal; the manlayer shall die notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (saith the famous learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to justice and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, without taking the least either in words or blows shall lay on them an injury unsufferable: I say, that a Marshals Court will satisfy satisfaction in both. And if we hold it to digress to submit our selves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all things else by which the lives of our selves, our wives, and children, are sustained, to the Judges of the Law; because it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own: why should we not submit our selves unto the Judges of honour in cases of honour; because to recover our reputation by their hand, may be murder? But yet again it may be objected, that the loss of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us, than either the loss of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives, and I say to you. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be so dear unto us: other than a kind of History, or fame following actions of virtue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In which, he that is employed and trusted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardice, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of virtue, because it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult, because even and equal persons and arms: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; because the loss or mutilation of an able man, is also a loss to the Commonwealth.

Now that a Marshal of England hath power to fave every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may sustain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to report us of any evil words that we have given, and to confest that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as may fall out, is more than sufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repent himself of them upon advisement hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are in deed not to be given but to those that are ferile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appear by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Montfieur de Pléffis*, that was stricken not long since by a Baron of the same name. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Constable and Marshals of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gave judgement, *M. de Pléffis* was set in a chair under the degrees where the Constable and Marshals are: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a Sword, with the point towards himself, and in his left hand the like cudgel or battlement, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Pléffis*, both which weapons he delivered into *Pléffis*'s hands, submitting himself to such revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshals having formerly left it to the will of *Pléffis*, to use his own

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Sir Tho. Smith in his Commonwealth of England.

discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himself, or one before-hand in what he thought to do, who struck *Ma de Piffie* like a Russian coming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horses ready, shifted himself away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himself in this shameful manner: or whether *Ma de Piffie* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not far juster cause to be satisfied, if he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wife man judge. To this, if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary: and therefore no disgrace unto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no grace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sins to God) makes all repentance shameful: because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it self, as it hath relation to men, either either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgment of our own weakness. Certainly as wife men, and valiant men, do rather desire petty injuries to our sudden injuries, that are not offered from malice-for thought, than revenge them: so men, apt to quarrel, do commonly suspect their own valour; a smothered desire that thereby the world should believe them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knows himself indeed to be an honest man, fears to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshals of France have, hath also a Marshal of England, or his Deputies: by whose judgement, in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preserved. We may therefore as well submit our selves to the Judge of honour, in all disputes of honour, as we do submit our selves in all controversies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalry in England, in France, and elsewhere: was no less charitable than politic. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *hony-bees* as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers, or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Revenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten up of several nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God upon supercilious Governours, than the permission.

His Majesty therefore (which Henry the IV. of France also endeavoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his predecessors could never do: in beating down, and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice, called the *deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his Royal care shall be no less happy in preventing the like mischief, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outrageous vanity of Duellists.

Unto this I have spoken of lying, and of

man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionally, more or less, in their several degrees. There is much difference between Lies of necessity upon breach of promise, or complemental lies; and such pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardice, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former sort being excusable by weakness or levity; the latter being altogether detestable. No less, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*, *dole per insidias* through our Laws do not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forbidding his own privilege, commandeth that the *guiltful* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guiltful murder performed by the Sword, nor by overt violence: but there is a guiltful murder also, by poisoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, between coming presumptuously upon a man, *to fly him with guile*; and lying in wait for blood, *privily*, for the innocent, without a cause, upon hope of spoil, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the Birds. Francis the first, Queen Mary of England, and the Kings Majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon these Noble men, who committed *crafty murder*. Of the first kind, King Francis upon the Lord of Taland: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & support de plusieurs grandes alliances; robe being of high and ancient lineage, and supported by diverse great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of Bellay (in especial favour with the King) was one; was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. *St. Mary*, upon a Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very dear unto her, *His Majestie*, upon a Baron of Scotland, whose house was no less ancient and faithful, than himself valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guiltfully by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artificians, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guiltfully by the pen (that I may not speak of any English Judge) the French Recherchee gives us two notable instances: the one of *des Elzars*, who (saith Pasquier) *fit mourir Montaigne grand Ministre de France, pour contenter l'opinion celay dont il estoit Vers idolâtre, & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & étranglé. Who caused Montaigne great Minister of France to die to content his mind* (To wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time Elzars worshipped in his Idol; but God permitted, that he himself was soon after hanged and strangled*. The other was of the Great Francis the first, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who to falsifie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admiral *Chabot*; a man most nobly defended, and of great service. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with some offences, which he had formerly committed: The Admiral pleading upon the great good service which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marselles* against the Emperor, gave the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being ease to provoke an ill disposition) gave

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Commision to the Chancellor, as President, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings Advocate, to question the Admirals life: The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large confidence, (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Judges with so great cunning; with others with so sharp threats; and with the rest, with so fair promises; as albeit nothing could be proved against the Admiral, worthy of the Kings displeasure, yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty, though not able to prevail against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falsehood in so great a Magistrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle les os certes (saith Pasquier) a tant Juge par de-meurer toujours en soy, & ne laisser studier sa conscience devant les vagues d'une imaginaire faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge, & fait Lessor à all Judges, to dwell always in themselves, and not to finish their consciences to float upon the waves of times, vagues, which in the end overthrow them*. And as for the Admiral, though it might have been answered unto his friends, if any bewail his calamity as undeserved, That he was tried, according to his own desire, by the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, furnishing all other his passions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Estate.

†. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spain, His return to Rome, where he is chosen Consul.

THE last business that troubled Scipio in Spain, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort that the rumour of his death, ran current throughout Spain. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forsaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed Scipio a while before, to take Arms against the *Romans*. They were vainly persuaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spain. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatness of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the *Suffetans* and *Sedetans*, confederates of the *Romans*; and waited till the Country. Part of the Roman Army lay at *Suro*, instead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be afflicted with the like distemper. They had not rapt such profit of the Roman Conquests, as might falsifie their desires; or as they thought, ease to be gotten, if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported, they thought that the time served very well to enrich themselves with the spoil of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonels, that should have bruled their fury; they chose out of their own number two bad fellows, *Albitus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umbro*, to their Commanders. These took upon them all the Ensigns

of Pro-consuls, or Pro-pretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was chosen by the Souldiers after the death of the two *Scipios*: But whilst they were devising what exploits they might do, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion as was expected, there arrived more certain news, that Scipio was both alive, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent unto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further over-shot themselves; led them to *Carthage*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, Scipio had resolved to do exemplary justice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deserved. Therefore he caused *Syllanus* to make ready their Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an expedition against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he caused *Albitus* and *Atrius*, with some thirty other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings: he called the Mutineers to assembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inveighed against them all as Traitors. This done, *Albitus* and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake, where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the Roman custom toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was sworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in arms: notwithstanding that they had certain word of Scipio's life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the severity used to the Roman Souldiers, they stood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. Scipio went against them, and found them in a valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and finding *Latinus* with all his horse, to fetch a compass about the hills, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* after this, no hope remaining to preserve themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to Scipio: and humbly craving pardon, both for himself and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves less free Princes than formerly they had been.

Afterwards Scipio went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masaniassa*; who secretly promised to do him all service, if the people of Rome would lend him to make war in *Africa*. *Anto Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of Spain alone, he should thence depart from his Fleet, into Italy; and there wage an Army of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, to join with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was money sent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himself laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gades*; without sparing either private men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In this voyage thence, he landed at *Carthage*; hoping to have taken it by surprise. But he failed in the attempt, and was fo beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himself a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanians*, offended with the robberies and spoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would

would not suffer him again to enter into their City. By this he forsook, that it would not be long ere they became *Romans*. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magistrates forth unto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Isle and City of *Gades*, was yielded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succour him therein: and himself with ten ships returned home. At his coming to *Rome*, he made suit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Pro-consul, excepting to such, as received that dignity after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse, the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by general voice of the City, *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul, and *P. Licinius Crassus* joined with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Roman*, might not by the custom of those times, go far from the City: as being to attend the matters of their superstition: though *Cæsar*, and others, who in ages following held the same office, were stayed by no such religious impediment, from being far and long absent. Hecy it came to pass, that *Scipio*, desiring to have the war transferred into *Africa*, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the division of Provinces; for that his Collegue was not capable of employment to far off.

SECT. XVIII.

Scipio obtains leave to make war in Africa. His preparations. Of Masanißa who was joined with Scipio. The victories against Aldrubal and Syphax.

PUb. Cornelius Scipio, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: where it was decreed, that *Scipio* should be allowed, to bestow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treasury; upon the setting forth of solemn plays, that he had vowed to make whilst he was busied in his *Spanish* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africa*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* Embassadors avail much in the Senate: especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deservedly; saying, that they were the most happy of all their Countrymen, since they being present, had seen him chosen Consul, and should carry home such joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embassadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate: as their faith to *Rome* (though costly it were both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deserved. Nevertheless, when *Scipio* propounded, that *Africa* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gained him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who seems to have been troubled with that

disease, which too often caused men, renowned for long approved virtue, to look askant upon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kind. He alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chief were, that the Treasury was unable to sustain the charges of a war in *Africa*; and that it was extremely perilous to hazard for great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* if self, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his Brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africa*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spanish* wars, as of less moment than the intended voyage against *Carthage*, nor to withhold to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having suffered *Afrubal* to pass into *Italy*: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithstanding the good success of *Scipio*, (if it happened to be good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, that neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africa* to be that year a Province; which the Consul nevertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted upon this one point; that it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive war, especially against such as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves, by help of money, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Collegue, would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africa*, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise, he propounded the matter again to the Senate. Much alterations there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noised abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who retired in this honourable man, a little piece of that arrogance, which in following ages grew to be much more, in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himself wholly to the Senate good will and pleasure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Isle of *Sicily* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to pass over into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africa*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the sudden from the *Baleares* to *Gemma*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no less terrible invasion upon *Italy*, than that which *Afrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with civil wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party; and to help those whom he thought fittest for his turn, against the others. This troublesome business, though it occupied more of his time than he could

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willingly have spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the untidy *Gauls* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Pro-consuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy* and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is uncertain) laden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much disabuse him: and though after a while there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of money, heartening him in his proceedings; yet those impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa*, disturbed all; and made him be so-called home.

Against *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians have been pleased to take notice. Only it is said, that he spent his Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punic* and *Greek* Letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamblers that are at the height of their fortune, yet come upon remission and carelessness: in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the fame for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great pestilence infested both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Camp, is said to have been the occasion of this years idleness; which fell out not much amiss for the City of *Rome*, that was marvelously impoverished by this war; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loss, the tenth part of the fine was ordained, as a reward unto the detectors of Lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make presents of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is usually found in Councils of estate, that the buff, or obdurate heads of a few do carry all the business, and many times men make a surrender of their own judgments, to the wisdom, that hath gotten it self a name, by giving happy direction in troubles foreseen. Therefore, he that reposeth himself upon the advice of many, shall often find himself deceived: the counsel of those many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-weigh the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature fortified well with the business, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered; with others of the Senators, that were grown old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of time required. But the People (who though they could not well advise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful resolution of *Scipio*: in such fort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the fe-

veral Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for Sails, Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mills, and the like implements; Fire for building of Ships, many thousands of Tarrets, Helmets and Spears of all kinds: every place furnished him with that commodity, which it best could afford.

Unto this willingness of the people, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of five and forty days he had both felled his Timber, built, and lanced twenty *Triemes*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he transported his Army into *Sicily*. In *Sicily* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at *Cannæ*: where were old Souldiers, and (as he himself well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy sentence. They had served under *Marcus* and *Levins*, at the taking of many Cities and strong places: in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in *Africa*, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred *Sicilian* all wealthy young men, and such as loved well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliver their Horse and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilst he was providing to have things a readiness for *Africa*, the banished *Locrians*, that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, wherewith they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Leori*, (for there were two in the Town) being taken prisoners for the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed and rewarded. *Scipio* being adverted of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded, and that Citadel was surprised. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans* in like fort, fearing lest their paucity should make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Consul *Scipio*. The Towns-men were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in the custody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate: not only against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Fleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctity, was spoiled by these barbarous Thieves. The *Locrians* therefore advised the Senate to make present amends to the Goddels for this sacrilege: saying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done unto them: sent for *Fleminius*, with other principal offenders: whom they cast into prison, and used according to their deserts: as also they restored unto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not therewithal contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Leori*; and

had

had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to run on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp invective that *Paius* made, others took courage to speak what they pleased, as well against the demourour of *Scipio*, as against the dissoluteness of his Army: which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindful of any service toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten Legates were sent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Island; two of the Tribunes, and one of the *Ædiles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they feared him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lelius* in *Africk*; rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty: and struck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who saw their affairs to be upon terms of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, That speaking with *Masaniissa*, he well informed himself of the state of *Africk*, and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to join with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masaniissa*'s revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underneath with the *Romans*, *Livie* does not profess that there was no such evident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancy in following times, must help to prove, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian far inferior to *Livie*, both in worth and time) gives one reason for probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Only the doubt is, How could it any way come to pass, that the knowledge of such a matter should have escaped the diligence of *Livie* if it had been true: unless we should believe, that he wilfully forbore to rehearse a Tragedy; the sorrow whereof would cause men to think amiss of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was thus *Appian* tells it: and many circumstances of things do hence confirm it. *Ardubal*, the Son of *Alexas*, *Gefco*, had a fair Daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masaniissa* loved. *Masaniissa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withal a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Ardubal* to be his Son-in-law. When the Virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great Service. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Ardubal*'s Daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her upon *Syphax*, without standing to acquaint her Father or *Masaniissa* therewithall: This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masaniissa* was advertised; and forthwith entered into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conveyed himself home, into his Fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seems, that howsoever *Sophonisba*, the Daughter of *Ardubal*, was pro-

mised by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtship proceeded from fear, he thought it wisdom to continue and increase the fame their fear, by making fair promises to the *Romans*, until *Ardubal* had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the war it self, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Tolypius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

Masaniissa was the Son of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose Father dying, the Crown descended, by order of the Country, unto *Deisates* the Brother, not unto *Masaniissa* the Son. But this Uncle of *Masaniissa* shortly died: and his elder Son, who took possession of the Kingdom, was vanquished, and slain in a battle by a Rebel, that made himself Protector over the younger, which was a child. The Traitor fortified himself against *Masaniissa*, whose return he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serve: He and his Pupil, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masaniissa*: that was a skillful Warrior, and well beloved for the memory of his Father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians*, in reason would have been glad, that *Masaniissa*, who had done them notable Service, was thus confirmed in his Estate, had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whilst his Uncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corvival, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drove him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheless, *Masaniissa* still retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained strong enough to infect both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distress, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syrty*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians*, and the Nation of the *Garamans*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet so, as he made long roads over all the Country, even as far as *Hippo*; and when *Lelius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to listen on *Scipio* to the invasion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aid and succour was repoled more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Masaniissa*, sent an Embassy into *Sicil* about the same time, which was little pleasing unto *Scipio*. He excused himself of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chuse but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheless, he promised to remain a Neuter, so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For the promised alliance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardness of many adventurers. Left therefore the failing of this hope, should work too great a change in common opinion. He thought it the best way to prevent all discourse, and let the war undertaken, immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in haste, with Letters to their King: wherein he willed him to consider, that what he had promised, he had

had also sworn; and therefore should do well to make it good. Having sent them away, he called his Soldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which he intended no longer to defer. For, said he, *Masaniissa* hath been with *Lelius*; and *Syphax* hath newly sent to me; greatly wondering upon what I should thus stay, and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I fail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these Embassadors: whose followers had been seen walking up and down *Syracusæ*. And left any thing should afterwards break out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his Beec unto *Lylibæum*: and requested by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; halted thither with his Army. *Lylibæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the division of the Legions between them, which to leave behind for defence of the Island; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he transported, it is not certain: some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirty thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needless to set them down, since they were points of ordinary care, and which it is like that neither he, when he took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set down by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, near to a forehead then called the fair *Promontory*: which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compass, I cannot precisely affirm; because it is uncertain, whether it were the Cape or Headland which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northwesterly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masaniissa* unto *Scipio* at his first arrival, helped to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the fair *Promontory* to have been the same, that was also called *Mercurius Cape*, since with little difficulty *Masaniissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syrty*, whereabout was his common abiding. But for as much as without any memorable impediment soon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seem, that he landed within the *Promontory* of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was no long. This is also strongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his discomfiting. Neither was it so hard for *Masaniissa*, that roved about the Country with a troop of horse, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lelius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army and Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compass to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have disembarked nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporis*, a plentiful Region about the lesser *Syrty*; since he gave charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lylibæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Country there-

about was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masaniissa* had signified unto *Lelius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head, but when he saw their Fleet and Army, so be such, as not only served to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatened a conquest of the City and whole Estate: then might he better advise them to let fall for *Utica*, and make War upon the Enemies at their own doors.

The *Carthaginian* had at that time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Soldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Ardubal* the son of *Gefco*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was; or if ought were wanting in him, yet this Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passable. He was then with the King his son-in-law, working him no doubt against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage* both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invasion: entreating the one of them to give assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was chosen General. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troop of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the City to disturb his landings; and slain *Hanno*, a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand prisoners; all which he conveyed aboard his Hulks or Ships of burden, and sent them back laden into *Sicil*. He took likewise a Town called *Salera* which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Numidian* horse: whose service being fitter, for the field, than for defence of walled places, was sent *Scipio* to perceive the unskillfulness of their Leader, that had thus humbled them. Wherefore he sent *Masaniissa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the imprudent *Hanno* so far, that he drew him into a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken or slain. With those that fled, the *Romans* entered pell-mell into the Town, which presently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath been formerly made, and fate down before it, Forty days he spent about it, affailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty; yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortify his Winter Camp, which must be well fortified against the year following. Whilst thus necessity urged him to leave *Utica*, and shame of taking his repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than hope of any better success, caused him to stay there: *Ardubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Ardubal* had made a levy of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet adventured not with his ill-trained Army to draw near to the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage*

fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning unto the Forces of *Afdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-Camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the continent by an arm of Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottom of the Creek he moored his ships and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole camp he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the year, when it should serve him again to fight. Of cattle and other booty *Mafiniffa* had brought in great store, by driving the Country, before the coming of *Afdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn he had also gotten some: and great store was sent from *Socil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparel for his Soldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serve turn, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his booty, as he could best spare: especially with captives to be sold for slaves. *Afdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the favour of situation, which the *Romans* used in the discipline of war, or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they trusted in *Scipio* no disposition to ill-use, forth of his strength, and might. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew near, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by persuasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally unconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, that having wearied himself by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp; and being peradventure no less weary with fatigues of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this war: he might be moved with a little entreaty to withdraw himself home, into his Kingdom, and rest a Natter. But it is not unlikely, that such a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had been invited, to make a step thither and repose himself a while: his wife Queen *Sophoniba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. However it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reasonable. That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africa*, and so make an end of the war: whereupon now both *Africa* and *Europe* were disquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at first give ear: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the intercourse of Embassadors, he began to make them, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, that the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, used coverings, Mats and Reeds: others that came later, had thatched their lodging with dry boughs and leaves: under which they lay carefully with-

out their Trenches. Upon this advertisement he bethought himself, That it would not be hard for him to let their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of some such stratagem, he foresaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time should serve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse, which upon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter, the more needful he found it for himself, to make sudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he sent many Embassadors, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concern the intended surpris. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Soldiers disguised like slaves: that wandering (as it were) idle up and down in the Camp, might observe the ways and entrances, with whatsoever else was needful. When he had learned as much as he desired, upon the sudden he first went to *Syphax*: that it was vain to hold any longer treaty, so far as he could not get the consent of his Council of war; without whose approbation, all that himself could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his design in execution. The True being thus cut off, *Afdrubal* and *Syphax* were very perfidious: as having lately persuaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to devise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp, and provoke him to battle in those Plains. Thus if they could do, they hoped to make his Council of war repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Attilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him? Which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet should do by Sea: that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves: the Enemy might suspect the loss of their hopes; with that the Victors to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the fire negligence, which was grown upon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to do somewhat against *Vicia*. Two thousand Soldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same piece of ground, whereon he lay against *Vicia* before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, left being suspected by his own Soldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it, partly to hinder those who from letting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behind him in his Camp. He caused his men that night to slip well, and betimes that they might be ready for the journey. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Camps: all the rest of the Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seven miles and an half: whom he purposed to undertake himself with the one half of his Army: the other half he committed to *Leilus* and *Mafiniffa*, whom he sent before him to sit upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the

the Camp of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, & he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seem to have taken by casualty upon the *Numidians* that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the camp of *Afdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to look to himself. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and softly: that *Leilus* and *Mafiniffa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compass about for fear of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three a clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himself, imputed unto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, some flaring half a sleep; and others that had fallen up late at drinking, run out of their Cabins to quench the fire. But to great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were, nor give any remedy to the mischance as it was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater, many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Mafiniffa* that best knew the Country, did great execution upon them: having laid all the ways; by which he foresaw that they would seek to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pitiful mischance: so that some ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would serve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where fearless of any danger toward themselves, they stood beholding the greatness of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore lost no time: but setting upon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their camp, which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Afdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but flitted only for himself, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barthine* faction, had been taken in such a manner: it is more than probable that old *Fama* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been said, that with less than one half of 30000. men, he might at least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires: had he not been very careful how to save his own fearful head. Nevertheless *Polybins* acknowledged, and it is most likely to have been true, That if *Afdrubal*, or any of those about him, would have stricken to their valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and confusion. I shall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruel flame that consumed them: which (as *Polybins* affirms) none that hath been is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands, very few did escape; which accompanied *Afdrubal* and *Syphax* in their several ways

of flight. Besides these also there were some fugitives, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the dark: but they were not many, as after shall appear. Surely it muft needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt, or otherwise miserably made away, and what numbers escaped in the dark of the night. Wherefore *Livie* who in the rest of this relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybins*, may seem to have followed some less worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting up the sum. For he reckons only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped: forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire: and above six thousand to have been taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is far short of fourscore and thirtienthouland, which were in these two Camps. *Afdrubal*, putting himself into the next Town that was very strongly fortified, thought there the *Romans* would, and the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Town; if the Town-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whereto were better to fight, or to yield. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw, that the arrival of *Scipio* would soon give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seek the Victors favour by delivering him up: he struck away betimes and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the town which he left: it opened the gates to *Scipio* at his first coming: and therefore preserved it self from all manner of loss. The two next Towns adjoining would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their strength not being answerable, they were soon taken by *Scipio*: who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Soldiers. This being done, he returned to the siege of *Vicia*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason; when indeed of either peace or victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessity enforced them to make busy provision for the future: but how to do it, few of them saw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others to fend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the loss of this Army, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, that they should bend all their care this way, levying in all haste another Army; and sending Embassadors to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortunate Commander, *Afdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, was employed to make new levies: Men: and Queen *Sophoniba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*, who having gathered together as many as he could of his Subjects that had escaped from the slaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdom. *Sophoniba* laboured to win her husband, that at length he won him to her own desire. And it fell out at the same time, that four thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to serve in *Africa*. Of these were made such brave reports, as if their courage, and the Arms which they used, were not to be

refuted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one age, the whole country of *Spain* had been twice conquered by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginians* Embassadors helped with a lye saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty days they made up an Army, confiding well-near of thirty thousand men, reckoning the *Spaniards* and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called *The great Fields*, about five days journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, with them: leaving behind him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the Siege. Two or three days, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Africanus* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and seek to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a far wiser Commander: or life it was not in his power, to give such directions as best pleased himself. The fourth day the Armies met in battle: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horse in the right wings, and *Masaniissa* with his *Numidians* on the left. On the contrary side, *Africanus* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax* the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battle. The victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Africanus*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masaniissa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even until they were all in a manner slain: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacy was beneficial to those that fled, for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Herby *Africanus* and *Syphax* escaped: *Africanus* to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his own Kingdom: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of the Field, took counsel about the prosecution of the war. It was resolved upon as the best course, That he himself, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masaniissa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Laelius*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his own Kingdom, where easily else he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it seems that *Masaniissa* gave: who knew best the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his own Kingdom, usurped by *Syphax*, which to accomplish, it no less concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himself. According to this order concluded, *Laelius* was sent away with *Masaniissa*: and *Scipio* stayed behind, carrying the War from Town to Town. Many places yielded for fear: many were taken by force; and all the Subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as

if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this case, the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their enemy: they had lost their Armies, and many of their Towns; neither durst they make bold to trouble their own Subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheless of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to fit out a Fleet against that of *Scipio*, and rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, that ease to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himself was busied in the Island Countries. Some were of opinion, that it should be their principal care to fortify by all means the City of *Carthage*; upon the safety whereof they said, all depended: adding, that whilst they were true, and at unity among themselves, they might well enough submit, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtless) would preferat them. These counsels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* Fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheless, it was considered, that thereby they should only protract the war; without any advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the Ships at *Utica* might be taken, or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, that he should immediately come over into *Africa*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Council was no sooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the Fortification of the Town: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embark themselves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation, *Scipio* came to *Tunes*, a City in those days very strong, and standing in prospect almost of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible piece adjoining, he easily took; the Garrisons forsaking it, and running away, as soon as he drew near. But whilst he was about there to incamp, and fortify himself against the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived, and stood in great fear, lest his own Ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight, (as being heavily laden with Engines of Battery, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for assaulting the Town) should make bad resistance, against a Fleet appointed for that special Service. Wherefore he halted away towards *Utica*, to assist with his presence in this needful case. It fell out well, that he had sent his Carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarried a while to make a bravado; presenting themselves in

order

order of battle, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: he thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their bravery at Sea: it should little avail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he took his ships of burden, and fastening them together with Cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold Bridge over the Channel of the Haven: whereon he placed a thousand of his choise men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some other spaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and back again upon any advantage or need: but those he covered with planks, using the Masts and Yards of his Ships instead of Rakers, to joyn all together, that his men might help one another, and the Bridge it self not be torn asunder. Scarce was this work finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Haven. The Fight between them, and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a Wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon the Bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unsteady, could not do, but the *Roman* Frigots and long Boats, adventuring forth from behind the Bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small loss that followed. They that stood upon the Bridge, were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely bestir their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for fear of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. These they threw upon the Masts and Yards, together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder: in such sort, that one Ship followed another, and all the first rank was broken or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next rank of Ships, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away six Ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory, because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilst things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Laelius* and *Masaniissa*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masaniissa* to his Kingdom, without farther contention: the *Masaniissians*, his Subjects, joyfully receiving him, and forsaking the usurpers. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Africanus* and *Sophoniba*, he prepared again for war. But betide the indignation of his beloved wife; the loss of the *Masaniissians* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Laelius* and *Masaniissa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no less unwillingly from that which they have

gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance: but to think alike their own, whereof they are in possession, be the title unto some part never so unjust. Hecurto alludes the fable of the young kite, which thought that it... omitted up her own Guts, when it was only the Garbage of some other Fowl, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of the *Masaniissians* to be part of his entails: *Laelius* and *Masaniissa* will shortly give him somewhat that shall make him call his Gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so far. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossess (if it might be) the King, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had been converted into strong enmity, as also to let in his place another, who might do them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masaniissa* knew best, as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this day, though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortune of a battle is enough, to translate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no less an Army, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long ago sent unto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order, yet he could not teach them how to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered up in haste; and few of them had seen war before. Encamping near unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some small Troops of Horse on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: so that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foil at their first meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Masaniissa*, whose numbers were far less. But whilst he was prosecuting, some hope of victory; some *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came against him through their own Troops of Horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battle standing now more firm, than a little before, *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Masaniissa* likewise, and his Troops grew confident upon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to give back. Herewithal the Legions came in fight: which terrified the *Numidian* horse, that they began presently to disband. Fain would *Syphax* have stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was cast from his Horse, which received a wound, and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slain or taken: the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsook the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Roman* hand. *Masaniissa* told *Laelius*, that this victory should make an end of the *Numidian* war, if presently they halted away to *Cirta* the chief City of the Kingdom: whether he himself desired to be sent before with the Horse, carrying

rying *Syphax* along with him. Hercurto *Lelius* agreed. *Masaniſſa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parley; where, in by many fair promises and threats, but especially by shewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to get his favour: that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen *Sophonisba* yielded her self into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that the might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suit, that *Masaniſſa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himself that very day; thereby to prevent *Lelius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since he was his wife. But *Lelius*, when he came thither, took the matter haينously, so that at first he would have halted her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and have sent her unto *Scipio*. But being over-intreated by *Masaniſſa*, he fulfilled the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred also to *Scipio*'s discretion; to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other Captives immediately; following shortly after himself with *Masaniſſa*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Africanus*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together fought his friendship; with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministering to every one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make war upon them, unprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moved him to do so; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masaniſſa* was no wiser than himself, since he had now taken the same woman to his Wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perilous woman should deprive him of *Masaniſſa*, as he had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masaniſſa* and *Lelius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in public, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking *Masaniſſa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him understand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done (for which he should be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reason. *Masaniſſa* blushed, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheless intreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that he should not be delivered into the *Roman* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a Servant of his that had the custody of his posyion, (which Princes used then to have in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it unto her with this message: that gladly he would have her to live with him as his Wife: but since they who had power to

hinder him of his desire, would not yield thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her Birth and Estate, and accordingly to take order for her self.

At the receipt of this Message and Present, she only said; That if her Husband had not better Token to send unto his new Wife, he must accept of this; adding, That the might have dyed more honourably, if he had not Wedded so lately before her Funeral. And herewithall the boldly drank off the poison. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the pre-contract between *Masaniſſa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta*, met with *Lelius* and *Masaniſſa* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace; and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, sent messengers to excuse her Marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masaniſſa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to Wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was: and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Masaniſſa* at his return, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*; *Masaniſſa* said, she was his own Wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masaniſſa* should keep her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom the might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her, wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masaniſſa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poison, wherewith he ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he myself interred. The sudden violence of *Masaniſſa*'s love, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him, add not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which *Livie* notes) of the fudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great Service. Howsoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholly should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashness, he brought him forth in the presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of Gold; with other Royal Ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more cheerful contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King, which honour though *Masaniſſa* well deserved; yet would not the title have redounded unto his great benefit: neither should he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the

the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Native* in these wars, and sustained himself with his Troop of Horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheless have recovered his proper Inheritance, by the love of his own Subjects without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdom, it was no more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case to make a Conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than upon such a man upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured Friend, and passible withall among the *Numidians* as being (for the *Masfayli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious; and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their insulting him by the name of King, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereto they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vernina* the Son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some pieces of his Fathers Kingdom, desiring Friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of fault, yet the *Roman* Senate was *Prædilectum* herein, and answered very bravely, That it was not their custom to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings that no way depended upon them, the salutation by *that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

Liv. l. 31.

† *Capit. l. 1.*
† *Capit. l. 1.*

SECT. XIX.

The Carthaginians desired Truce, and break it.

THE *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good Friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masaniſſa* their mortal enemy, had got possession of his Kingdom. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither Forces, nor Courage, to withstand him; but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the City, which were their Privy Counsel, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostitute themselves on the ground; but kissed the Feet of him, and of those that sat in Council with him.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever pun-

ishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a monument of their clemency; which by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadors were no *Barbarians*; but rather, that they were *Humans*, and the choice of his company, who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto them for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be, that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, wherein they had the advantage.

It was not unknowna to *Scipio*, or to his Assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the War. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distressed the Walls of *Carthage*, though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the Field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africa*, to make a Conquest, and not Peace; yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the People of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making War, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed upon them, were these: That they should render up unto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegades* and fugitive Slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gauls*: That they should not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any land between *Italy* and *Africa*; nor that they should deliver up all their Ships of War, save Twenty; and that they should pay a great sum of money, with certain hundred thousand bushels of Wheat and Barley. To consider of these Articles, he gave them three days; and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors unto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Masaniſſa* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdom, as if the War had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lelius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of these victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open, and an Holy-day appointed for Thanksgiving and Supplication to their Gods. *Lelius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masaniſſa*: who gratulating the happy success of the *Romans* in their *African* War, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto his

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Maſter made request for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his Subjects and priſoners in *Rome*, that they might be belowed upon him, who by rendering them to liberty, ſhould do an act very pleaſurable, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman Senate* were not behind with *Majaniſſa* in complement; but hewing themſelves to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould do for him, they called him King again: releaſed his *Numidians* that were captives; and ſent him two purple Caffecks, that had each of them one gold button, with ſuch other preſents, as in time of their poverty might ſerve to relieve his good will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lelins* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embaſſadors from *Carthage* were arrived to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without: untill *Lelins* being ſent for, came back from *Oſtia*, to be preſent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*: that diſtance in the Suburbs. The errand of theſe Embaſſadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City was only to win time, and get reprieve for war; untill *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italy*, either to chafe the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies; without more eaſe conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded between them and *Lutitius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remain in force: neither had there been any war at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head beſieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*; and after that adventured in like fort, without Commiſſion, to paſs the *Alps*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being ſo, their meſſage was none other than to deſire, that the League before ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hereto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale, hearing theſe Embaſſadors make (as it were) a jeſt of war, that had been ſo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many queſtions, concerning that peace made by *Endarius*, and other paſſages following between the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and ſaid, that thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gain time untill they might repair the war. Wherefore they were ſent home, in company of *Lelins* without any conſultation at all of peace, and in ſilence, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in *Polybius*, that the Senate received advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of peace; approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto Conſultation. This may with good reaſon be believed, ſince it was not unknown that if the war continued, all theſe goodly hopes mult reſult upon the moſt uncertain iſſue of one battle between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be averse to them, their forces in *Africa* were no better than quite loſt.

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the

Carthaginian Embaſſadors came back from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicily*, wherein were two hundred ſhips of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africa*, to victual the *Roman* Camp, was over-taken by foul weather at Sea, and tardily creaking wrack, was diſperſed, and driven a-ground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which cauſed the people to cry out upon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let out a booty of eaſe them, ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking *Truce*. Whether it were ſo, that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* underſtood (as it ſeems) that all this diſcourſe of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery, and therefore cared not for obſervation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was his manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the raſcality, together with women and boys, to be meddling in upſours: the clamours of the boys being in ſuch tumults no leſs violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent out under *Aſdrubal*, to gather up the diſperſed *Roman* ſhips of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oars recovered the ſtation where they were adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*, which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loſs; and for that the Town was thereby relieved: but for that by this breach of *Truce*, he foreſaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he ſent Embaſſadors unto them, both to require ſatisfaction for the injuries done; and to deter them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had fo much delired. Theſe gave the *Carthaginians* to underſtand, that Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon thoſe conditions which he had propounded. But (ſay they) we hold it ſtrange, That ye, who ſo lately have caſt your ſelves to the ground before us, and killed our ſelves after an unuſual manner of humility, conſiſſing your ſelves to have perſonally broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deſerved ſuch puniſhment as is due unto Rebels, ſhould ſo ſoon forget what ye then intended, and run headlong again into the ſame crimes for which ye acknowledged your ſelves worthy to be deſtroyed, having only requeſt unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye reſpoſe in *Hannibal*, that is this embolden you. Yet were it not amifs, that ye ſhould conſider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of *Italy*, among the *Brutians*; where he is in a manner beſieged, and unable to ſtir: ſo that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greateſt need. Or let it be ſuppoſed that he were now in *Africa*, and ready to give us battle: yet ſhould it well agree with your wiſdom to doubt what might befall, remembering that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it ſhould happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your ſelves againſt hereafter? What good will ye either ſwear by, to be believed, or call upon in your miſery? What words, and lamentable geſture will ye henceforth uſe, to move compaſſion? Surely ye have already waſted all your force of perſwaſion, and ſhall not again deceive us, if ye reſuſe the grace, whereof at this preſent ye are capable. It is

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SECT. XX.

In what fort Hannibal spent the time after the battle of Metaurus: The doings of Mago in Italy. Hannibal and Mago called out of Italy. How the Romans were diversely affected by Hannibals departure.

Ever ſince the loſs of that battle at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remaining in the Country of the *Brutians*, waiting for another ſupply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Councils that ſucceeded unto *Claudius* and *Lutius*, by whom *Aſdrubal* was overcome and ſlain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Lutius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthy of remembrance againſt *Hannibal*, being hindered by the Peliſſence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Conſul, who followed *Lutius*, and *Gn. Servilius* Capio, who followed *Sempronius*, were carefully bent to have done ſome what: but their diligence was in a manner fruitleſs. In ſome skirmiſhes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in ſome the worſe: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by ſtealth; his care being more to preſerve his Army, than to keep thoſe places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time ſo many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africa*, where in they were at no ſmall charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) ſhould bring the War to a ſhort and happy conclusion. They ſtood nevertheless in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raiſe an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* ſolicited alſo the *Hetrurians*, and found them ſo ready to ſtir in his behalf, that if he could have enticed their Country ſtrong, it might have proved no leſs needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Africa*, than ſhortly it was for *Hannibal* to make preſent unto the defence of *Carthage*. Theſe dangers cauſed the *Romans* to imploy one of their Conſuls or Pro-conſuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: for ſome what it was uncertain, upon which ſide *Mago* would break out: Being thus buſied, it was no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in ſome readineſs for his ſetting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Inſubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconſul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Pretors. With theſe he fought a battle, wherein though his virtue ſhewed it ſelf worthy of his Father and Brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in ſuch fort that the *Roman* Commanders began to diſturb the iſſue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Pretor taking unto him all the *Roman* Horſe, thought to have ſhaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the ſame time gave a loud ſhout: and ſtrained themſelves hard, as if at that brunt the victory ſhould have been carried before them. But *Mago* oppoſed his Elephants to the Horſe: the ſervice of thoſe

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beasts being fitter for such use, than against the squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did fright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Herby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the troops that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shower of darts, and killed four of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding the same Legions were so valiantly pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Pro-consul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these, *Mago* employed some of his *Gauls*, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But the *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill. They were soon beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, he put himself in the head of his Army; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by force of his own men: the rest of them, after a little further resistance, provided every one for himself: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the loss of two thousand and three hundred of the *Prætor's* Army, besides those that dyed of the proconsul Legions; also besides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assistance of Italy, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant sons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himself (by safe journeys, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadors from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repair home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of Italy, since *Carthage* itself was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandment, and imbarqued shortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to return into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out; whilst the Embassadors were delivering their errand. When their message was done: He told them, that this was yet plain dealing: For, said He, *you that were directly bid me come home, have long ago done both to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply that would have enabled me to manage the War here. Scipio therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heels: it is Hanni-*

that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the house of the Barchinies, for lack of other means to do it, with the ruins of Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleece in readiness, doubting that which after came to pass; wherein he imbarqued, besides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunk back from him, and refused to do service in this expedition; of whom, such as he could take, he flew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Italy no less passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Country to go into exile. He locked back unto the hour accusing both gods and men; cursing his own dulness; in that he had not led his Army from *Carræ*, hot and bloody as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of Italy; wherein he had lived almost half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertain the news of *Hannibal's* departure out of Italy; they would (I think) less earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought into the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary good sacrifices publicly made, for joy of such tydings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remain the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into *Africk*, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought unto them a great mass of Gold and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* prisoners were excepted, the treasure was rendered back unto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those moneys that had been borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those twelve Colonels, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to set out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very utmost of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet suitable to the greatness of their spirit) upon the good success of the battle at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen; and were informed that the terrible Army, wherof Italy had been few days since discharged, was landed life in *Africk*; they began to revolve a thousand fearful matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who

(who died about the same time) would be found a true Prophet. For, by thinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Adribal* no speciality of so great worth, as might promise the like success against another manner of General, followed by another manner of men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a racial multitude of half-skullions, that were good for nothing; being himself a fit Captain for such Soldiers. Likewise *Adribal* the son of *Gisco* was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise, one, that in the field was only good at saving himself by a swift retreat. But now there came an Army of men hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in *Roman* blood, and wearing the spoils, not only of good Soldiers, but of brave Captains, by them slain. Such talk used the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battle with many that had slain *Roman* Pretors, yea, and Consuls with their own hands: with many that had been first in getting over the Trenches of several *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the siege of towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever had served in war, and following the dreadful name of *Hannibal*.

SECT. XXI.

Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio: treats with him about peace in vain; loseth a battle at Nedaqua, and persuades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.

Hannibal disembarked his Army at *Lepcis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and some what more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easy for him to transport out of Italy. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, somewhat far from the enemy; that he might furnish himself of these and the like needful helps against the day of battle. From *Lepcis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the Inland Country gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was fain to have in those days the best Horses of service, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party, making him understand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it should be easy for *Masaniissa*, by their countenance and help to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes, as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that used it, prevailed with *Tychæus*, who shortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further adds, That *Mezæthib* (the same who had made himself Protector over *Masaniissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and adherer to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise, that *Vernina* the son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the same time to assail the places

that yielded the obedience to *Masaniissa*. This *Vernina*, as we find in *Livie*, came with more than 16 thousand men (for he lost more than to many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatness of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been so base as to make humble suit unto the *Romans* for peace; whilst they had such a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cause by War. But when as they bethought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad; and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*, to do what he could out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, that they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Army; but since he was general of their forces, He thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to choose his own times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*, and there encamped.

The Breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: the violence done to his Embassadors; and the news of *Hannibal's* being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to understand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore he sent unto *Masaniissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out: praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business apart. Ten *Roman* Companies of Horse and Foot together, *Masaniissa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him service in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdom. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his own forces, would but little avail him; if *Hannibal* should drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking first order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his own Kingdom; with four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, he made all haste unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Laelius* and *Fulvius*, who brought them fate into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived, and understood what lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion.

M. Bebius one of the late Embassadors that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; sending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coyn, for injury by them lately done. *Scipio*

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pio was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Babinus* to use them with all possible courtesy, and send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his Enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great Victory) far less honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, he made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to sack, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way, to the Sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to work such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do; they used oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beasts, that ran athwart them in the Streets: hewing their bodies asunder: as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practice at other times; it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengeful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so carnal in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay, what they were doing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, he gave them leave to depart; and sent them unto their General. *Hannibal* understanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew so desirous to have an Interview, and personal conference; and signified so much unto him by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned answer, that he would meet him shortly in a place convenient. The next day *Masanius* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Town called *Nedagara*; near unto which he sat down, in a place otherwise commodious, and close by a water that might opportunely serve his Camp. Thence he sent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly serve, if he had sought to lay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the Enemy; where he incamped well to his own good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains in fetching that Water somewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a Troop of Horse, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well searched for fear of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off; and themselves, with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, saluting the *Roman*, to deliver his mind to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Africa* and of *Italy*, for that the Countreys of *Sicily* and *Spain*, about which their Fathers and themselves had driven, were no sufficient recom-

pence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and of so much blood as had been shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, unto what extreme dangers their own Cities had been exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length to make an end of their obdurate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition, He ascribed. That his own years, and long trial of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are subject. Yet (said he) mine own example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same *Hannibal*, who after my Victory at *Cannæ*, won the greatest part of *Italy*; and drew off with my self, what I should do with your City of *Rome*, which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought my Army to your Walls, as those last since brought thine to ours of *Carthage*: but now, see the change! I stand here intreating thee to grant us peace: This may serve as a document of Fortune's instability. I have fought with thy Father *Scipio*. He was the first of the *Roman* Generals that ever met me in the Field. I told thee little truth, that the time would come, that I should have such business, as now at the present, with his Son. But this is even one of Fortune's payments, wherof thou hast many. And thou must have experience of the like in thy self, who knows how long? Think upon *M. Attilius*: If he would have hearkened unto such persuasions, as I now rise to thee, he might have turned home to *Rome* an happy man, and so might thou do now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How fast thou? Canst thou be contented, that all *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and whatsoever Islands else are situate between *Italy* and *Africa* be abandoned by the *Carthaginians* for ever, and left unto the *Romans*, to bear dominion therein? Thou shalt have glory enough by offering thus much; and the *Romans* may be glad of such a bargain. As for me, my own quiet shall benefit me give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great a hazard thou must undergo for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou must have without contention. It is now in thine own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee: stay I until to morrow night, and thou must take such fortune as it pleases the Gods. This offer of peace is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steel we shall each of us bring into the field; but of the Victory neither of us have assurance. Let us therefore without more ado make Peace. And do not tell me that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treaty: It is I *Hannibal* that now desire Peace with thee, which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my Country. And thinking in expedient, I will always maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the War by me begun.

Henceunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in *Sicily* and in *Spain* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntine*, their

their Confederates, had caused them to put on those arms; which the gods by the final issue of Wars had approved, and would approve to be most just. As for the mutability of Fortune, he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that on the void ground of inflexible or overweening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For as it is not plain that all these Countreys, which which the *Carthaginians* now so willingly departed, were already won from the *Romans*: If, said he, these conditions had been propounded whilst as yet we detained some part of *Italy*, they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of these my former demands, to which the *Carthaginians* have yielded already, and thought me to be equitable in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining Peace upon so friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee *Hannibal*, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eased. Only thou must think, that in like sort it concerns me in honour, not to let them be gainers or losers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides these offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransom-free, all Prisoners that we deliver of ours, to pay us five thousand Talents, to drive up their Gallies, and to deliver hostages for assurance of fair dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this by their breach of Truce, their spoiling of our Fleets, and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be so tempted, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my counsel what answer to give you; otherwise you may even prepare for war, and blame your own selves for that I have denied you peace.

Hecuppon they brake off; and returned each to his own Camp. with no other news than war; bidding their Soldiers prepare for a battle, wherein should be decided the quarrel between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they issued into the Field: a notable march, and such as hath very seldom been found: whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battle at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing first the *Hastati*, divided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance between them: Not far behind these followed the *Principes*; like wife divided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary custom of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite unto the void spaces between the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was usual, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, wherof *Hannibal* had many. For of those Beasts, the danger was less whilst there was one way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces between the first Battalions, they should not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Vetites*, or those of the light armature that were to begin the Fight, he gave direction, that when they found themselves to be overcharged, either by the Enemies; or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should run back through those Lanes that were between the Mani-

ples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army: thereby leaving room enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battels, without cloying up the way by between the Maniples, which he desired to keep open. His *Italian* Horse he placed in the left wing, under *C. Lelius*. In the right wing was *Masanius* with his *Numidians*. He himself riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly: using words, not many, but forcible. He had them remember what they had achieved, since their coming into *Africa*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the War was at an end; and that their Victory in this War, should make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whether they would lie. They were far from home, yet, and far from their own standing Camp: neither was there any place in *Africa*, that would give them shelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginian* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unless they would these wretched fables, under most merciful Enemies. In such necessity he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take refection answerable thereto, have never been known to fail of getting Victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more in number than fourcore, in Front of his Battle. Next behind these he made his Vanguard of all Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Balcarer* and *Moor*. Then followed his Battle; which was of *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, more intermixed in the quarrel than were those Mercenaries; though not so good Soldiers: but to help (if it might be) of their want of courage, they had with them four thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a Furlong behind these, came his Reserve, consisting of those brave Soldiers, which had served him in his *Italian* Wars, and were the only men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lelius*, in his own right wing, he bestowed the *Carthaginian* Horse. *Tycheus* and the *Numidians*, he placed in his left wing against *Masanius*. He was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodfess. For *Tycheus* and *Mazenubus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the four thousand of *Masanius*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other, than such as could be levied in the half of a few days; and the remainder of those, that had of late been often vanquished, and accustomed to fly. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make these his companions alight and serve on Foot, setting better men in their Saddle. All that he could have done, was to lay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermine* the Son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in a few days after, with sixteen thousand and upwards, the most of them Horse, the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay, *Hannibal* must be fain to comfort himself with the hope that he reposed in his old *Italian* Soldiers; whose virtue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly

strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their several conditions: promising unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards, threatening the *Carthaginians* with inevitable servitude, if they lost that day: but especially animating his old fellow-soldiers, by the many Victories which they had obtained against far greater numbers. He had them to look upon the Enemies, and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Army which they had slaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the Father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to run away. He told them, that these Legions, which they yonder beheld, were for the most part of them, the very worst of the *Roman* Souldiers; even such, as for their dauntless flight out of sundry battels, could no longer be trusted to bear Arms in their own Country. As for the rest, they were young men, the Sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of those weapons, by which their Fathers were daily slain or chafed. Wherefore he intreated these his old companions, upon whose virtue he meant wholly to repose himself, that they would this day strive to make good their honour, and to purchase the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations used the two Generals before the Fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* Horse-men on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets and other instruments of War, sounded to battle: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of these Elephants (as they were always an uncertain kind of help) those that stood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear: and ran upon their own *Numidian* Horse, which they affrighted and disordered. *Masaniissa* clapping this, gave charge upon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to rally themselves, drave them quite out of the Field. The rest of those Beasts made a great spoil of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the spaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themselves, which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point of their own battle, and beyond that into the open Field. Here, withal they disordered the *Carthaginian* Horse, which were in that wing: against whom they gave to *Lelius* the same advantage that *Masaniissa* had against the *Numidians*; which he used in like sort. In the mean while, the battels of Foot advanced, and drew near together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gave a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacity, and in quickness to have the better of the *Romans*: wounded many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* Discipline after a while prevailed against the boisterous violence of these untamed *Barbarians*, whereunto it helped not a little, that the battle of the *Principes*, following somewhat near after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellows, and shewed themselves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of help or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new-leaved *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired Souldiers give back, did also themselves retire.

This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to think themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battle was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way unto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withal forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this: Fear and Indignation caused those that were at once chafed by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellows, to turn their Arms with an heedless fury against the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and slain, through their own indiscretion, by their own Mercenaries. The *Roman Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to overbear this great medley of Enemies, that were together by the ears among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily fly. Such of them as escaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stir one foot, to help or save these Run-aways. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his own side, that would have rushed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aside beyond his battle, and save themselves in the open Field. The ground over which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and so slippery with blood, that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that war-like Army, which he saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well assured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the main battle of the *Hannibalsians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work till now, seemed to have been a matter of pause; in regard of the sharp Conflict, that was maintained between these notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were also far the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; (and perhaps the better men.) They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground whereon he stood. So that, after a long time it was uncertain which part had the worse: unless it may seem, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrink; so far as the return of *Masaniissa* and *Lelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to have been *most happy*, and in a *needful time*. These upon a sudden charged the *Hannibalsians* in the Rear; and overbearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battle there dyed of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: On the *Carthaginian* side, above twenty thousand; besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* showed

shewed in this his last Fight, is highly commended by Polybius; and was acknowledged, as Livie reports, by Scipio himself. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse; and being employed, as he was, by the State of Carthage, to take Battle with such disadvantage, he would work no marvels. He saved himself with a few Horse; and stayed not in his Journey, till he came to *Adrametum*. Thence he was sent for to Carthage, from which he had been absent six and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such Peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians, not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadors again, and try the favour of Scipio, whose Arms they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica*: where he found P. *Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies, and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it best to make towards Carthage: rather of purpose to terrifie the City; than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto Cn. *Ollavins*; whom he willed to meet him there by Land. Then sending *Lentulus* away to Rome, with news of the Victory, set Sail from *Utica* towards Carthage. He was encountered on the way by ten Embassadors from the City: who bearing up with the Admirals Gally, began to use the pitiful gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Ollavins* thither, with whom in person he set forwards for *Tunes*. As they were in their Journey thither, they heard the news, that *Vermis* the Son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermis* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the Roman Foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him, which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken Prisoners. If this good company had been with Hannibal at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginians lost by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this Victory, though it were no great access unto the former; yet served well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater fear of Scipio. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadors from Carthage: whose behaviour, though it was more pitiful than it had been before, yet it procured less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty City of Carthage. And particularly, Scipio stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this War, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. Cn. *Servilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the War against

Hannibal at such time as he departed out of Italy: was bold to pass over into the Isle of Sicily (as it were in chafe of Hannibal by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into Africa; and taken from Scipio the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of Africa; and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might joyn with Scipio. were it no more than with equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readiness for the Journey, wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on; and he was only tolt at Sea with foul weather; first upon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to Rome, of the Victory obtained against Hannibal, and that the War was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring Africa for his Province, that he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the Senate, until he had first his will. Much ado there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the People, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by Scipio; if the War continued, Scipio should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused Scipio to give the more favourable answer unto the Carthaginian Embassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deserved: and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal; in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Laws, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in Africa, such as they were at the beginning of this War. As touching the rest he was at a point, that, before he either granted them Peace or Truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yield, then required, He, That immediately they should deliver up to the Romans all Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, that they had of theirs; likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten; and all their Elephants. That they should make no War as all thenceforth out of Africa, neither yet within Africa, without licence of the Romans: That the Countries, Towns, Goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto Masinissa, or to any of his Ancestors, who were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: That they should find Corn for the Roman Army, and Wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, until the Peace were fully concluded; that they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the term of Fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year, and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred Hostages: such as Scipio would choose, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very displeasing; and therefore one *Gisco* stood up to speak against them: and exhorted the People, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable

demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain Orator, by the unjust, yet unwarlike multitude, was hold to pull him down from his standing, by plain force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up and spake unto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customs of the City would allow; so far as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years old, until he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace: and persuaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves, had the Demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice they resolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadors. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three Months, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But here-withall he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send Embassadors any whither else, nor yet dismiss any Embassadors to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries wherewith *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious counsels. *Asdrubal*, furnished the *Kid*, a venerable man, and a great Friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining Peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadors, who related unto the Senate and People these joyful news. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for Audience, till the Election of new Consuls, then in hand, was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Praetors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadors, that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows, and there, Jewing men, made War upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Country-men, that had lately served *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken Prisoners in *Africk*, were kept in Bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks*, which were confederate with *Rome*, enduring so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to fly behind, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings Subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed it to be

one of the Kings Counsel, and very inward with him: one that served not for money, but carried money with him, and four thousand men, sent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these points, when the *Macedonian* Embassadors could make unto the Senate no good answer, they were willing to return, and tell their Master, That War he sought, and War he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points he had broken the League that was between him and the *Romans*: First, in that he had wronged their Confederates: and Secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them, with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Eastern Countreys, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadors in their solicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entered into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* above the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadors to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Romans* side; saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the City, that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsel. But if *Hanno*, and himself might have had their will, the *Carthaginians*, even at the behest of their Fortune, should have granted the Peace, which they now desired. Here-withall he commended the moderation of the *Romans*; as no small argument of their Valour; by which always they had been Victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadors: all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproach of Perjury, as they themselves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would swear to keep the Peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; Even by the same gods, that are so severe unto those that violate their Leagues.

Lentulus, the Consul, interposing the authority of his office, would have hindered the Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of Peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making War in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the People, in whom reposed the Sovereign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, sent unto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon such conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this favour, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visit their Country-men, which were Prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransom and carry home with them those that were their especial Friends; of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would choose, should be sent over into *Africk*, and be freely released.

ferred to liberty by *Scipio*, when the Peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joy with *Scipio* in Communion.

At their coming into *Africk*, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any controversy or dispute. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines*, or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasury could have spared two hundred Talents for the present; yet since the pension was annual, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the sum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which, when he was checked by *Asdrubal* *Hedus*, and told, That it worst of all befamed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep: He answered, That laughter did not always proceed from joy; but sometimes from extremity of indignation: *Ier*, said He, My laughter is more justifiable, and less absurd, than your tears. For ye should have wept when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants; and when ye bound your own hands from the use of Arms, without the good leave of the *Romans* first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude. But of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these tears. Thus discoursed *Hannibal* unto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsel, repented when it was too late; and instead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous Disfate, accused the Physician, whose noble endeavours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Masaniissa*, and magnified him in presence of the

Army, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him he also conferred over those towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held; wherein, to fly truth, he gave him but his due; and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarked themselves for *Sicily*; where when they arrived at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by Land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no less glorious than any triumph: all the People thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he passed along. He entered the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great joy of the People, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and dying soon after in prison; or whether he were dead a while before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, that it was a barbarous custom of the *Romans*, to insult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea, though they were such, as had always made fair and courteous War. But heretofore we shall have better example ere the same age pass. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*, as did the contemplation of that grievous War past, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner without hope that ever they should sit *Italy* free. This made them look cheerfully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: styling him by the name of that Province, which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing, as if such glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

Excerpt, &
Psal. lxxv.

E c c c c

Chap.

C H A P. IV.

Of Philip the father of Perseus King of Macedon; his first AEs and War with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

S E C T. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East-Country, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Aetolians over-run Peloponnesus, Philip and his Associates make War against the Aetolians. Alteration of the state in Sparta. The Aetolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

Plat. in
vite Ser.
libri.

OF the great similitude found in worldly event, the limitation of matter hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a Subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is unto the humane power, and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Achyrians* or *Chalcidians* invaded the kingdom of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and therefore thousand Horſes; but failing in their intended conquest, they became Subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Perſians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks* with such number of men, as might have seemed irresistible. But after that the *Perſians* were beaten home again, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks*: who at all times of leisure from intestine War, devoted upon the conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor* with his tough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*; or *Cyrus* with his well trained Army, had made attempt upon *Greece*, the issue might, in humane reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and virtue of their men, rather than the greatness of their names against those people, that were of so less tallant, (though less renowned,) than their own. For the increasing virtues used by *Cyrus*, and some small displacements done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Perſians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and kicked by the Aſs. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by mis-understanding the language of Time; and despising the vertues that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be failed by any of less-noted excellence. Against the same stone: whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evimerach*, had stumbled, *Pyrrhus*

the *Epirot* had dashed his foot: He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greek* King, when he entered into the war against the *Romans*. This war he undertook as it were for his minds sake; having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail too easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquest, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans* by their victory against *Pyrrhus* had found their own vertue to be of richer metal, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: than did all the bravery of the *Epirots* (his Elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. * For since they had overcome the best Warrior in *Greece*, even him, that being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwelcome Provinces, which in compass of 12 years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more: than to bring to their own devotion: what should hinder them from the conquest of all the rest, this done, would follow it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed from after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion: that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skillful Mariners; yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Thyrian Queen* *Lenta* made at the same time cruel war upon the *Greeks*: warring their Country, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter, the Queen was not slow to give them cause. And their accomplishing of that war, which they made with her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing here happened: though they sent Embassadors, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they

* The King of Spain desired immoderately to be King of Spain, being weary of the little King of Spain, and invited to that of Spain, and having broken the great Fleet that over the Spanish gattered together, he never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

Lib. 5. c. 12.
lib. 7.

they had undertaken this *Thyrian* war. Thus began the first acquaintance between the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards increased very hastily, through the indifference of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with them, now being the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first actions. It was like to prove a bulle time in the world, when, within the space of 4 years, new Kings began to reign in the most of all Countreys known; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest Kingdoms. This happened from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his brother *Antiochus*; afterwards called the Great. *Ptolomy Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Egypt* unto his father *Evergates*. And *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, being 16 or 17 years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Acheans* and most of the *Greeks*, by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonus Dofon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Laedemon*, and the Countreys about Mount *Taurus*. For *Antiochus* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King over the *Laedemonians*, whose Common-wealth, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Achaus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus* but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, and the rest, we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Acheans*, and many other his dependants. That Country, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an calie subjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartans*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Aetolians*; who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Aetolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messinians* that were their own Clients, (and excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, then it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Acheans*, were called by the *Messinians* to help: which they did the more willingly; because the *Aetolians* pailing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Achaus* could hardly abide the *Aetolians* as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries, wherewith most ingratulily they had required no small benefits done to them by the *Acheans*. He was therefore so hasty to

fall upon their Army, that he could hardly endure to lay few dyes until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Pretor of the *Acheans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage; and he shewed himself a man fiercer (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a part of the Countrey, when he might very easily have hindered them; and afterwards pressed them so near, that they had recovered ground of advantage; that they easily dedicated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Acheans*, they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messinians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Aetolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again: having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Straights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulf of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There joynd with them, in this their second invasion, that Condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of sitting out no Ships or war unto the Coast of *Greece*; made bold to keet adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Phariis*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Thyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rout of the *Thyrians* under *Sardulander*, or *Serdalides*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Aetolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havoc in the Country now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfy themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment to be laid upon the *Laedemonians*, who were thought underhand to have favoured the *Aetolians*, in meer despite of the *Acheans* and *Macedonians*; by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Laedemonians* had been so affected; and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they flew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to remain in his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Antiochus*, who then wholly governed him) did mis-understand the *Laedemonians*; but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth* in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Acheans*, *Baetians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*; all complaining upon the *Aetolians*; and desiring to have War decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Aetolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time; if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that

which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be held at *Rhium* for that purpose: whether it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been thereat the day. But when the *Ætolians* understood this for certain, they adjourned the Council unto a further time, saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open War was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were, to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their prator, that was Author of these Invasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the only man, in a fort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went unto *Macedon*, where he prepared busily for the War against the year following. He also assayed the *Thyrians* *Seerdaiades*, with fair words and promises; whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, for as much as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Acheans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the War in their own Country, sent unto the *Acaranians*, *Epiriots*, *Molossians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without saying (as it were) to wait the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acaranians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that War, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epiriots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needless point, and desired to be held excused, until *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Molossians*, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chief of them studied only, how to manage the treason for which their City had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephebi*. Of these there were some, that thought the publick safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonians* that had preserved them. And hereto they referred all their counsels: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part were still desiring, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; and fought to joy with the *Ætolians*, which were most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had this

more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended, fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as they were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness and laire; which once he had in a manner performed: But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving virtue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonians*, and far less by him respected, than were the *Acheans*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to *Sparta*: which pronounced the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himself the Author. Much disputation, and hot there was, between those of the *Macedonian* party, and those their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that spake against the *Ætolians*: the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Acheans*, who had spared the City, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardless of their ancient Laws, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may justly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Agapollis*, the son of *Agapollis*, the son of King *Cleomenes*; and him they admitted to reign over them, as their apparent to his Grandfather. This *Agapollis* was a young Boy, standing in need of a Guardian; and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the son, how young soever, should have his fathers whole right and Title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though standing in need of a man, were so punctual in observation of the Law, that they made this child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of others: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnes of his Claim, but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdom, bestowed upon each of the *Ephebi*, a Talent, and thereby himself be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus* to gratifie his Partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Country of the *Argives*; which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmonian*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed War against the *Acheans*.

Thus

Thus the beginnings of the War fell out much otherwise, than the *Acheans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epiriots* gave uncertain answer: the *Molossians* would not stir: all the burden must lye upon themselves and the poor *Acaranians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could assail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, pulling over the Bay of *Corinth*, surpris'd the Town of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they should therefore grievously have molested the *Acheans*, for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sycion*, two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all the Country. But as *Ægira* was taken by surpris: so was it presently lost again, through greediness of spoil; whilst they that should have made it their first care, to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlessly to ransack private houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great laughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; waiting all the Territory of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achean* Confederacy. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their Prator, and to all the Towns of their Society in vain. For the *Acheans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war, they had covetously with-held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Acheans*, and insufficiency of their Prator; the *Dymeans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, and to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Acadians* that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Acheans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*; whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epiriots* joyed all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier piece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. These happy days, ere he could end the business; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epiriots*. Had he entered into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first coming in; it is thought that he might have had an end of the War. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon small Towns or Forts: and not seldom, that the importunity of Associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindring the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our King *Henry* the VIII. led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Townay*: at such time as the French King *Lewis* the XII. hearing that the strong City of *Torin* was lost, and that his Ca-

vallry, wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earl of *Edlex* with seven hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himself into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambracia* did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians* in such sort, as their Prator *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to over-run *Thessalie*, but to make impetion into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea; which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, he took, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly building therein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his return; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* itself. But this their pride was soon abated; and they rewarded forthwith at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having dispatched his work at *Ambracia*, made a strong invasion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phloxia*, *Metropolis*, *Onedia*, *Pæstum*, *Eleans*, and divers other Towns and Castles of theirs, of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes; and waited all the Country over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, and to do the like spoil in the Country of the *Eleans*, where to he was vehemently solicited by the *Achean* Embassadors; news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardaniens* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. These *Dardaniens* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hemus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*, and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy Kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Country: as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismiss the *Achean* Embassadors, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home-wards; and as he was passing out of *Acarania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius* *Phariss*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chafed out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himself a friend to *Antigonus* *Dofon* in the wars of *Cleomenes*; and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready at their first request, to take part with *Philip* Captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King; whose Counsellor he was ever after. The *Dardaniens* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army, and gave over for the present their invasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way. All that Summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, whilst his People gathered in their Harvest. But the *Ætolians* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epiriots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they required with all extremities of War, among which,

this

the most notable was, the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dionæ*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of War, until another year, was laid aside: Philip took a Journey into *Peloponnesus*, with 5000 Foot, and about 400 Horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word should be carried forth of his arrival. He sent privately for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achean* Souldiers ready to meet him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Country, without somewhat more than two thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse, little thinking to meet with opposition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: since the *Acheans* themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellows, were by him surprized, and all made Prisoners, or slain. By this exploit which he did at his first coming *Philip* got very much reputation and likewise he purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Ephebus*, an exceeding strong Town, in the Borders of *Acadæia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake such a piece of work at such an unreasonable time of the year, was careless of providing even such store of Weapons, as might have served to defend it. The Town was surprized by the King from sailing; and given to the *Acheans* of his mere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lefbos*, which yielded for very fear, leaving how easily he had taken *Ephebus*. This Town also he gave to the *Acheans*. The like liberality he used towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the People were addicted to Husbandry and lived abroad in Villages; even such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done sacrifice to *Jupiter*, feasted his Captains, and refreshed his Army three days; he proceeded on to the foot of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Ætolians*, in the spoils of their otherwise-defriving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattle he took, with great numbers of Slaves, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could be found in rich Villages. Then he fell in hand with the Towns, wherinto a great multitude of the Country People were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his Journey, by sending Embassadors to yield before he came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their will, took courage to fit themselves at liberty, by fleeing the King to near: to whose Patronage thenceforth they betook themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Ætolians* Captains; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the sharpness of Winter would suffer him to stay there days. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*; but they made such haste from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themselves within the Town of *Spartonum*; where they thought to have been safe. But *Philip* assailed them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place, obtaining licence to

to depart with their Lives and Arms. Having performed so much in this expedition, the King reposited himself a while in *Megalopolis*, and then removed to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Teloponnisus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Acadæia*; and threatened to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with money, so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him: nor from those jealousies, with which *Ursurpers* are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himself to have brought right unto the Kingdom, purposed to make way thenceunto by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirm himself, by propounding unto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equal distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Common-wealth. He won to his party some two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at Supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his House: who perceiving the danger, fled away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the People, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds not being heretofore disposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilst he was using his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabouts they went, and retired privately away. So he lived afterwards among the *Acheans*, a banished man, and hated of his own People. As for *Lycurgus* he returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Agisippus*, whereby he made himself Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected in such sort, as once he should have been applauded by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have been detested; yet rather than to adventure himself into judgment, he chose to flee for a time, and sojourn among his Friends the *Ætolians*. His well-known vehemency in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him such good liking among the People, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own furnishes against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himself: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chased *Agisippus* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, that this being the first of three *Ursurpers*, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was toward some private Citizens, in the War against *Philip*, he behaved himself as a provident man, and careful of his Country's good.

SECT.

SECT. II.

How Philip was misadvised by ill Counsellors: who afterwards wrought Treason against him; and were justly punished. He invades the Ætolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for Peace: which is granted unto them.

Whilst the King lay at *Argos* devising upon his business for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied to diligently for their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Dæmus* had left unto *Philip* such Counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his Youth. The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his Person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his Prince, if he could reduce the *Acheans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass, during the late expedition, he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Acheans* out of their Lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out: he was bold to challenge some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their Fellows; and then he laid by the heels, and punished as Mutineers. Herby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of little obedience; and think nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Acheans* were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the War against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*: and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Herat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought to well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable Service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head: since, in biting at the Tail, the Fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be, than that among the *Acheans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he acquired unto, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court: promising to become their especial Friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Acheans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Acheans*, and all other Pe-

laponnesians, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such persuasions, he drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Acheans* were to hold Election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the King by fair words and threatenings together, obtained so much, that *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new Favourites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Pattus* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The Garrison yielded it up for fear, at his first coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had a earnest desire to bellow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no Messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for Peace. For at his departure out of their Country the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his Prisoner: because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyn with him upon reasonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them understand, that he would render unto them freely all Prisoners which he had of theirs: That he would defend them from all forraign invasions; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any Garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit, as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion upon their Country: then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him Prisoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himself, in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) marveling what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles* his Counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said, that old *Aratus*, and his Son together, had such devices in their Heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arats*, (the Father and the Son) had taken him aside, and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonians*: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message: nor the *Eleans* in hearkening to the Kings offers. All this was a false lye, devised by *Apelles* himself, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arats*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their Faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, e're either *Philip* or they spake any words.

word; He added this clause, as it were, in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such ungrateful wretches, it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Acheans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. *Old Aratus* gravely admonished the King; That whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a Friend of his own, or a man of worth, He should forbear a while to give credit, until he had diligently examined the business. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himself the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans ye, and anothers so. Hereof the King liked well; and said, that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few days; wherein whilst *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the conspiracy of the *Arati*; which, when he found no better than a meer device against his honourable Friends, he entertained them in a loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance, and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The unfruitful temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to pass, began (as commonly Ambition useth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himself to his cunning again; and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the Vulgar, he had prepared a Snare for the *Arati*; so falling of them, he thinks it wisdom to lay for the King himself, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow, which drew away flies out of the Chimney; but was carried (Net and all) into the Air by the Bird, that was too strong to be caught, and held by the subtle workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithful men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleus* chief of the Secretaries, were easily won to beat *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put one Creatures of his own into their rooms. Against *Alexander* he went, to work the ordinary way, by calumination and privy detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he used more fineness; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of War, and one, whom for his many virtues the King might ill spare from being always in his presence. By such Art he thought to have removed him, as we say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warm Sun*. In the mean season *Aratus* retired himself; and fought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Pretor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the people.

Wherefore a great deal of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corn, wherewith he should have been furnished by the *Acheans*. This made the King understand his own error: which he wisely sought to reform betimes. He perswaded the *Acheans* to rejoin their Parliament from *Regium*, to *Sicyon*, the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of these worthy men, he easily obtained what he would of the *Acheans*. Fifty Talents they gave him out of hand; with great store of Corn; and further decreed, That so long as he himself in person followed the Wars in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive ten Talents a month. Being thus enabled, he began to provide Shipping, that so he might invade the *Aitolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedaemonians*, that were maritime People, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things go forward so well without his help; even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entered into conspiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleus*; binding himself and them by Oath, to cross and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that very want of ability to do any thing without them should make him speak them fair, and be glad to submit himself to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child; and therefore these wile men perswaded themselves, that by looking big upon him; and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own misgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a Child still. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two laid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked Oath, than of their Duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readiness; *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his Forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Aitolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themselves. But against the *Eleans*, and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Acheans*, with some part of his and their Mercenaries. He himself, with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of *Cephalonia*; whence the *Aitolians*, dwelling over against it, used to furnish themselves of Shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he belieged the Town of *Palaea*, that had been very serviceable to the Enemy against him and his Confederates; and might be very useful to him, if he could get it. Whilst he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen Ships of War from *Scordilidae*; and many good Soldiers from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians* and *Messianians*. But the Town was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred Foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembering his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his best; and

and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slain, not of the worst Soldiers, but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treason of their Captain, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the Victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedy: and therefore he thought upon breaking up the Siege. For it was easier unto the Towns-men to make up the Gap in their Wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed and uncertain what course to take: the *Messianians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own Country. The *Messianians* alleged, that *Lyconus* was busy in waiting their Country: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Etesian* Winds which then blew, serving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those Winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-days) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsel, and prevailed: he shewed how unsetting it were, to let the *Aitolians* overrun all *Thessaly* again, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the King withdrew his Army far off to seek small adventures. Rather, he said, that the time now served well to carry the War into *Aetolia*: since the Pretor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for *Lyconus*, he was not strong enough to do much harm in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Acheans* were appointed to make head against them. According to this advice, the King set Sail for *Aetolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Aitolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their Borders, and joyed with him as many of them as could bear Arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad Neighbours. He marched up into the inland Country: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retreat; He passed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Aitolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great flatness, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow steep, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aitolians* use to hold all their chief meetings their Fairs, their election of Magistrates, and their solemn Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of great fecundity. This opinion of the natural strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoil: wherof he found fish plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompensed. So he loaded his Army; and confuming all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Aitolians*; in remembrance of their like courtship, shewed upon the Temples of *Dion* and *Dodana*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionless) more for the Kings honour have been forborn. But perhaps he thought, as *Montem du Gomerus* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no Faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Aitolians* lay for him: which that they would do, he believed before, and therefore was not taken unawares.

Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his *Thyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Aitolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rear the Army that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came; and burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wafting the Country round about him. He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the *Aitolians* made countenance of Fight, issuing out of *Straum* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very Gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way complex, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great Feast unto all his Friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleus*. They came because they could not choose; but their heavy looks argued, what little pleasure they took in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give on better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings business; since *Apelles* himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. Finding *Aratus* was the way home to his Tent, they fell to reviling him, throwing Stones at him, so that they caused a great uproar: many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King fending to enquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed: Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleus*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to give him forward answers: infomuch, as they said at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischief as he deserved. Hereupon the King committed them to Ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleus*, yea, and to cast him into Prison? Why said the King, it was even I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both loud and angry; feeling himself out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleus* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hindrance of the Kings Victory at *Fales*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*; matters no less touching *Leontius*, than flood by as a looker on, than *Megaleus* that was accused. In conclusion, the pretensions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crimus* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crimus* being remanded back to Prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megaleus*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deal of business of this year. For as soon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedaemonians*. Thence and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*; whilst the King was absent. The *Acheans* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill success, yet so, as they

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hindered

hundred them from doing such harm as else they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*; and was in a manner at the Gates of *Sparta*; c're men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waft in the fields; and having beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattle, flaves, and other Country spoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*, that requested him to let *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience; and he willed them to deal first with the *Ætolians*, who if they would make the same request, should not find him uncomformable. The *Ætolians* had sped ill that year: neither saw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon* found such opposition on the way, that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean season they had been grievously afflicted, as before was shewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their own Country. All *Greece* and *Thessaly* was up in arms against them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keep the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertained this negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to treat his presence at a Diet of the Nation, that should be held at *Rhium*; whether if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

Whilst these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megalæus* thought to have terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device sort to no good effect. The Soldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends, who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent it self in a noise, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea, the Soldiers themselves repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult fought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megalæus* were afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it self to their extreme danger. Wherefore they went unto *Appelles*, the Head and Architect of their treason: requesting him speedily to repair unto *Corinth*, where he might stand between them and the Kings displeasure. *Appelles* had not all this while been wanting to the business undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* addressed themselves unto him, and received from him their dispatch in

every business. Likewise the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occasion to magnifie the virtue of *Appelles*, making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the King: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Appelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his special care, that money and all things needful for the publick service, should be wanting. Yea, fell his own Plate and household vessels: thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sirs, be ruled wholly by me, all shall be as you would wish*. Hereto if the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chelæi* in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth*, where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megalæus* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entering the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falsehood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was pretty thing, that such a check as this, made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace: in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his own Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then, some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megalæus* to look to himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do some piece of service, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his *Targettiers*, to signify what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalf. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the debt of *Megalæus*, if that were all the matter, they said they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the Souldiers made *Philip* more hasty than else he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere the letters of *Megalæus* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and biding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to sink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King understood more perfectly the falsehood, not only of *Megalæus*, but of *Appelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megalæus* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Appelles*, he committed both him, his son, and another that was inward with him, to prison; whereof all the formerly ended their lives. *Megalæus* also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to flee, was weary of his own life, and slew himself about the same time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this war, upon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Name of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this young

young Prince tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it: Nevertheless, being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Appelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megalæus*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by some of the Kings *Targettiers*, they became to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning, and continuing the War should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the year following, wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then granted he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter into their own Country. In this return homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomy*, a companion with *Appelles*, and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering Towns, from which the *Dardaniens*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his Kingdom: when he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*, with others from *Peloponnesus* the City of *Ægypt*, and from the City of *Bizantium*, recontaining the former solicitation about the peace. This faction had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to let the whole Country at liberty: No sooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppressed and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found Intercessors, who pitying the effusion of *Greekish* blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad fought to bind unto them those people, that were howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good Souldiers. But heretofore it came to pass, that the more forward fort, especially the *Ætolians*, whose whole Nation was addicted to falsehood and robbery, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured that if they had the worst, The love of *Greece* would be sufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, since the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Acheans*, and finding in fear to be more fondly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the War as soon as they might. *Philip* made such answer unto the Embassadors, as he had done the former years: That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the present afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætolians*, if they had

a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signify plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think fit. *Philip* had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middle of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battle at *Thorsymus*. These letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Phariur*; who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting a *Namptun*. There did *Agellus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about finishing War between themselves, without being molested by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seek by all means to enter footing in *Greece*. For this could he find it were good, that their Country should be at peace within it self; and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly given to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatening them at hand: but being soon after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were loath from observing and following their own good counsel, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Country (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

SECT. III.

Philip, at the persuasion of Demetrius Phariur, enters into League with Hannibal against the Romans. The tenour of the League between Hannibal and Philip.

This being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the business of *Italy*, of which he consulted with *Demetrius Phariur*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battle of *Cannæ*: after which he joyed in least with *Hannibal*, as hath been shewed before. *Demetrius Phariur* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonians*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwile been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hæro*, a far weaker *Ætolian*, have both

secured his own Estate, and caused each of them to be defrased of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsel which he followed, will appear soon after this. His first quarrel with the Romans; the trouble which they and the Ætolians did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon such Conditions that might easily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punick War. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenour of the League between them and Carthage, which may seem not worthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it self then used; though it had been over long to have been inserted into a more bule piece.

The Oath and Covenants between Hannibal General of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, Embassadour of Philip King of Macedon.

This is the League ratified by Oath, which Hannibal the General, and with him Mago, Myrcal, and Barmocai, also the Senators of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Army, have made with Xenophanes the son of Cleomachus Athenian, whom King Philip the son of Demetrius hath sent unto us, for himself and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo, before* the God of the Carthaginians, Hercules and Tolous: before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before the Gods accompanying Arms, the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth: before Rivers and Meadows, and Waters: before all the Gods that have power over Carthage: before all the Gods that rule over Macedon, and the rest of Greece: before all the Gods that are Presidents of War, and are present at the making of this League. Hannibal the General hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians, in his Army: Be it agreed between You and Us, that this Oath stand for friendship and loving affection, that We become friends familiar, and brethren, upon Covenant: that the Justice of the Lords the Carthaginians and of Hannibal the General, and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians using the same Laws, and of the Uticans, and of many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Towns and Nations with which we hold friendship in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we shall hold friendship, or make alliance hereafter in this Regions, be preferred by King Philip and the Macedonians, and such of the Greeks as are their Associates. In like manner, shall King Philip and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks his Associates, be saved and preferred by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that they the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule, Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter give with Us in Italy. We shall not take Council one against the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readiness and good will, without deceit or subtilty, We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which we have already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King Philip, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which

we have already league and friendship. The War that We have with the Romans, have ye also with them, until the Gods shall give Us a new and happy end. We shall aid Us with those things whereof we have need, and shall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the Gods shall not give unto You and Us their help in this War against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer friendship, We shall make friendship in such wise, that ye shall be partakers of the same friendship, with Condition, That they shall not have power to make War upon You: Neither shall the Romans be Lords over the Corcyraens, nor over those of Apollonia, nor Dyrhachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Antinania. They shall also render unto Demetrius Pharius all that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make War upon You or Us, We will succour one another in that War, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in War made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendship. To this league, if We or Ye shall think fit to add or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

SECT. IV.

How Philip yielded to his natural vices, being there in soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States and Associates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punick War. The poisonous Attitudes and gestures hateful to the Romans.

Hitherto Philip had carried himself as a virtuous Prince. And though with more commination of his wisdom, he might have offered his friendship to the Romans that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royal greatness of mind; with a desire to secure and increase his own estate, adding therewithal reputation to his Country. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by Demetrius Pharius: who looking thoroughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires: and thereby forthly governed him as he listed. For the virtues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical: desirous of power to do what he listed, and not otherwise lifting to do what he ought, than for so far forth, as by making a fair shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himself in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the Greeks that were his Associates unto a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto Apples had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apples was a boyishorous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided like a Coach-

Coach-man, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted Aratus; which the violence of Apples could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the Messinians, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a foreign War) unto domesticall objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving to to end the matter, that they should not henceforth drive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found Aratus busie among them to make all Friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the Messinians as were united unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble? Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, he said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the Kings assistance: they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere that he were gone, that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people took Aratus and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seems, that it would be easy to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their Guardians were slain. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand, wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best Friends, he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old Aratus aside by the hand, and went up into the Castle of Ithome, that was over Messene. There he pretended to do sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use: for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadel of Corinth, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whilst he was there, fore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the Beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner, he shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little, were it only for desire for to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his Son. But as Aratus found doubtful what to answer, Demetrius Pharius gave

this verdict: If thou be a Soothsayer, thou mayst go thy way, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou mayst not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Ose by both his Hairs. Thus he spake resembling Ithome and Acrocorinth unto the two horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would Philip needs hear the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the Messinians: But if, by seizing upon Ithome, he must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by Antigonus, which was his credit: then were it far better to depart with his Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good will, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his Friends become his Enemies.

To this good advice Philip yielded at the present: but not without some dislike therewith growing between him and the Aratus: whom he thought more forward than befitted them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly discovered his tyrannous purposes; so likewise he perceived, that in referring to his house, he had been discomfited with his Sons Wife. He therefore staid at home: where as good leisure he might report, that in despite of Cleomenes, his own Country-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponnesus into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to bear him company. In this Journey he found by experience what Aratus had lately told him, That unheeded counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers and dependants; and to they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them to remain, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore he made them the more obnoxious unto his will, as he forced upon their Town of Ozicem, and laid siege to Apollonia; having no good colour of these doings: but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not feeling whence they should procure Friends to follow them. Thus instead of securing the Country, as his intended Voyage into Italy required: he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilst he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in Italy, M. Valerius the Roman came into those parts: who not only maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the Ætolians to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War: the occurrences whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though Philip did the offices of a good Captain: yet when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the Messinians; but made another journey into their own Country, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hally to trust him so far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, he went to work by force; and calling them his Enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to help him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon

Messinians

Mefene, he left Demetrius Phariis; that was his Counsellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he waxed against those that seemed not to favour his injurious doing. Wherefore, by the ministry of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poisoned old *Aratus*, and shortly after that, he poisoned also the younger *Aratus*: hoping that these things would never have been known, because they were done secretly, and the poisons themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The *Spartans*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Processions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Priest unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the *Herods*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, since the help of the Devil is never failing to the increase of Idolatry.

The living memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but work in the *Achaean* a marvellous dislike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in case to subtil, without his help that had committed it. The *Achaean* were a most outrageous people, great darters, and shameless robbers. With these the *Romans* made a League: whereof the Conditions were soon divulged, especially that main point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Achaean* should have the Country and Towns; but the *Romans* the Spoil, and carry away the people to sell for Slaves. The *Achaean*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make trait alliance with the *Achaean*, as knowing their unkind disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greeks* account all other Nations, except their own) to make havock of the Country. The same consideration moved also the *Lacedaemonians* to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Achaean*, whose friendship they had embraced in the late War. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Achaean* his Confederates, sufficed to retain them: especially, at such time, as their own necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himself the *Dymaeans* by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Achaean*; and redeeming their people wherefore they might be found, that had been carried away Captive, and sold abroad for Slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences past: if the malignity of his natural condition had not other-whiles broken out, and given men to understand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodness. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not ashamed, he took *Polyperata* the Wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might beget to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him

the second time: for, of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

SECT. V.

Of *Philopœmen General of the Achaean*: and *Machanidas, Tyrant of Lacedaemon*. A battle between them, wherein *Machanidas is slain*.

It happens often, that the decease of one eminent man, discovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood up *Philopœmen*: whose notable Valour, and great skill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achaean* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careless of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their Neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*, who being then a young man, and having no command, did especial service to *Antigonus* at the battle of *Sekasia* against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward until now, he had spent the most part of his time in the Isle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at Peace between themselves, he battered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himself so strictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces; as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of Service, that he made the *Achaean* very strong in that part of their Forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no less care to reform their Military Discipline throughout, whereby his Country might be strong enough to defend itself, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He persuaded the *Achaean* to out of their vain expence of bravery, in Apparel, Household-stuff, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better Soldiers, and futable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off; that were useful in skirmishing at some distance, or for surprisals, or sudden and hasty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy-flores, they were good for nothing, so long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: causing them to arm themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good Swords, and strong Pikes, fit for Service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files too deep as had been accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might use the service of many hands.

Eight months were spent of that year, in which he first was Prætor of the *Achaean*, when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon* caused him to make trial, how his Soldiers had profited by his Discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor unto *Lysegrus*, a man more violent than his fore-goe. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*, but

to hold the City in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achaean*, that were favourers of liberty; but to strengthen himself by friendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of vicior vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedaemon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achaean*, and *Macedonians*, were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwilfully. For in seeking to take revenge upon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the Matter of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would not follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but always make him ready to fall upon his Neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the *Achaean*, and thought his own men better Soldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered into the Country of the *Mantineans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done to him; yet and perhaps to get the Lordship of *Peloponnesus* as having stronger friends, and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantineia*: where was fought between them a great battle. The Tyrant had brought into the Field upon Carts, a great many of Engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth his light Armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To second thereof, from the one and the other side came in continual supply: till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achaean* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the Fight: being so far advanced, each before their own Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned, which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Cannon is hindered from doing execution, in midst of the battels fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting their hired Soldiers of Tyrants, exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by Tyranny, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being partly paid with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own: whereas they that serve under a free State, have no other motive to do this, than a free State hath gotten the Victory, many com-

panies (if not all) of foreign Auxiliaries are presently cait and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the War to an end. But the Victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers; because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more Subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should seek to take revenge upon him. The Highpriests of the *Achaean*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*; that shortly they betook themselves to flight: and could not be staid by any persuasions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battle of the *Achaean*. This disaster had been sufficient to have taken from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the Victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chase unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battle his *Lacedaemonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Achaean*, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of fight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedaemonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country, a long Ditch, without water at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedaemonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better Soldiers than the *Achaean*, who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battle; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achaean*, who drove them headlong into the Ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopœmen* getting over the Ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chase, but retained with him sufficient strength, for the custody of a Bridge that was over the Ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty Troop of Horse about him, he made towards the Bridge: hoping to find the *Achaean* in disorder; and so to set upon their backs, as they were carefully pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the Bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the Ditch side; and searched an easy passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the Bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode, and falling upon him at length in the Ditch itself, as he was getting over it, drew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battle on the *Lacedaemonians* side about four Thousand: and more than four Thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the *Achaean* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

SECT. VI.

Philip having Peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Lineages. Of the Galatians.

By this Victory the *Achaens* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of War inferior to any, that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded Peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his Friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He took in hand many matters together, or very nearly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achaens* would have done him service, they must by helping him to oppress those that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joy with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in War against him.

This *Attalus* though a King, was scarce yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his father's virtue. His fortune began in *Philistruus* his Uncle: who being guided, by reason of a midship which he had when he was a Child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times repoted much confidence in Eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged upon Wives or Children. He was entertained into the Family of *Doimus*, a Captain following *Antigonum* the first; and after the death of *Antigonum*, he accompanied his Master, that betook himself to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand Talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The Town and Money, together with his own Service, he offered unto *Seleucus* the first, that then was ready to give *Lysimachus* his battle. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus*, having slain *Lysimachus*, died shortly after himself, before he made use of *Philistruus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein as an absolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is said to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before such time, they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Phileterus* left his Kingdom to the elder of these, or to the Son of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the dissension between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the Sons of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battle with *Hierax*, near unto *Sardis*, and won the Victory. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that served under his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word *Victory* upon the head of his South-layer, in such colours as would easily come off:

and when the hot liver of the Beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the Print of the Letters, He published this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foretelling that the gods would be assidant in that Battle.

After this Victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durst attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a surfeit of over-much drink, and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was Son unto *Attalus* the youngest Brother of *Phileterus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no less valiant. By his own proper Forces he restored his Friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Achens*: who setting up himself as King against *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tellæge*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they never wanted employment, but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves without invitation; and found themselves work in quarrels of their own making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his War against *Bizantium*: Whereunto when he had condescended; they nevertheless within a while after, invaded his Kingdom. He obtained against them a great Victory, and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither Age nor Sex. But the swarm of them increasing, they occupied the Region about *Helyspont*, where, in feating themselves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheless, presuming afterwards upon their strength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the sharp exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their Neighbours, and to fill up the Armies of those that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the slothful reign of the *Persians*; or in the brutish times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atissa*, sister unto the great King *Cyrus*, their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the Son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, oppressing his time while the *Macedonians* were at civil wars among themselves; recovered his Dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The King of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the *Persian* Empire; and are said to have issued from the royal house of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themselves from *Pylmenes*, a King that assisted *Priamus* at the war of *Troy*. These, applying themselves unto the times, were always conformable unto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reign in *Bythynia*, some few generations before that of the Great *Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonian* way: by whom therefore,

having other employment, they were the less molested. *Calanitus*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, made an expedition into their Country, where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonum*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, until the reign of *Prusias*, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

SECT. VII.

The Town of Chios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and the like actions, Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks: and is warred upon by Attalus King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

Prusias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthened himself, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entered into a strict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was devising with *Antiochus* about sharing between them two the Kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomy Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his son *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young child, his heir: the *Bythynian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Asia*, there to win the Town of the *Ciani*, and below it upon him. *Prusias* had no right unto the Town, nor just matter of quarrel against it: but it was fitly feared for him, and therefore rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But here, by he mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadors came to him whilst he lay at the siege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: intreating him to forsake the enterprise. He gave dilatory, but otherwise gentle answers: making them as if he would have condescended to their request, when he intended nothing less. At length he got the Town: where, even in presence of the Embassadors, of whose solicitation he had seemed so regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendered himself odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Especially his fact was detected of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement intercession for the poor *Ciani*: and were advertised by Embassadors of purpose sent unto them from *Philip*. That howsoever it were in his power to win the Town as soon as he listed, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embassadors said, that he would manifest unto the world what honest tongues they were, which noised abroad such reports, as went of his falsehood and oppression. Whilst the Embassadors were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theatre to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had happened, shewing that *Philip* had sacked and destroyed the Town of *Chios*, and after a cruel slaughter of the Inhabitants; had made slaves of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great despite, no less were the *Ætolians* inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before of his doings at *Lys-*

machia and *Chalcidæa* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own); what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was *Attalus* moved with consideration of the *Macedonian's* violent ambition, and of his own estate. He had much to lose, and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King followed the example of *Alexander's* Captains, in purchasing with much liberality the love of the *Æthiopiens*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens virtues, having lost their own. On the friendship of the *Ætolians* he had cause to presume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, he easily drew into a straight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived against *Philip*.

Upon confidence in these his friends, but most of all, in the ready assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unreasonable to profane, and expect whereunto the doings of the enemy tended, since his desire to lessen upon *Asia* was manifest, and his falsehood no less manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battle at Sea wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own Ship on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his death's wound: and though *Philip* after the battle took harbour upon a Promontory, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wrecks upon the shore: Yet so farforth as he had suffered far more greater loss of Ships and men, than had the enemy; and since he durst not in few days after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged and won some Towns in *Caria*: whether once in a bravery; and to despight his opposites: or whether upon any hopeful desire of conquest, it is uncertain. The stratagem, by which he won *Prinassus*, is worthy of notice. He attempted it by a mine; and finding the earth so stony, that it resisted his work, he nevertheless commanded the *Pioneers* to make a noise underground; and secretly in the night time he raised great mounds about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went marvelously forward. At length he sent word to the Towns-men, that by his undermining two acres of their wall stood only upon wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and entered by a Breach, they should expect no mercy. The *Prinassians* little thought, that he had fetched all his earthen rubbish by night a great way off, to raise up those heaps which they saw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the Mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as lost, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himself in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back unto *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

SECT. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian War, seek matters of quarrel against Philip. The Athenians upon slight cause, proclaim War against Philip; moved hitherto by Attalus; whom they flatter. Philip wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Embassy. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.

THESE Asiaticque matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet served well to make a noise in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a desire of making war in Macedonia, at least with a conceit that it were expedient to do. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries, and knew, that there was none other Nation than the Greeks, which lay between them and the Lordship of Asia. These Greeks were factious, and seldom or never at peace. As for the Macedonians, though long ofttimes and continual dealings in Greece ever since the reigns of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference between him and the Naturals: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally forth a Barbarian: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had been most beholding unto him, were nevertheless weary of him, by reason of his personal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of Greece would not long detain the Roman Armies: especially since the divisions of the Country were such, that every petty Estate was apt to take Council apart for it self, without much regarding the generality. But the poor Commonalty of Rome had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grievous war with Hannibal: wherein they had given by Loan to the Republick all their money, neither had they as yet received, (neither did they receive until fifteen or sixteen years after this,) their whole sum back again. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present money, but much of it in Land: it beloveth them to rest a while; and below the more diligence in telling their grounds, by how much they were the less able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to hear, that Attalus and the Rhodians had sent Embassadors to solicit them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that M. Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold war with the Romans upon their own ground. Philip had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be resisted by Attalus and the Rhodians; especially with the help of the Asiatics their good friends, and (in a manner) his own professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispose men unto the war, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affairs of those that were more mighty than himself. He was too unskilful, or otherwise too unwary, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he deserved to have them; for he offered his help to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the utmost in making war upon them; or in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which of all other the most natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unless they think themselves justly provoked; was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the written Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby such Articles of peace can be held inviolable, save only * by the water of Styx, that is, by Necessity: which will it binds one party, or both unto performance, making it apparent, that there shall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the Romans never hearkened after Philip: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had a peace with Carthage; then was the River of Styx dried up: and then could they swear as * Mercury did in the Comedy, by their own selves, even by their good words, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of Sopater into Africa, and the present war against Attalus, were matter of quarrel as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the Athenians helped to furnish them with more.

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of Acarnania entering into the Temple of Ceres, in the days of Initiation (wherein were delivered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to be available unto felicity after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers: and though it was apparent, that they came in to the place by mere error, not thinking to have therein done amiss; yet as it had been for some heinous crime, they were put to death. All their Country-men at home took this in ill part; and sought to revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of Philip some Macedonians to help them, they entered into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded Athenians; and made them think upon doing more, than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send Embassadors to King Attalus; gratulating his happy success against Philip, and intreating him to visit their City. Attalus was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the Roman Embassadors, hovering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the Rhodians, Land-

* Si Styx
* Si Bacus
de Jap.
Victim.

Plant.
Amphit.

ing in the Piræus, he found the Romans there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoicing that he continued enemy to Philip; and he being no less glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The Athenians came out of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the Romans that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards Attalus himself they flattered, could suggest. At his first coming into the City, they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself, saying: That with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writing, what he would have propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were: first, what he had willingly done for their sake; then, what had lately passed between him and Philip: lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonians, whilst he with the Rhodians and the Romans were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to do, he protested, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained. That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their courage; and made all the Rhodians free Citizens of Athens.

Thus began a great noise of war, wherein little was left unto the Romans for their part; Attalus and the Rhodians taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the Asiatics to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: Philip won the Towns of Maronea and Ænus, with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewise passing over the Hellespont, he laid siege unto Abydos, and won it, though he was fain to stay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from Attalus and the Rhodians, than any great ability to defend it self against so mighty an Enemy. But the Rhodians sent thither only one Geadirime Gallie: and Attalus no more than three hundred men, far too weak an aid to make good the place. The Roman Embassadors wondered much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These Embassadors, C. Claudius, M. Emilius, and P. Sempontius, were sent unto Ptolemy Epiphanes King of Egypt, to acquaint him with their Victory against Hannibal and the Carthaginians; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that War; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against Philip. This Egyptian King was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father Ptolemy had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtier for which the Romans were to thank him, was that out of Egypt

they had lately been supplied with corn, in a time of extreme dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the Egyptian: since it was well known, how Philip and Antiochus had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Council for him, should offer to supply the Romans with corn: since this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementary, so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed that M. Emilius, the youngest of them should step aside, and visit Philip, to try if he could make him leave the siege of Abydos; which else he was like to carry. Emilius, coming to Philip, tells him that his doings was contrary to the League, that he had made with the Romans. For Attalus and the Rhodians, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with Rome: and the Town of Abydos, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependency upon Attalus. Hereunto Philip answered, That Attalus and the Rhodians had made War upon him; and that he did only require them with the like. Do you also (said Emilius) repeat these poor Abydeni with such terrible War, for any like Injustice by them first made upon you? The King was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he roundly made answer to Emilius: It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and (above all,) your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I wish you to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: If ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdom, and Name of Macedonia is in matter of War, no less noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his direction. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and let their Town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath when Philip denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth; it was thought meet by the Governors and Ancients of the City, to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to Philip; about which, whilst they were busy, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort, that, by exhortation of the Priest, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that he said, he would grant the Abydeni three days leisure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the Town; or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad souls.

SECT. IX.

The Romans decree War against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poor the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.

THIS calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it nearly resembled: though *Rome* was not alike interceded in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embark himself for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five months; but in the short space of five days saying. Thus *P. Sulpicius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alleged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa*; to shew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* indeed to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hastened away toward *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the Senate: who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embassadors, of their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves: that any *Greek* Town refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unto those, that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, "That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*:" and since neither *Attalus* the *Rhodian*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection: these bullic-headed *Athenians*: who falling out with the *Acanthians*, and consequently with *Philip*, a matter of May-game, (as was showed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours: but be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of *P. Sulpicius* the Consul were such, as might have argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. He failed not about *Peloponnesus*; but took the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of

Apfus, between *Dyrhacium* and *Apollonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming, the *Athenian* Embassadors were with him and craved his help: whereof they could make no benefit which he was far from them. They besmoaned themselves as men besieged, and intricated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces be retained with him, for the protection of a greater design. The *Athenians* were not indeed besieged: only some Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Isle of *Eubœa*, and some bands of adventures out of *Gorinth* used to take their Ships, and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two Towns. The robberies done by these *Pyrats* and *Free-booters*, were by the more eloquent than warlike *Athenians*, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrival of *Claudius*, and shortly after, of three *Æolian* Gallies, easily preserved them. As for the *Athenians* themselves, they that had been wont, in ancient times to undertake the conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus* and *Cicil*; to make War upon *Philip*, which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alleged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa*; to shew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* indeed to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hastened away toward *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the Senate: who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embassadors, of their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves: that any *Greek* Town refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unto those, that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, "That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*:" and since neither *Attalus* the *Rhodian*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection: these bullic-headed *Athenians*: who falling out with the *Acanthians*, and consequently with *Philip*, a matter of May-game, (as was showed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours: but be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Philip returning home from *Abyden*; heard news of the *Roman* Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well-considered, whether it were best a while to sit still, and see what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Invaders with all his forces: he received advertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap: there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius*, with his *Romans*, finding no such work at *Athens*, as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the War, and make his own employment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a Scare-crow, to save the *Athenians* grounds from spoil, and therefore

SECT. X.

The Town of Chalcis in Eubœa taken and sacked by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempts to take Athens by surprise: wasteth the Country about, and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife. Philip offers to make War against Nabis for the Æthians. He returneth homethrough Attica, which he spoileth again: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes join with them. Great labouring to draw the Æthians into the War.

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gladly took in hand a business of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Soldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Towns-men, who supposed themselves upon their Garrison. Herodotus *Claudius* having advertisement, failed thither by night, for fear of being detected: and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it, (unless he should have left the heartless *Athenians* to their own defence) he set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all provisions for War, which were plentifully filled. Neither were he and his Associates contented with the great abundance of Spoil which they carried aboard their Ships, and with enlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of much security, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despite and hatred unto the King, they overthrew, and break in pieces the Statues in him there erected. This done, they halted away towards *Athens*: where the news of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about some 20 miles thence; whither then these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their trusty Friends, bulic at work in ransacking the Town, and loading themselves with spoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed Foot he had with him, and three hundred Horse: whereof leaving *Chalcis* only a few to bury the dead, he marched from thence away speedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not impossible to take his Enemies in joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the City upon the Borders, had not detected him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing this report, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadel to sound the Alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there; who seeing the many lights, and other signs of bulic preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* was not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by Sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the Town some mercenary Soldiers, which they kept of their own, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventure to issue forth at a Gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his own, that were thus hasty. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drove them with great slaughter back into the City. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very Gate. But he retired without harm taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over

the Gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without much endangering their own people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of *Heracles*, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, near adjoining unto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the Sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Acheans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Acheans* were devising upon War: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being started up in the room of *Machabius*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his Mercenaries; and of his Subjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppressor, a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him: and one that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apgea* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, then hers in fleeing their wives; whom he would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their Jewels and Apparel. Her Husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made, lively representing her; and apparelled it with rich costly garments, as the used to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, serving to torment men. Herodotus made use, when he meant to try the virtue of his Rhetoric. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit *Apgea* stood, and there use all his art of persuasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses; then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apgea* (who fate by in a Chair) could persuade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that rose up and opened the Arms, as it were for imbracment. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereof was also flicking in the Breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she gripped the poor wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Æthians*, as *Machabius* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopæmen* virtue he stood in fear: and therefore durst not provoke the *Acheans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cyclades*, a far worse Captain, was their Prætor, and all, or the greater part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopæmen* being alone gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of War; then did *Nabis* fill up with their Territory, and wasting all the Fields, made them disfruit their own safety in the Towns.

Against this Tyrant the *Acheans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them, and had set down what proportion of Soldiers every City

City of their Corporation should furnish out. But Philip will'd them not to trouble themselves with the care of this business, forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this War, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whilst he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns ungarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some Companies into the Isle of *Eubœa*; so that he might securely pursue the War against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in this War against the *Romans*. Wherefore their Pretor *Cyclades* made him answer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which they were assembled. So passing the Decree, upon which he agreed before, for preparing War against *Nabis*, he brake up the Assembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former time, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpose with the *Acheans*. Nevertheless, he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries, and so returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philetes* one of his Captains, that with two thousand men had been doing what harm he might unto the Country. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Eleusine*, the Haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places; that he could no more wreak his anger upon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their noble Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble, which were had in plenty of their own; or having long ago been Masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he only put all down: but caused his men to break the very Stones, that they might be unseizable to their reparation. His loss at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made provision, both against the *Roman* Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardanians*, with other his bad Neighbours, which were likely to infect him. Among other his cares, he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he sent an Embassy, requesting them to continue in his Friendship. Thus was Philip occupied.

Sulpicius the *Roman* Consul encamped upon the River of *Aspis*. Thence he sent forth *Aspinus* his Lieutenant, with part of the Army to wait the borders of *Macedon*. *Aspinus* took sundry Castles and Towns, using such extremity of Sword and Fire at *Antipatria*, the first good Town, which he won by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoil, he was charged in the River, upon the passage of a brook, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of these Enemies, took Prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their Camp. The success of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet served to draw into the *Roman* friendship those that had formerly no good inclination

to the *Macedonian*. These were *Phlebas*, the Son of *Serdalides*; the *Illyrian*: *Amintander* King of the *Atthamians*; and *Eato* the Son of *Longurus*, Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their assistance unto the Consul, who thanked them; and said, That he would shortly make use of *Phlebas* and *Eato*, when he entered into *Macedon*: but that the friendship of *Amintander*, whose Country lay between the *Ætolians* and *Thessaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to fight them up against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, *Roman*, and *Athenian*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first, and said: That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of Peace between his Master and the *Ætolians*; so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, with our good cause to be carried away after other mean fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore, had made shew, as if their War in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making Peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so wise, in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For when after the same sort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants; but now both *Syracuse* and *Messana*, were subject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alleged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew such matters into *Greece*, must not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to consult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the Peace which still continued; although that the very same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to break it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these objections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were set on by them to speak next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudency in the *Macedonian* Ambassador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*; knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few days past, made War upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Here-with they made a pitiful rehearsal of their own calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Attica*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feel the same that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* itself, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* Arms had not defended them. Then

Then spake the *Romans*: who exclaiming, as well as they could, their own oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the work in hand. They said, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolian* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their consent made Peace: whereof since the *Ætolians* must excuse themselves, by alleging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to give them aid convenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their War and Victory, unless they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried unto the War by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to help those Friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Pretor, shifted them off a while with a dilatory answer: though he told his Country-men, That by relieving themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in general terms; That over-much haste was an enemy to good counsel: for which cause they must deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he passed a Decree, That the Pretor might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise, it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

SECT. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman Fleet.

Philip was glad to hear that the *Romans* had sped no better in their Solicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great help and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His Son *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the Straights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardanians*; having with him some of the Kings Council, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the Kings Son, how young soever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrify the Enemies, by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the Borders of *Ætolia* by his Father; who earnest business called thence another way. No danger of Enemies being left on either hand; it was thought that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heracleides*, would serve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodian* and *Roman*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his Journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Dolopetii*, a people in the utmost borders of *Macedon*

towards *Illyria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North, until they join in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Western parts of *Macedon*. Two or three days they lay in sight one of the other, without making offer of battle. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Camp into the open Field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to fend forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his Horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was so, that the King was unwilling to hazard all at first upon a Call, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his own Forces: yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation; he made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers; and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and his Targettiers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drove him to a hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targettiers, not flaying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made fruitless the work to which they were appointed. The Consul being gathered, that the King had some desire to try the fortune of a battle: which he therefore presented the second time: leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the Front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken those of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by time. It was scarce above fourscore years ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to fright the *Romans*, who had never seen any of those Beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) came into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the *Romans* had greater need to fight than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so near the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his men to fetch in Corn out of the Fields. Wherefore he removed 8 miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground: and so the more boldly he suffered his Foragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing sorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: even till their presumption, and his own supposed fear, should make them careless. When this was come to pass, he took all his Horse, and light-armed Foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the Foragers and their Camp. There he layed in Cover with part of his Forces, to keep the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Country, to fall upon the

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stragglers: willing them to put all to the Sword, and let none home with the news to the Camp. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scour the Fields, lighted all or most of them upon the King and his Companies in their flight: So as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great multitude. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his Horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needful: He himself with the Legions followed. The Companies of Horse divided themselves, accordingly as they were with advertisements upon the way, into many parts, not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvassing the Field, took their task where they found it: But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himself; They had the disadvantage as coming fower, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away as their fellows also might have been, if the King had well be thought himself, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an Harvest, he was too greedy about a poor gleaming; the *Roman* Legions appeared in fight: which emboldened their Horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that he in wait for others, are seldom heedful of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way: so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogs, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings Horse was slain under him: and there had been castaway, if a loving Subject of his had not alighted, mounted him upon his own Horse, and delivered him out of peril, at the expense of his own life, that running on Foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with inprovident rashness; and the Consul with as much dulness, for his days service. A little longer stay would have delivered the King from these Enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set upon his Camp, at such time as he fled thither, half amazed with either being slain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble Historian *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much to blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay safe in his Camp; and could not be so afflicted with the loss of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himself, he was advertised, that *Plenatus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardaniens*, were fallen upon his Country: when they found the passage thereto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Stragglers. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes; that he might see the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome Neighbours. In consideration of this *Philip* was desirous to clear himself of the *Romans*, as soon as he might. And to that purpose he sent unto the

Consul: requesting a day of Truce for burial of the dead. But instead of so doing, he marched away by Night, and left Fires in his Camp to beguile the Enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of fireing, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down Trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little use; being a square battle of Pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their Arrows were of small force against the *Roman* Shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of Stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This Victory (such as it was) laid open unto the Consul some poor Towns thereabout, which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the Fields adjoining, was not sufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardaniens*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themselves apace out of the Country. The King sent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilst he himself went against the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had relieved himself and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as also that *Plenatus* and the *Dardaniens* were fallen upon *Illyria*; grew no less busy on the side, than before he had been wife. He persuaded his Nation to take their time: and for, not flying to post him War, joined his Forces with *Antiochus* the *Syrian*; and made invasion upon *Thessaly*. They took, and cruelly sacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Antiochus* more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his own mountainous Country.

About the same time the *Roman* Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, had taken some small Islands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewise the Town of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Æubæa*: and some other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*; and the People for Slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindered: either by foul weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of means.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

Vilius the *Roman* Consul wasts a year to no effect. War of the Gauls in Italy. An Ambassador of the Romans to Carthage, Malanissa and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and T. Quintus Flaminius is sent against him.

Thus the time ran away: and *P. Vilius* a new Consul, took charge of the *War* in *Macedonia*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest Soldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in *Sicily* and *Africa*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own Estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had served at *Cannæ*: as may seem by their complaint, of having been long absent from Italy: whither fain they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Vilius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the History of his year is lost; whereof the miss is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius* indeed, as we find in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Vilius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Livie* himself, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good Author: we may reasonably believe, that *Vilius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the Gauls. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had been able to force: was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Crenona* was attempted: but saved her self, taking warning by her Neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that stayed behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago* in those parts: was now become Captain of the Gauls, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to understand, That if they were not weary of the Peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up, these their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made War in Italy: *Hercuto* it was added (perhaps left the message might seem otherwise to have favoured a little of some fear) That of the fugitive slaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk up and down to *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to be reformed back to their Masters: as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Malanissa*, as also with *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*. Unto *Malanissa*, besides matter of Compliment, they were to signify what pleasure he might do them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serve in their War against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe unto him the name of King; and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter, and said, That having been, and being still (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to deliver Peace; for that the name of King, was an honour that they used not to confer upon any.

save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make Peace with him, was wholly committed unto these Embassadors, upon such terms as they should think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then bulled with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitives, they had reformed as many as they could find; and would in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Malanissa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* Horse: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadors, to give them entertainment, on the Borders of his Kingdom; and without any dispute, agreed with them upon terms of Peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his Gauls, they laid siege unto *Crenona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor, came upon them, fought a battle with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battle: and the fruit of the Victory was such, both made amend for losses past, and left the work easy to those, that afterwards should have the managing of War among those Gauls. So there was good leisure to think upon the business of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counsellor whom they hated: as also to assure unto himself the *Acheans*, by rendering unto them some Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thence into out of *Epirus*. This was in doing when *Vilius*, having unprofitably laboured to find way into *Macedon*, taking a Journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with Victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintus Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and that *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whose coming he expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

SECT. XIII.

The Romans begin to make War by Negotiation. T. Quintus wins a passage against Philip. Thessaly wasted by Philip, the Romans and Ætolians. The Acheans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A Treaty of Peace, that was vain. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

The *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battle to the Enemy, as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Towns: and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as

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it would be intercepted) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the subtle *Greeks*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, many years after this into private men, for part of those moneys that had been borrowed in the second Punick War. This had made the Commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* War; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprise, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the less need to rely upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latinæ*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other means could well have served, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Army; but by framing themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the succulence of those that are too many and too far from home) have bred some jealousie in their friends of their enemies, more than of their own Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite, for that *Attalus*, about the same time, exulted himself unto them by his Embassadours, requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom, against *Antiochus* who invaded it; or else that they would not take it unconsciously; that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which most concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to use the aid of their friends, longer then their friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it: That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend, though he were against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embassadours, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) do their best to persuade an atonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*, who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these terms of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soon appear.

T. Quintius halting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed unto him; which consisted for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had served in *Spain* and *Africk*. He found *Vilius* the old Consul, whom at his coming he presently discharged; and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Asper*, or *Dons*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into *Macedon*, or else win, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mis-spent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided

the South of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*, then should they enter into a plentiful Country; and, which by long dependence on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheless, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the river of *Asper* running along through that valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep *Marish* and impassable bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by mans hand, wherefore *Quintius* assailed to climb in the Mountains: but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very eafie; he was compelled to fill fill, without doing any thing for the space of forty days.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the War might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore to deal with some of the *Epirians*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would have him to let all Towns of *Greece* at liberty, and make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late; but unto such, as had been long subject unto him and his Ancestors. He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claim and dominion over them. He also said, that as far forth as it should appear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seem convenient in the judgement of some free State, that had not been interested in those quarrels. But herewithal *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgement or compromise, so much as it was apparent that *Philip* had always been the invader; and had not made War as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would have to be set at liberty, the first that he named were the *Thessalians*: These had been subjects (though conditional) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever since the days of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soon as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*, the King in a rage demanded what sharper condition he would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he flung away: refusing to hear any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul strove in vain two or three days together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heards-man sent from *Choronea* a Prince of the *Epirians* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beasts in those Mountains, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans* without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and being promised a great reward, in case he made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night, it being then about the

fall

full of the Moon) and rested in the day time, for fear being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonian*, (though undiscovered by them, because by their banks) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on the journey, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*, thereby to avert him from the thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, astonished to the *Macedonians*, that they betook themselves unto flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his Camp and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation: for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, left being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himself much better perwaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hands he could he could visit, to forsake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, for that he was driven to make such waste of a so pleasant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hindrance did serve, to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Atbamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade *Thessaly*; whereinto the ways lay more open out of their several Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they forebore not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few days since had made them to be very desirous, waited by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. *T. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by assault: *Menopolis* and *Pirra* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged; and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it: so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hav-

ing somewhat recoiled his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, having well near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*: brake up his liege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his Ships of burden to meet him at *Antiochia*, an Haven Town of *Phocia*, on the Gulf of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Thessaly* and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocia* he won by assault: many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Consul brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this War, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They won two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchreæ*, an Haven and Arceval of the *Corinthians* on their Eastern Sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Acheans*, in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*; since it might come to pass, that *Corinth* itself, ere long might be spent; and that *Cenchreæ*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendered unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Acheans* to prefer the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereof they had been long accustomed. For this King had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it best counsell to rid their hands of him, whilst being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsel as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himself their absolute Lord: his poisoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: his false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his own dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed: could them long since to hold him as a necessary evil, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since by the virtue of *Philopomenus*, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength: so as without the *Macedonian* help they could as well subsist, as having him to friend: then did they only think how evil he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It annoyed him to perceive how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of * *Philopomenus*, ^{*Plat. in c. Philopom.} But failing in this enterprise; and being detected, he did thereby only set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly dry before, and prepared to burn.

Philopomenus wrought so with the *Acheans*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliades*, a principal man among them: and lately their Pretor, was expelled by them, for shewing himself passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristeus* chosen Pretor, who laboured to joyn them in society with the *Romans*.

These news were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadours were sent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Acheans* making promise, that they should have *Corinth* restored

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unto them if they would forsake the *Macedonians*. A Parliament of the *Acheans* was held at *Syein*, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty cause. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Acheans* to join with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwise the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for his builings, admonishing the *Acheans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him, requested them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassadors did no way advance their Masters cause. Rather it gave the *Acheans* to understand, That he, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himself unable to gratify them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Council, who remembering the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memory of those old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold unto them, and partly had used as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree passed. That they should thence-forward renounce, the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* they forthwith entered into society; with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, until the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any society at the present, until the return of those Embassadors from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their best for the *Macedonians*, as by many respects they were bound, rose up out of the Council, and departed before the passing of the Decree; which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty there-to give assent. For this their good will, and gratitude, which they shortly manifested, the *Argives* had so little thanks, that all the rest of the *Acheans* may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discovered it self so plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any small alliance. *Philoetes* a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended against the *Romans*, and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*, whither coming on a sudden, and finding the multitude ready to join with him, he easily compelled the *Achean* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, and some other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtain some good end by Treaty, whilst as yet with his honour he might seek it: and when if the Winter began now come on) a new Council would shortly be chosen, who should take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect unto himself; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to pre-dispose things unto a conclusion, for his own reputation;

The meeting was appointed to be held upon the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian* Bay, now (as is supposed) the Gulf of *Zeuos*, in the *Aegean* Sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Animander* the *Avthamian*; an Embassador of *Attalus*; the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Aetolians* and *Acheans*. *Philip* had with him some few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achæa*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal Gods: yet misdoubting some treachery in the *Aetolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*, were, That he should let all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in *Thyria*; and whatsoever about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolemy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and spoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodiens* would have again the Country of *Perea*, lying over against their Island, as also that he should withdraw his garrisons out of divers Towns about the *Hellespont*, and other Havens of their friends. The *Acheans* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjustly, quarrel with him: the other had been long his own by their consent. The *Aetolians* took upon them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even to the whole Country, leaving it free; and withall to deliver up unto them, whatsoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithall content: but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Thessaly*: corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Towns, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapert *Aetolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallies to be rowed nearer the shore. But they began to plice him afresh: telling him that he must obey his betters, unless he were able to defend himself by force of Arms. He answered (as he was much given to jibing) with sundry scoffs, and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Consul understand what manner of companions these *Aetolians* were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the *Greeks*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them to take spoil from spoil: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Attalus* out of *Attolia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custom, as often as War happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by sending Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that should spoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he said it was strange, that the *Aetolians* should be so careful thereof, since divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Greeks*: wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make slaves of those *Aetolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to hear the *Aetolians* well rattled up, touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of setting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well seem that great-
ness of the *Romans*; though he would also consider, what might seem his own dignity. But that the *Aetolians*, *Rhodiens*, and other petty Estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might he should be thenceunto compelled: it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Acheans* he charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their own; wherein they loaded both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheless, he said, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himself. Thus he addressed himself wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, his late War (he said) was only defensive, they having been the offenders: or if he gave them any occasion, it was only in helping *Perseus*, his Son-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that spoiling a Temple of *Pennus*, he had cut down the Grove, and pleasant walks thereabouts: what could he do more, than send Gardners thither with young Plants, if one King of another would stand to ask such recompense? Thus he jested the matter out: but offered nevertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Perea* to the *Rhodiens*; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that days conference, because it was late: *Philip* requesting a Nights leisure to think upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Council, wherewith to advise about them. For your being so ill provided of Council (said *Titus*) you may even thank your self, as having murdered all your Friends, that were wont to advise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late night; excusing his long stay by the weightiness of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was believed, that he thereby sought to abridge the *Aetolians* of leisure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in private with the *Roman* General. The sum of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Acheans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Aetolians*, that he would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the King were suffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendered up. The noise that they made came to *Philips* ear: who thereupon desired a third day of meetings, and protested, that if he could not persuade them, he would offer himself to be perwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken unto good offers of Peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions which he had already tendered; or otherwise, that they would make Truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadors to *Rome*, where he would refer himself to the courtship of the Senate.

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This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who flood in doubt, left a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour which he expected by ending of the War. So he easily prevailed with the rest to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for service in the War; and since, without authority of the Senate, he should be unable to proceed resolutely either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to send their several Embassadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he perswaded King *Animander* to make a Journey to *Rome* in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reasons which they alleged unto the Senate.

The Embassadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of Victory than Satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in undertaking to let *Greece* at liberty. But this (they said) could never be effected: unless especial care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servility, that the Senate agreed to have it so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration: they were briefly cut off in the midst of their Preface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would yield up *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the King had given them no direction or commission what to say or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of Peace: wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadors have truly said, That neither the *Aetolians*, *Acheans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of those Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Acheans* had some right (though their right were no better, than that, having stolen it from one *Macedonian* King in a Night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condescended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alleged, even against the *Greeks*, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his Friends; that so he might have had honour to conclude the War, if a success had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue General: neither his Friends at *Rome*, nor he himself, after the return of the Embassadors unto *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of Peace.

Philip seeing that his *Acheans* had forsaken him, and joined with their common Enemies, thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto *Nabis*, whom they hated
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most. There were not many years past, since the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help than their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Acheans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though styling himself King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Acheans*: and therefore seemed to *Philip*, one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be conveyed over into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philoctetes* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, that it was his Masters purpose to make a freight alliance with the *Lacedæmonians*, by giving some Daughters of his own in Marriage unto *Nabis* his Sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unless by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philoctetes* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them to averre, that, in open Affection of the People, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion, to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philoctetes*, without more ado, to make over the Town, which he was ready to receive. *Philoctetes* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by Night; and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forsaken the *Acheans* to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himself master of all the Gates. A few of the principal men, understanding how things went, fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief Citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado. But if any stood long upon the matter; or played the Thieves in purchasing their own Goods: they were put to the whip; and besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Laws; namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascal multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath been an old custom of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, he sent the news to *T. Quintius* and others to join with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he took the pains to cross over the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soon agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cavil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, six hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as was also agreed with the *Acheans*, upon a Truce for four months, reserving the final conclusion of Peace between them, until the War of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

SECT. XIV.

The Battle at Cynoscephala, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as soon as he understood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the will and pleasure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of Peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to be his friend in that War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himself. *Nabis* had in his Army about six and twenty thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessaly*, and thereupon addressed himself to seek him out. They had like to have met unawares, near unto the City of *Phæria*: where the vantage-grounds on both sides discovered each other; and sent news of them were over-hasty to commit all to hazard upon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better discovery. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their several Camps, with little advantage unto either side. The Country about *Phæria* was thick set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and Mud-walls; which made it improper for the service of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King, dislodged, intending to remove back into *Sostyla*, in the Frontier of *Macedonia*; where he might be plentifully served with all necessities. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning; and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards: were it only to waste the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of Hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took. Nevertheless they encamped not far asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers again, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the work. But *Philip* anon fell in such strong supply, that if the resistance of the *Ætolians* had not been desperate, the *Romans* their fellows had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonian* prevailed: so that *Titus* himself was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battle in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereupon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuously, how the Enemies fled, and how the day was his own, if he could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: inasmuch as he embattled his men; and climbed up those Hills, which, for that the knots thereon had some resemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynoscephala*. As soon as he was on the

Hill-

Hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his own light armature were built in fight, almost at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so far. He had also liberty to choose his ground, as might serve best his advantage; forasmuch as the *Romans* were driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use: the roughness of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, serving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheless he found convenient room, wherein to marshal the one part of his Army; and gave order unto his Captains, to follow with the rest, embattelling them as they might. Whilst he was doing this, he perceived that his Horse-men and light Armature began to think; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoil. He sets forward to help them: and they no less hastily draw unto him for succour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climb the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their Pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extremely difficult piece of work. For this *Phalanx* being a great square battle of armed Pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern Wars: and being in like manner used, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it self held together undissolved. The *Macedonians* were embattled in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the Pikes of the first ranks had their points advanced two or three Foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen Foot, or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled: for that the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he observed, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevenness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) upon the side either of beholding the palinode, or of coming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battle to march up the Hill against their ill-ordered Troops: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terror. The *Macedonians* were ready to dispute what should be done in such a case: than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their Weapons unuseful. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having six and twenty thousand in his Army (as he is said to have been equal to the Enemy in number) had four thousand Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and four thousand light-armed: so shall there remain fourteen thousand Pikes: whereof himself had embattled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is now ready to charge. The *Phalanx* having usually sixteen in File, mult, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well-near four hundred and forty

in rank: but four hundred would serve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or seven and thirty Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polibius* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred Foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaign, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoin this close battle of the *Phalanx*, was not every where to be found. Here at *Cynoscephala* *Philip* had so much room, as would only suffice for the one half of his men's the rest were fain to stand still and look about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the Dogs-heads. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in mauling those Enemies, whose Feet were in a manner bound by the disproportion of the place. The very stiff impression of the Elephants, caused them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to break themselves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonel, seeing the Victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others; and being followed by twenty Ensigns or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work; and mainly helped to making of the Victory complete. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on so far, as that himself with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rear. The hindermost ranks of the *Phalanx*, and of all them indeed, gave the first five, were accustomed, when the battels came to jockeying, to carry their Pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies, to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mapopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many Fronts to look sundry ways, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet is it to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form; as also at the same time he embattled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexander* men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the Enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons and fled. The King himself that thought until now, that the fortune of the battle was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside with a Troop of Horse, to see how all went; when he beheld his men casting down their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he presently betook himself to flight. Neither did he afterwards

in any place (except only a small while about *Tempe*, there to collect such as were dispersed in this overthrow) until he was gotten into his own Kingdom of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman Army* in this battle, about seven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slain; and five thousand taken Prisoners.

SECT. XV.

T. Quintius falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants Truce unto Philip, with conditions upon which the Peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with Antiochus.

THE *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themselves, and desired to have it noised through all *Greece*, that the Victory at *Cyncephale* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty by facking the *Macedonian Camp*, whilst the *Romans* were builed in the chafe. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous conditions; purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, That by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in *Greece*: who detested the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battle, *Titus* made haste unto *Larissa*, a City in *Thessaly*, which he presently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his Letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much adversity, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his Friends. Yet by thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already lost. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their Neighbours, did make delay of opening their Gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Town of *Leucas*, bordering upon *Arcanania*, was taken by the *Roman Fleet*, and very soon after, all the *Arcanians*, a war-like Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*, gave up themselves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the Victory at *Cyncephale*. The *Rhodians* were also then in hand with the Conquest of *Peres*, a Region of the Continent over against the Island; whereof they had demanded restitution in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly than any other of the *Greeks*: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and some help which they borrowed of the *Acheans*, and other their Friends, gave battle to *Demetrius* the Kings Lieutenant, wherein they had the Victory, and consequently recovered the whole Province. It enraged *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom; wasting and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all haste of 6000 Foot, and 500 Horse: where-with coming upon them, he drove them, with

little or no loss of his own, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprize he had success answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yield unto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Limeus* and *Demophanes*, with *Cycliades* the banished *Achean*, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadors unto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and some of his *Roman Colonels*: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had Commission, to refer all unto *Titus* his discretion; as *Philip* himself in few days after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen days: in which time, the King himself might come and speak with the *Roman* General. In the mean season, many suspicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greek* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Ætolians* were chief Authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honesty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent Letters unto his Associates; willing them that they have Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty should be held. There when they were all Assembled, they entered into Consultation before the Kings arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every fate in particular. The poor King *Aminander* besought them all, and especially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and considering his weakness, which he confessed, make such provision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him, who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commended *Titus*, forasmuch as he had thus assembled the Confederates to advise upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpose, which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making Peace with *Philip*, he could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the War, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the fair promises made by *Titus* himself unto the *Greeks*, than the chafing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdom. And to this effect, he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and People of *Rome*, or with the laudable customs which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seek the utter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made War with them, until by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he ledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That Victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*, it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdom of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened, and brought low: not that it should utterly be destroyed: forasmuch as it served as a bar to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*,

Gauls, and a multitude of other salvage Nations which would soon over-flow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this Kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reason to deny him Peace. As for the *Ætolians*, if they thought otherwise, it should be at their own pleasure, to take Counsel apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phanias*, another of the *Ætolians*, to say, that all was come to nothing: for that ere long, *Philip* would rouble all the *Greeks*, no less than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bade him leave his babblings: saying, That himself would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* used friendly: and suffering him to repose himself that Night, held a Counsel the day following: wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phanias* the *Ætolian*, insulting over him, said, It was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Towns, (which he there named) bidding him speak whether he would or no. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himself, said, it should be otherwise. These were *Thessalonian* Towns, and should be all free; one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit it self to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phanias* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the Towns that had sometimes belonged unto their Commonwealth. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the Towns taken ought to be to their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing save the Pillage and Captives. It is true, that there had been such a condition in the former War: but it ceased to be of any validity, as soon as the *Ætolians* made Peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to understand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the *Ætolians*. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted with these angry passages between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reason to fear any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in the behalf of those *Ætolians*, to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their Gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gave their consent willingly unto a Truce for four Months.

The chief cause that moved *Titus* to grant Peace so readily to the *Macedonians*, besides that laudable custom by him before alleged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an Army from *Syria*, and drawing near toward *Euphrat*. He had also perhaps yet a greater motive; even the consideration that his success might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the War should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his Letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonians*, and sundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Counsels were chosen: who (espe-

cially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the Peace; alleging frivolous matter of their own suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the War. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassadors of *Philip*, offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded; and the Letters of *Titus*, pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side, and the importunity of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shows were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as soon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assembly of the People; by whose foreign authority it was concluded, that Peace should be granted to the King. So ten Embassadors were sent from *Rome*, over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had been Consuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* should go through with the business of Peace. These would very vain have retained those three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcedon*, and *Demetrius*, until the estate of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendered unto the *Ætolians*, as well in the other *Greek Towns* which *Philip* held, and all in *Asia* as in *Greece*, referred unto liberty.

The Conditions of Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next ^{* Excerpt. 3} *Ithimian Games*, he should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the *Greek Towns* which he held, and confine them over to the *Romans*: That he should deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's. Likewise all his Ships of War, reserving to himself only five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatness, wherein sixteen men laboured at every Oar: Further, that he should pay a thousand Talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years following, by even portions. Hereto ^{+ Liv. 43} *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make War out of *Macedon*, without permission of the Senate. But I find not that he observed this Article: or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred Talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger Son *Demetrius*, to remain as Hostage for his true dealing in this matter of Peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the Money, and his Son, should be restored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand Talents, I cannot find; and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with these four hundred Talents, was given for Hostage, remained still in custody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* unto *Frangis* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to understand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Ciani*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip*, to gratify this *Bithynian* his Son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect these Letters wrought, it was not greatly material; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise, that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Philip* to their will.

All Greece rejoiced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themselves aggrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Ætolians* continued to favour the *Macedonians*; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the *Romans*; who, seeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*, saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had born unto him; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his Army, their Pretor which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confided by those which were put to Torture: the hatred of the people broke out violently against the *Romans*: in such wife, that howsoever they durst not take Arms against them, yet such of them as they found dragging from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was detested within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Whereupon *Titus* requires of the *Ætolians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred Soldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. Instead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses, which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadors to the *Acheans*, and *Albanians*, informing them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amiss, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewith he fails to wailing their Country; and bewails two such Towns of theirs, as did seem to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Acheans* and *Albanians* (especially of the *Acheans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this War; yet bestowed him rather to grant peace unto the *Ætolians*) prevailed to fair with him, that he was pacified with 30 talents, and the punishments of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of Greece distracted: some among them rejoicing that they were free from the *Macedonian* and others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worse neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrison. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* War served as an introduction to the War to be made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progress of bad rumors, when the *Illyrian* games were held, which in time of peace were never without great assembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of Rome, and *Titus Quintinus* Flaminius the General, having vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonian*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrisians*, *Eubœans*, *Acheans*, of *Phthiotis*, *Magnisians*, *Thebaisians*, and *Perthe-*

bians. The suddenness of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving thanks: which they rendered now to *T. Quintinus* with so great affection, as that they had well-near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available to the *Romans* in their War against *Antiochus*, then could have been the possession of a few Towns, yea, or of all those Provinces, which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Illyrian* games at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Counsel, gave audience to *Hageflanax* and *Lysias*, King *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they wished to signify unto their Lord, That he should do well to abstain from the Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with War: as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolemy* of *Philipp*. Moreover they wished him by these his Embassadors, that he should not pass over his Army into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the *Greeks*; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrisians* they gave unto the *Ætolians* whom they thought it no wisdom to offend overmuch, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Acheans* of *Phthiotis*, the same which had been abandoned by *T. Quintinus* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalia* and *Lencæa*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howsoever somewhat the Council might favour them, yet was it not meet that they should have their wills, as it were in despite of *Titus*. So the *Acheans* were restored *Corinth*, *Trifolys*, and *Heræa*. So the *Corinthians* were made freeindeed, though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocinthos* for that all which were partakers of the *Achean* Commonwealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were bestowed those Cattles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this War; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Albanians*. The *Rhodiens* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Council, would have given the Towns of *Oreus* and *Eretria*, in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to his son and successor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubœans*, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. *Orestes*, a little Province of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, yet yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also left at liberty, and made it a free estate by it self.

These businessess being dispatched, it remained, that all care should be used, not how to avoid the War with King *Antiochus*, but how accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore

fore Embassadors were sent, both to *Antiochus* of War against this King; the *Romans* now had himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad, & of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his Adherents.

SECT. I.

What Kings of the races of Seleucus and Ptolemy reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.

Seleucus Nicator, the first of his race; King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth Olympiad. He was treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceranæus*, at an Altar called *Argos*, having (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never read that any mans life hath been preserved, or any mischief avoided by the predictions of such Divellish Oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the Heathen gods, have been antedated by their Priests, or by others, which deviled them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the son and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father, who furnished unto him his own wife *Stratonice*, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her: Wherefore *Ptolemy Ceranæus* had great cause to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevengeed by this his Successor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words, containing himself within *Asia*; and he had purchased in *Europe*, with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonice* in his fathers life, yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, that cause of his not prosecuting that revenge, whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had Wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, and with *Nicomachus* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutatius* and *Leontinus* Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, were set upon him by the Luce *Nicomachus*. With these he fought a great battle: wherein, though otherwise the enemies had all advantages against him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the victory. He took in hand an enterprise against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but finding little success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berfusa* the *Chaldean* dedicated his History of *Assyria*; the same which hath since been excellently revised by the *Friar Annus*. He left behind him one son, called *Antiochus Tiberius*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of the Kingdom of the *Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteen years.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or the god, had this vain and impious title given to him by flattery of the *Medians*, whom he delivered from *Tymarchus*, Tyant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless War with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, *S. Hierom* and other interpreters have understood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: The Kings daughter of *Das*, i. e. the South shall come to the King of the North to make an agreement; and that which followeth.

Ptolemy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own Sister *Strifone*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race: It was he that built, and furnished with Books the famous Library of *Alexandria*: which to adorn and to honour the more, he sent unto *Elexarus*, then high Priest of the *Jews* for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews* had formerly been very great; for he had set at liberty many of them, as his father held in slavery throughout all *Egypt*; and he had sent unto the Temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Elexarus*, yielding unto the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* copy: which *Ptolemy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by twenty two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the Seventy, *Jesus* the son of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one; who that he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Jugustus*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the high Priest, was written (as *T. Josephus* affirms) by *(3) Josephus* that was employed therein. Forty years after, i. e. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and much highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers, who dwelt Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than under the

Assyrians many learned men, and among the rest *Lodovicus Vivis*, hold suspicion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some late Author, who thought that it were to be suspected in the time of *Strabo*; it may be somewhat more fully suspected: since a new Edition of it is come forth, purged from faults (as the Papists term those Books, wherein they have changed what they please) and set forth by *Milanderpius* at *Colen*. An. Dom. 1578.

he had been in his former years : in which time he boasted that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason : otherwise the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own crour. He was the first of the Kings derived from *Alexander's* Successors, that entered into League with the *Romans* : as also his offspring was the last among those Royal Families, which by them was rooted up.

Antiochus *Theos* had another wife called *Laudice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolemy*. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard, than if he had been the Concubine. *Laudice* hated him for this : yet adventured not to seek revenge, until her own son *Selenus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* : at what time the poisoned her husband *Theos* : and, by permission of *Selenus* her son, murdered *Berenice*, together with a son that she had born to *Antiochus*. *Justine* reports, that *Berenice* saved her self, together with the young Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne* : and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her Brother *Ptolemy Evergetes* King of *Aegypt*, came to rescue her with an Army : though too late, for the was slain before.

With such cruelties *Selenus Callinicus*, succeeding unto his Father, that had fifteen years been King, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature ; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolemy Evergetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back unto his own Country, by some connomations therein hand. For there were none that would bear arms against *Ptolemy*, in defence of their own King : but rather they sided with the *Aegyptian* : who took *Laudice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Selenus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestic troubles which recalled *Evergetes* home into *Egypt* : went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him : when it had been much better, by well deserving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared : in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarked himself, and putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good ; as soon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences : they had commiseration of his Estate ; and, presuming that he would henceforth become a new man, offered unto him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him such a spirit ; as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Aegyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had been at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolemy* in a great battle ; whence he escaped hardly ; so better attended,

than after his late Shipwreck. Having therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels ; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax* who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed ; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, but extremely ambitious ; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty Army of the *Gauls* ; wherever he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolemy* being advertised : and having no choice to put himself in danger more than he needed, set out True with *Selenus* for ten years. No sooner was *Selenus* freed from this care of the *Aegyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better Army. So *Selenus* was vanquished again ; and saved himself with so few a pour him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battle. Thus did Gods Justice take revenge of those murderers by which the Crown was purchased, and sealed (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to hear of his brothers death, as if thereby he had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gauls*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then he, for when he led them against *Antiochus* King of *Pergamas*, being in hope to honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign : these perfidious Barbarians took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royal house to make head against him ; it would be in their power, to do what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus* ; and enforced him to ransom himself with money, as if he had been their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented ; but made him enter into such composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the mean while *Selenus* had gathered a new Army ; and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the reason fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten ; which is no great marvel, since he had reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gauls*, his own Soldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia* ; whilst *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battle, fought between the brethren, *Selenus* had the upper hand : and *Antiochus Hierax* (or *Hauk*) which surname was given him, because he fought his prey upon every one, without care (whether he were provoked or not) feared away as far as he could, both from his brother, and from his own *Gauls*. Having fetched a great compass through the *Mysian* and *Armenia*, he fell at length in *Cappadocia* ; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew ; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived : and therefore betook him to his wings again, though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolemy* ; his own conscience telling him, what evil he meant unto *Selenus* his brother ; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find

find no sure harbour. *Ptolemy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison : whence flying by means of an Harlot, he got out ; yet flying from his Keepers, he fell into the hands of Thieves, by whom he was murdered. Near about the same time died *Selenus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his Wars with his Brother. He therefore made a Journey against *Aspases* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom : wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Aspases* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment : but in returning home, he brake his Neck by a fall from his Horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laudice* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most rusty Captains : which was Father unto that *Asbeus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he styled himself) a King ; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laudice* he had two Sons ; *Selenus* the third, surname *Ceraunus*, and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards the Great.

Selenus Ceraunus reigned only 3 years : in which time he made War upon *Antalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamas*. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of men, he could not keep his men of War in good order : and finally he was slain by Treason of *Nicanor* and *Apantius* a *Gaul*. His death was revenged by *Asbeus*, who slew the Traitors : and took charge of the Army : which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully while *Antiochus* the Brother of *Selenus* being a Child.

SECT. II.

The beginning of the Great *Antiochus* his Reign. Of *Ptolemy Evergetes*, and *Philopater*, Kings of *Egypt*. War between *Antiochus* and *Philopater*. The rebellion of *Molo* : an expedition of *Antiochus* against him. The re-continuance of *Antiochus* his Egyptian War : with the passages between the two Kings : the Victory of *Ptolemy*, and Peace concluded. Of *Achæus*, and his Rebellion ; his greatest, and his fall. *Antiochus* his expedition against the *Parthians*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*. Somewhat of the Kings Reigning in *India*, after the death of the Great *Alexander*.

Antiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, when he began his Reign, which lasted six and thirty years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all virtue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful Servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord ; and finally unto himself ; the success of things will shortly discover. Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his Reign, *Ptolemy Evergetes* King of *Egypt* died, and left his heir *Ptolemy Philopater*, a young Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembered. This was that *Evergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Acheans* :

who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes* : and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of Greece by *Antigonus Gonatus*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene*, by taking to wife *Bernice*, the Daughter of King *Magus*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies* : and the last good King of that good race. The name of *Evergetes*, or the doer of good, was given to him by the *Egyptians* ; not so much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his Victories in *Syria* ; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of mere covetousness of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20 Talents : but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Jehusapha a Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in Farm the Tributes and Customs that belonged unto him in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Callosyria*, with *Palestina*, and all those parts of the Country that lay nearest unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptians* ; either as having fallen to the share of *Ptolemy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slain in the battle at *Issus* ; or as being won by this *Evergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of *Selenus Callinicus*. The Victories of this *Evergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding Ages between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucides* were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. Thus *Ptolemy Evergetes* reigned six and twenty years, and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seem by that which we find in the Prologue unto *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach* his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Sirach* there saith, that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Evergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his Father : or that those eight and thirty years, were the years of *Jesus* his own age ; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did) otherwise reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Evergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War against the *Egyptians*, for the recovery of *Callosyria*, and the Countries adjoining. This Council was very unadvisedly given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out in Rebellion, and fought to make himself absolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more forward than wife, maintained stilly, that it was most expedient and agreeable with the Kings honour, to fend forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithful : whilst he in person made War upon one that was like himself, a King. No man durst gain-say the resolution of *Hermias*, who therefore sent *Xenatas* an *Achean*, with such Forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebel ; whilst in the mean season an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Callosyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laudicea*, and to over the Deserts into the Valley of *Musfar*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*, found his way there stopped by *Theodatus* an *Arabian*, that served under *Ptolemy*. So he continued the time there a while to none effect : and then came news, that *Xenatas*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Army :

and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenatas, whilst he was yet on his Journey, and drew near to the River of *Tygris*, received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills drawn by their Commander to bear Arms against their King. This report was not altogether false, but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt left his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenatas* therefore making haste, as if he had prepared to pass the River by Boats in face of his Enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Camp; and with all the flower of his Army went over *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his Horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenatas* could not be so stopped, He himself dislodged, and took his Journey towards *Medas*: leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrustful of the faith of his own Soldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy: the great folly of *Xenatas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenatas*, having born himself proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge, did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the Sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Camp: or rather he commanded them so to do, by making Proclamation. That they should divert up themselves against the Journey, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heavy with the Wine, and other good cheer that they had spent at Supper. So *Xenatas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the rest were slaughtered without making resistance; and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of *Tygris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this Victory, the Rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he presently took: and, murthering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Country down to the red Sea, or Bay of *Persea*, he halted unto *Susa*; where at his first coming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle, that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Massius*, filled him with great sorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Counsel what to do in this needful case: and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of War he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of *Callosyria*; and bend his Forces thither, where more need required them. This Counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good

Counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the Journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebel in strength. *Molo* distrustful his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience, if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it fittest for him to assail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by those that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to return back to his Camp: which by force error, took alarm at his return: and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in fight. The King was thus forward in giving battle to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few Men or Ensigns: but all the left wing of the Enemy, which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the Kings persons: and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the Victory: but *Molo* shortened the work, by killing himself; as he did also divers of his Friends, who for fear of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their own Swords.

After this Victory, came joyful news, that the Queen *Laudice*, Daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a Son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of his friendly disposition while it lasted. But now in the Eastern part of his Kingdom, He judged it convenient to visit his Frontiers, were it only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor *Hermias* gave assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the King was taken out of the World by any casualty: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthning his own Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabanus*, who reigned among the *Armenians*: having the greatest part of his Kingdom situate between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and feeble; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this Journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*: informing him truly how odious he was to the People; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* believed this, as having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made way on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King never thought of so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilst he was alive: yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him, whilst he was in safe to do them hurt, was ready as the fire-moth, to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him: yea, his Wife and Children, lying then at *Appamea*, were slayed to death by the Wives and Children

dren of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achens* (of whom we spoke before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in one of these expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a Diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achens*, nor yet disturbed the purposes: but wrote out of these his traitorous purposes, for he had taken him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldened the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by subuision. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Callosyria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemy Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong City near to the mouth of the River *Orontes*, which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemy Euergetes* having lately won it, might, if it had pleased him, have changed the name unto *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their virtue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the fame greatness hath continued. *Theodorus the Asiaticus*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Callosyria* in the behalf of *Ptolemy*; was now grown sorry, that he had used so much faith and diligence, in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his own profit: which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two Kings; he offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrs* and *Ptolemais*. Whilst he was devising about this Treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*, his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemais*, by one of *Ptolemy* Captains, that was more faithful than himself. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not only of *Tyrs* and *Ptolemais*, with a good Fleet of the Egyptian Kings that was in those Havens: but of so many other Towns in that Country, as emboldened him to think upon making a Journey into Egypt itself. *Agababotes* and *Sesibius* bore all the sway in Egypt at that time: *Ptolemy* himself being too loath to have his pleasures interrupted, with business of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be for the War: and nevertheless at the same time, to press *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Ætolians*: according to the

usual courtesie of the *Greeks*, desiring to take up the quarrel.

These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agababotes* and *Sesibius*: who intreated to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this Treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War: wherein these two Counsellors persuaded themselves reasonably, that the Victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how delirious the Governours of Egypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the reader belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemy*, but because the *Rhodesians*, and other Embassadors, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agababotes* and his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himself at the long siege of a Town called *Dorus*, which he could not win: and being desirous to refresh himself and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the Winter which then came on, granted to the Egyptian a Truce for four months, with promise that he would be ready to hearken to equal Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would fain have seemed, but only to lull his Enemies asleep, whilst he took time to refresh himself; and to bring *Achens* to some good order, whose Treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Egyptian would have used, he used himself, as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be needful; for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since *Ptolemy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless, he gave Audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Egypt: pleasing himself well, to dispute about the justice of his quarrel, which he supposed shortly to make good by the Sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be given in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterward ratified, by general consent of the Confederates, after the battle at *Issus*. But *Ptolemy* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said that *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagi*, had won *Callosyria*, and the Provinces adjoining for himself: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him Forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for Peace; they were in the end of their disposition, as far from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolemy* demanded restitution, *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Also *Ptolemy* would needs have *Achens* comprehended in the League between them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deal with another, as to take his Rebel into protection, and seek to join him in Confederacy with his own Sovereign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolemy*, with a very puissant Army, was coming up against him out of Egypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by these Captains

of *Ptolomy*, that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheless he drove them: and proceeding onwards in his journey, won for many places, that he greatly encreased his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew near together: many Captains of *Ptolomy* forsook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Ægyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Ægyptian*, or the *Assatians* were the better Soldiers, (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*;) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolomy*, with *Asinoe* his Sister and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of his Ancestors, as not having of their own, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his being of *Asia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten them. He gave the advantage of those beasts, He drove the Enemies before him, in that part of the battle wherein he fought himself. But *Ptolomy* had the better men by whose valour he brake the Grofs of his enemies battle, and won the victory: whilst *Antiochus* was heedlessly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and six thousand horse: whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in fear, lest *Ptolomy* and *Achæus*, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the *Ægyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted, it being much against the nature of *Ptolomy* to vex himself thus with the tedious business of War. So *Ptolomy* having staid three months in *Syria*, returned home into *Ægypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his Subjects, and all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothful condition.

Achæus was not comprised in the league between these two Kings: or if he had been included therein: yet would not the *Ægyptian* have taken the pains, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himself strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: for besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*; he had also good success against *Attalus King of Pergamus*: that was an able man of War, and commanded a strong Army. Neither was he, as *Melo* the Rebel had been, of one mean regard otherwife, and carried beyond himself by apprehending the advantage of some opportunity: but Confinement to the King, as hath been shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates King of Pontus*, which was also called *Laudice*, as was her Sister the Queen, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added Majesty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to

respect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, that *Ptolomy of Ægypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battle at *Raphia*: and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrel between sons-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Ægyptian*, he was not only slothful, but hindered by a rebellion of his own subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Ægypt*, of whom *Ptolomy*, contrary to the manner of his progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition; began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferior to such as much as formerly they had done, since they felt themselves, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greeks*: which had hitherto kept them in straight subjection. Thus brake out a War between the King and his Subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolomy* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have been spent, as he thought, much better in revelling: or, as others thought, in favouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no sooner made his peace with the *Ægyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of War against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entered into League with *Attalus*: that so he might distract the forces of his Rebel, and find him work on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had sent up *Achæus* into the City of *Sardis*: where he held him about two years besieged. The City was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first years siege. In the end, one *Lagoras a Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Castle it self was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable: as also the Town-wall adjoining to the Castle, in that part which was called the *Saræ*, was in like manner situate upon steep Rocks, and almost inaccessible; that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carcases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there never wanting, used to fly up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his judgement, and gave unto him the leading of such men, as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The success was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceived, and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and whilst a general assault was made, entered the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the *Persians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardis*: when *Cresus* thought himself secure, on that side. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a loss of many ages past: and there-

fore out of memory. *Achæus* held still the Castles: which not only seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries, and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well affured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to wait much time about it: having none other hope to prevail, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of expectation, his business called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Partians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they still incroached. But he thought it not safe, to let *Achæus* break loose again. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolomy the Ægyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole study, how to deliver this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appear in the Country under *Taurus*, he would soon have an Army at command, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis a Cretian*, that was acquainted well with all the ways in the Country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rocks, whereon the Castle of *Sardis* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of *Ptolomy*, as well as of *Achæus*, to do his best for performance of their desire. He undertook the business: and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arimæus*, a truly messenger, whom *Bolis* found means to convey into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Achæus* held most assured. They all wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Cyphers, wherewith none save he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a truly fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were that he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*: and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the business, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*: under whom he had the command of those *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of *Sardis*. Nevertheless other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himself should come speak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*: which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrymen, * Among these few I do not except one, calling him- self *Edemus*. *John Andrew a Cretan*, who in one of his late famous less Libels, wherein he traduced our King, Religion, and Country, are,) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as (*) *Polybius* observes it, rightly *Critical*: neither concerning the safety of him whose deliverance they undertook, nor

touching the discharge of their own faith: but only how to get most with least ado and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That both of all, they would equally share between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatness of such a service, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no less glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readiness on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arimæus* was to get up into the Castle, and convey *Achæus* thence: He first went with *Cambylus* to speak with the King, who gave him very private audiences; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberal promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolomy*, whom he had long served, he accompanied *Arimæus* up into the Castle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained: yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the business in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity, that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or judgement. He was an old Soldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolomy*, and did not thrust himself into this business; but was invited by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken fair country, in winning (as it seemed) that other Country-man of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already foundry times given fair passage and repassage unto *Arimæus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom, when he received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider what he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose treachery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their plots this, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arimæus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft: and *Bolis* following behind, should have an eye upon *Achæus*, to prevent him, not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arimæus* going before as Guide: the rest following as the way served, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Laudice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his special friends to bear him company. They were all disguised: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue;

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speaking and answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *though he were of Crete, and prone to furnish any thing to the mischief of another*, yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achens*, or whether *Achens* himself were there. The way was very unsafe, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achens*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand that he was the man: and so by their unseasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambyses* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clapped *Achens* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stir. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*, who late up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The light of *Achens*, brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the King, that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betwixt, assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achens* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears, as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Proverb, *Un traidor dos deslejos*. The death of *Achens* brought such astonishment upon those which held the Cattle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the King; where by he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser Asia.

Some years passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: thorthly they fell to *Eumenes*, then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Meds*, to *Seleucus*; under whose prosperity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustful infoleny of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Calinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the *Gauls*, did stir up *Asaces*, a nobleman of the Country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himself King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*. Though prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings, and took *Seleucus Calinicus* prisoner in battle, whom he royalty entertained and dismissed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful King: and by good government of his Country, procured unto himself such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his successors; like as that of the *Pro-*

lumes in Egypt, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging unto the *Soleneads* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with a strong army, that they durst not meet him in plain field; but kept themselves in woods or places of strength, and defended the Straights and passages of mountains. The resistances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him to great a multitude, and so well fortified, as he needed not to turn out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Straights between their mountains; it being easy to spare of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might either get above the enemies heads, or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often employ against them his light armature: wherewith he caused them to disfigure, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Asaces*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own subjects, yet feared to encounter so mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad ways and Defarts would have caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: He caused the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before his face, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himself out of the way; suffering his Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Country: wherein without some Victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, that *Asaces* was nothing thorough provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania*, where he won *Zombrace*, the chief City of that Province. This indignity, the chief City of that Province, caused *Asaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battle. The issue thereof was such as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Asaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiss, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but having gotten the Kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it himself. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battle by the River *Araxes*, where he had the Victory. But the Victory was not so greatly to his honour, as was the testimony which he gave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Army. His horse was slain under him; and he himself received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himself back unto the furthermost parts of his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted the War, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, that a Country of his was unjustly usurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That he had won it from the children of the *Urr-*

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pers: and further, that the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Seythians*, with whom if they should join; it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Ambassador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage, one of his own daughters; and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdom, causing him nevertheless to deliver up his Elephants; as also to bind himself by oath, to such Covenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus*, leaving the *Bactrian* In quiet, made a journey over *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophaganes*, King of the *Indians*, the society that had been between their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained subject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Country. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Westward, and was overburied in a great Civil War: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, stir up his country-men to rebellion; making himself their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himself (having an Army of six hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexanders*: In this estate he had well confirmed himself, ere *Seleucus Nicanor* could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself at the coming of *Seleucus*; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* Kingdoms, was continued by some offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon; by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fifty: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him, which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards in many generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the Western countries. The posterity of *Sandrocottus* is thought to have retained that Kingdom unto the days of *Augustus Cæsar*: to whom *Purus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with presents, and an Epistle written in *Greek*, wherein among other things, he said, That he had command over six hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry Authors, the mention of some which held that Kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophaganes* carried himself as the worthier person, receiving presents, and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in

the higher Asia, but on the higher side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves unto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his own greatness within few years ensuing, by preferring to stand upon points with the *Romans*: whose great Crafts was the same indeed, that his was only in seeming.

SECT. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolomy Philopater in Egypt: with the Tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young child Ptolomy Epiphanes, the son of Philopater. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly srew to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doing, against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.

This expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himself a while; and study which way to convert the error of his pusillance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolomy Philopater* died: leaving his son *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successor in the Kingdom: unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomy* furnished *Philopater*, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to have had that surname given him in meerdiction; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years being newly past, his childhood when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the heedfulness of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any mischief, whereof he could be accused. Having won the battles at *Raphiah*, He gave himself over to sensuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agabecles*. At her instigation, He murdered his own wife and sister; which had adventured her self with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this *Agabecles*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy bawd that was mother unto them both. So strict these governed the Realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the Country, till *Philopater* died; who having reigned seventeen years, left none other son than *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, begotten on *Asione* that was his sister and wife. After the Kings death *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governor of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with *Ptolomy the first*, and would not be accounted *Egyptians*, as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his sister *Agabecles*, with the young King in her arms, began a solemn Oration. He told them, That the deceased Father of this their King, had

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committed the Child into the arms of his Sister: but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole fate of the Kingdom did now rely. He behought them therefore that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King against the Treason of one *Tirolepmus* an ambitious man; who traitorously went about to force the King to the death of his Mother, and to fling her stranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witness, that should justify his accusation against *Tirolepmus*. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained pallion of sorrow, and countesteining tears: the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was, to take so much upon him, as if he knew not so lately how he had abused their faith.

Affirmably that had called it, being feared aware how. *Agaboles* therefore, whom the old King fathers had made mighty, but neither wife nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner; by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He halted out of the Temple the Mother-in-law of *Tirolepmus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumours, and made the people (though she never committed the old Kings sin) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds, wherein they had conceived extrem hate against their three pernicious Mis-governors of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injury done to *Tirolepmus*, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which in way of requital, *Tirolepmus* was likely to do unto the City. For he was thought a man moit cruel. For Government, as he had never proved, yet he had committed the full belovment of the people. It was also then in his power, to flap the provocation of Victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which *Agaboles* used, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He fiercely apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his, to be executed by torture. This poor Souther was taken to the innermost room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel to be tormented. But whilst the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the Minister of *Agaboles*, a fed report of *Tirolepmus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving *Moragates* the Souilder alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, the poor Souilder, who had never before come out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians* who were he found some in a Temple thereby at Dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Privileges, as are the *Turks Janizaries*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to Arms in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, that they would fee the King, and not leave him in possession of so dangerous a man. The whole multitude of the City, who were gathered, made no less ado than the Souilders, though without effect. So the old Bawd *Ononathis* fled into a Temple: her Son and Daughter stayed in the Court, until the King was taken from them, and

they, by his permission, which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. *Agatboles* himself was stabbed to death, by some, which therein did the Office of Friends; though in manner of Enemies. His Sister was dragged naked up and down the Streets; as was also his Mother, with all to them belonging; the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of Justice: biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces,

The troubles in Egypt, I feared well to stir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence, to make War upon young *Pholomy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire to get what he could of the *Chilids* Estate. But it happened well, that *Pholomy* *Philip* in the *Punic* War, which was now newly ended, had done many offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Egyptians* were bound themselves, and craved help against these two Kings: who, though they secretly malign'd one the other; yet had entred into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this *Orphan*: whose Father had been confederate with them both. So t^m *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonians* he was very soon found, busied with War at his own Doors. *Antiochus* the *Seleucid*, being a follower to the *Egyptian*, was first sent into *Greece* to raise an Army of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the beginning of the War with *Philip*, as hath been shewed before. As for *Scopas* he shortly after went up into *Syria* with his Army, to win winning many places, among the reit of which he subdued that of *Antioch*. He had to have yielded themselves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his War, and despair'd of receiving help from *Egypt*. So *Vide Ju-*
it was not long e're all their Victories of Scopas *19th. Ant.*
came to nothing. For the very next year follow-
ing, which was (according to Eusebius) the *Jud. lib. 13.*
same year that Philip was beaten at Cynephsean *cap. 5.*
Antiochus vanquished *Scopas* in battle, and recovered all that he had lost. Among the reit, the *Jews*, with great willingness, returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entertained.

The Land of Egypt, this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a Daughter of his own in Marriage unto *Ptolemy*: either hoping, as may seem, that this Country would willingly submit it self unto him, or else that this young Child should happen to miscarry; or else that he might have some made in the Western parts of Asia, whilst *Ptolemy* was so busied labouring by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greeks*, promising to afford him great advantage, if he should bring to pass what he intended; the great desire to see the fate of Egypt, being such as hath been declared, flamed easily to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jews*, among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yield him obedience. Another while, leaving *Egypt* alone, he was about to make invasion upon *Attalus* his Neighbour.

dom; yet suffered himself easily to be perfwaded by the *Roman* Embassadors, and deſcited from that enterprife. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*, he ſends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect Amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-paſſed, That theſe his Embaſadors were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dil-miſſed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not ſincere; being rather framed and ſet out to regard the Kings good liking than the ſubſtance of the Intent. They had not yett made an end with *Philip*; neither would they gladly be troubled with two great Wars at once. Wherefore, not flanding much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the preſent. In the mean time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and thoroly prepares to win ſome Towns eſcaped, belonging unto *Ptolomy*, yett withall he ſends an Army Weſward, intending to make what profit he can of the ſubſtitution of *Antiochus* to his ſon, who is ſufferable as an argument of his much irrefolution, how, notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he offered one of his Daughters to *Ptolomy*, and another to *Eumenes* the Son of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: ſeeking each of their friendſhips at once and the ſame time, when he fought to make each of them a ſpoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable deſire of Repugnancies, which is a Difcale of great and over-ſwelling-fortunes. Howsoever it was, he ſent an Army of *Saracens* by Land, and two of his ſhips by Sea, to ſeize the ſtroy for him, to whiſt he himſelf, with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other Veſſels, intended to paſs along by the Coaſts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in ſuch places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable act of the *Rhodians*, that, whiſt the War of *Philip* lay yett upon their hands, they adventured upon this Great *Antiochus*. They ſent unto him a proud Embaſſage; whereby they gave him to underſtand, That if he paſſed forward beyond a certain Promontory in *Cilicia*, they would meet with him, and fight with him; nor for any quarrel of theirs, or of the *Romans*, but ſolely for the ſake of *Philip* their Enemy, and to ſave him againſt the *Romans*. It was infinitely done of them, neither ſeemed it otherwiſe, to preſcribe ſuch limits unto the King: yett he tempered himſelf, and without any ſhew of indignation, gave a gentle answer; partly himſelf to their Embaſſadors; partly unto their whole City, by Embaſſadors which he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Anceſtors and them: and willed them not to be affraid, left his coming ſhould tend unto any hurt either to them, or to the *Romans* Moderates. At the ſetting forth the *Romans* whom they ſent, he ſaid: It would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good Friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and welcome to them newly given to his Embaſſadors.

The Rhodians appear to have been a cunning People, and such as could fore-fee what Weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed between his Embassadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed shortly after, that the Macedonian War was ended at the Battle of Cynocephale. They knew that Antioch's his

turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still, unless the Towns on the South Coast of *Affia*, belonging to *Polemey* their Friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had been very beholding to all the Race of the *Pharaohs*. They were in this time of necessity, gave what aid they could to the Jews, and the *Egyptians* in those parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the War that followed between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his Daughters upon him in Marriage: He excused himself, saying, he would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetas*, his Brethren, were also of this mind; but he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make War upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he said, that by abstaining from this affinity, it should be in his power to join with the *Romans*, and strengthen himself greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*, as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so he should be sure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty Neighbour, if he happened to win the Victory.

Antiochus himself wintred about *Ephesus* where he took such order as he thought convenient for reducing of *Synna* and *Lampascus* to obedience; that had usurped their Liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed unto the *Hellespont* where, having won some Towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed over into Asia, and in the most space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence, went he forth into the *Thracian* had gotten and destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* War. The *Asiatics* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference between *T. Quintius*, that he had oppressed *Lysimachus*, by thrusting therein a Garrison. Hereupon *Philip* made answer, That his Garrison did not oppress the Town, but save it from the *Barbarians*: who took and sacked it, as soon as the *Macedonians* were gone. His answer was good and substantial, though it did not satisfy the *Asiatics*, might appear by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lysimachus* at his coming thither. For the Town was utterly rased by the *Barbarians*, and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as also to redeem those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens as were dispersed in the Country thereabout. Likewise he took care to allure thither, by hopeful promises, many Inhabitants, and to repopulate it with wanted people. Now, to the end that *Antiochus* should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*: he took a Journey in hand against those barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half to repair the City. These pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient situation, and former glory of *Lysimachus*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and establish the Dominion of those parts which he had lost. *Antiochus* the *Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdom of greater extent than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition

he shall dearly pay: and as after that Victory against *Lysimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdom, founded by *Seleucus*, ensue very speedily after the re-conquest of the same Country, which was the last of *Seleucus* his Purchases.

SECT. IV.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their War with Philip: after which they quarrel with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his Enemies, and by the Romans. His flight unto the King Antiochus. The Ætolians murmur against the Romans in Greece. The War of the Romans and Achæans, with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius his Triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

FOR the Romans, though they were unable to smother their desire of War with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their Friends and by their Enemies: yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on Foot, which they meant shortly to make good. Of this intended War, so long as they wanted matter of guards; whereof they were furnished, by this catastrophe of the Kings about *Lysimachus* was not long, since King *Antalus*, a Friend and helper of the Romans in his War with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speak for him, because the one of these Kings was held no less a Friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards pass between them any other offices, than very Friendly. *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Invasion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was whilst as yet they were busied with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptance: as they did in outward show. But when the Macedonian War was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Clients unto the Romans: then was all this good correspondence changed into terms of war, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsellors sent from Rome, requested (as hath been shewed before) with a commination of War, this Kings gratulation of their Victory: as also his long professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto Peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree. That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*, and the rest, where occasion served, diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome unmindful of the business; wherein, left *T. Quintius*, with his ten

Alliasts, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging. *L. Cornelius* was sent from Rome, of purpose to deal with the King about those controversies, that were between him and *Psolomy*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embassy. For coming to *Selybria*: and there understanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having been sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*. He hastened thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsellors from *Bargilia*, to be present at the Conference. *Heghanax* and *Lysia* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those preumptory Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound unto their Master. After a few days *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these Romans, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from Rome: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliver back unto *Psolomy* those Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly. That he must also give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the Romans, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that War, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Army into Europe: for that other cause of his Journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make War upon the Romans: To this the King made answer, That he wondered, why the Romans should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of Asia: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone: even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in Italy what they thought good. As for his coming over into Europe: they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely, the War against the barbarous *Thracians*: the re-building of *Lysimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging in *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title unto that Country, he derived it from *Seleucus*: who made Conquest thereof, by his Victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversy belonged to him and the other Kings, had been fill of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians: but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindered by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*: since it was his purpose to bestow this City upon one of his Sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in Asia: either against the free Cities, or against the King of Egypt: since it was his meaning to make the free Cities belonging unto himself, and to join a tie long with *Psolomy*, not only in Friendship, but in a Bond of near Affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refuse it, would needs hear further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and *Lampisac*, whom he had there with him, could

could say for themselves. The Embassadors of the *Lampisac* being called in, began a tale, wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the Romans, as it were before competent Judges, *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as he had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held some few days, without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the War by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well fatished, and thereby to corroborate the present Peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous *Galle-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their Swords: nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the Greek an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was weary of these tedious Gueils: that would take no answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain Author, That *Psolomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the Romans, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into Egypt: *Antiochus* to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from Rome Embassador both to *Antiochus* and to *Psolomy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his Egyptian Voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in Egypt with the first. To his Son *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to oversee the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of Peace, after such sort as might stand with honesty, and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his Voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Psolomy* was alive. This made him bear another way from Egypt: and afterwards a Tempel, with a grievous Shipwreck, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Selybria*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: to secure as might appear, of the Roman War.

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had been sent unto the Macedonian, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted unto him by the Romans, but to declare society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same Friends and Enemies, and this he advised him to do quickly, before the War had brake out with *Antiochus*: lest otherwise he might, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the Greek were solicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the People of Rome. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the forward answer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They com-

plained, that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the Victory, as they had been during the War. They that so complained, were the most moderate of them. Others cried out, that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withall the Romans, as men to them beholding: not only for their Victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they never could have done. Hereto the Roman gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs: and then should all be well.

Such care took the Romans in Greece, for their War intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriving at Carthage, gave matter unto the Enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the Roman Senate, and to chafe out of their City this honourable Man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his virtue against them in the Civil Administration: and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the way in Carthage: holding their places during life: and having subject unto them, the Lives, Goods, and Fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that whofo offended any of them, should have them all to be his Enemies: which being once known, He was sure to be soon accused and condemned. In this their important rule of the City, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By virtue of which Office, though he was superior unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual Magistrature, as at the years end must be accountable unto them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore tending for one of the Quætors, or Officers of the Treasury, to come and speak with him: the proud Quæstor set lightly thereby, and would not come: For he was of the adverse Faction to *Hannibal*: and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the Spirit of future Greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* felt for him by a Purfivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publick Assembly of the People. There he not only shewed, what the undutiful stubbornness of this Quæstor had been; but how unsufferable the insolvency of all the Judges at the present was: whose unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magistratures. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable: He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the general good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been passed, before he passed over *Theris*: it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hannus*, to have brought him unto acceffity of reforming another grievance concerning the Roman Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levy by Taxation, laid upon the whole Commonality, as wanting money in their publick Treasury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* confiding in this, began to examine the publick Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into

into the Treasury, by ways and means whatsoever: and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasury, but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the moneys to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needful burdens. Hereof he made fuch plain demonstration, That these Robbers of the common Treasury were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knavery: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making fuch poor shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own Estate. But as the virtue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extremely: as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in arms. Questionless, if oppressing the City by injustice, and robbing the Treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: that Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out. That having done their best labour to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than War. But having no other matter to allege, than their own inventions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed; That secret messages passed between him, and *King Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to *Carthage's* with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, every that was of his own friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators: they wrought so well, that neither public notice of their Conspiracy was taken at *Carthage*: nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress, by fuborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in fuch base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some fuch advantage against *Hannibal*: and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whose very names imports sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having pass'd the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming: and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Maffiniffa*. But *Hannibal* had kept good efpial upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It was enough to say, That he escaped them by flight; but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particulars. Having openly shewed himself, as

was his manner, in the place of assembly, He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination: though fuch as he might well trust. He had appointed Horles to be in a readiness at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea-side. There had he a ship furnished with all things needful; as having long expected the necessity of some fuch journey. So he bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his own. Passing over to the Isle of *Cercina*: He found there in the Haven some *Merchants* ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectfully: and the chief among them began to enquire, whether he was bound. He said, He went Embassador to *Tyre*: and that he intended thence in the Island to make Sacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be used instead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleep: and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was fure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to find any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassador: neither could they, without some loss of time, fuch of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*, being buſied a while in fitting their tackle. As *Carthage*, the misis of so great a person was diversely construed. Some guessed right, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen; and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of the Senate: mistaking the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrant*, by reason of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*: and finding the King departed, visited his Son in *Daphne*: who fiently welcomed him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoiced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry: otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Country. For it would not prove alike ease unto this great Commander to make fuch Soldiers of base *Affatiquers*; as it had been by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations, that were hardly, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being to extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithal considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his flatterers, and a thousand other

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fuch vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the virtue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions, wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him less careful to avoid the war; then should it further serve, to justify the *Romans* in their quarrel. And seems indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making war. *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Arms, unless by meer violence he were thereto enforced. Only the *Ætolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appease them; they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten Councillers, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should ask. But this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their Embassadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing: but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves, otherwise than by speaking fuch words, as might hasten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very shame, who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome*, was, of War with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the rest of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear: but yet brighter and fairer than those of the *Macedonian*: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the Legs of the *Greeks* their chain, and tie about their Necks. There was indeed no cause of carrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him, all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Country, at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it self. As for *Antiochus*, He made it his daily suit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, fuch as it was, might be confirmed and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Nevertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize upon *Greece*, as soon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained still in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Aceronion*: by benefit of which Towns, he might the better withstand the dangerous Invasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius*, were the reports of the ten Embassadors, that had been sent over to alight him; when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionless fall upon *Greece*: wherein he should find not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do somewhat against these their suspected Enemies: especially against

Nabis, who could worst make resistance: whilst *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intensive to his business. These reports went not on by current through the City among the Vulgar; but found fuch credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprife in hand: *P. Cornelius Scipio* the African, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be General in the War, against the King and his *Hannibal*. For the present, the business with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tardiance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be sorry: though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entered into friendship with him, two or three years before this, as is already shewed; whilst he had war with *Philip*: and had further been contented for the *Romans* sake to be at peace with the *Ætolians*: neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himself this War. He was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Ætolians*: as one, that besides his own wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme wherewith to discourse the Embassadors of all the Confederate Cities, which he caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them that in the War with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themselves had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stir them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other Interest, than only the making perfect of their Honour, in setting all *Greece* at Liberty: which Noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the Noble City of *Argos* was left in subjection to a Tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken: or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themselves. The *Athenian* Embassador made answer hereto thus very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was said: extolled their Vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of their propolition: wherein unrequited they freely made offer to continue that Bounty, which at the vehement request of their poor Associates they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, That great pity it was to hear fuch notable Vertue and high Deeds ill spoken of by some: which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretell what harm these their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as thankfulness would rather have required an Acknowledgement of the Benefits and Pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Ætolians*: wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* rose up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in those times when their City had

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been the Leader of all Greece, for defence and recovery of the Liberty general: from which Honour they were now to be fallen, that they became Parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base affection, would lead all the rest into servitude. Then spake he against the *Acheans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonians*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adversity. These, he said, had gotten *Corinth*, and must now have War be made for their fakes, to the end that they might also be Lords of *Argo*: whereas the *Aetolians*, that had first made War with *Philip*, and always been Friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus content himself, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrius*, *Chalcis*, and the *Agroecornith*; having been always wont to profits, That Greece could never be at Liberty, whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seek by this discourse of War with *Nabis*, than businesses wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But they should do well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of Greece, which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Aetolians* themselves did promise, and would undertake, That they would either cause him to fly to reason, and relinquishing *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compel him by force of Arms, to submit himself to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at unity. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common Liberty wrought so much with these *Aetolians*; did their own ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worse would use it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which *Philip* had lost. Neither could they well defendible this; making it no small part of their Grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in possession of the *Aetolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the *Acheans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right, but the *Aetolian* thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Aetolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. He cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsellors which had been sent unto him from *Rome*, to be his Alliants in these matters of weight, were now returned home, and that without them it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedemonian* War, it was very soon ended. For *Titus* used the help of all his Confederates, and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should have had to do with *Philip*. Besides the

Roman Forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navy, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the Service: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land, doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*; or whether to make one among the number, in seeking Revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Acheans*, who let out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Aetolians*, rather to hold good fashion, and found their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their help was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Acheans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in Greece: having removed the *Aetolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all halves) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedemonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wife, began a conspiracy against the *Lacedemonians*: that held their Town; meaning to open their Gates unto the *Romans*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and slain: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no fire within the Walls: the execution done upon the first movers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assail *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedemon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof fine the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the War should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an Army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his own Country, but such as were of all others the worst, as manumitted slaves, malefactors and base Peasants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficial. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly, and compelling them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treasons: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course to arrest before hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not only the City and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourscore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else do than terrify the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it self unto some poor wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flee to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and slain. Having thus af-

frighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a saluety: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at first; but were at length repelled with loss. *Titus* abode not many days before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country, hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battle. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid siege unto *Gythium*, the only or principal Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Governours within the Town equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or desire of reward, had the purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithful, due the Traitors after whose death, he himself alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gythium*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might do for him, but was contented to give up the place, yet upon Condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the Son-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his Wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government; with a thousand Souldiers, Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argives*: it being (as may seem) the Tyrants purpose, to relieve *Gythium*, which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to think upon finishing the War, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassador to *Titus*: requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parley the Tyrant spake very reasonable for himself: proving, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments: whereof the sum was, That whatsoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of older date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for this keeping the Town of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alleged, they ought to make war upon him, since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their own need of him, from entering into that League with him: which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with tyranny; and gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him, it was expedient, that some other cause of this Invasion should be alleged. Wherefore he said further, that this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to join with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but also in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom he had long held War: it may seem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those

complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this Tyrant: and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it seems that *Antiochus*, the Father of the *Acheans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans* (that were wont to talk so much of their own justice, honour, and faithful dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong: framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his own estate: and to settle his fortunes, whilst he might do it without hazard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happiness, as private men. Thus they discouraged until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*, and requested them, to deliver to him in writing their other commands, that he might take counsel with his friends. The issue of all was, that, in regard of the charges whereof the Confederates must be for maintenance of an Army to lie in League all that Winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon such Conditions as *Titus* should think meet. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounding many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the *Lacedemonians* to have ought to do in the Isle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Island or elsewhere; not to build any Town or Castle upon his own Lands: not to keep any other shipping, than two small Barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next ensuing. For observance of these Covenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himself should name: and one of them to be the Tyrant's own Son. It had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the War from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded upon justice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in Greece, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have been prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themselves by the spoil of one that had not offended them; nor pleasing to the *Acheans*, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister unto the *Aetolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be Patrons of Greece, no barren subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countries or Towns in Greece, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought

very strange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the most famous City among all the *Greeks*; was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as his friend and Confederate, *Nabis* on the other side thought himself unmercifully dealt withal, by the self-same *Romans*, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful war, before the love and affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But fallily had he dealt with the *Macedonian*; and fallily was he dealt with by those to whom he dealt himself. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, save only that for the banished *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Agæopolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child was driven out by *Lycurgus* the first of the Tyrants; there was made no provision, to have them restored unto their City and Estates; but only leave required for as many of their Wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give content unto these demands; and sustained an assault or two, hoping belike that the enemies would soon be weary. But his fearful nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these injustices had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hostages, and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himself, and was ready upon the first advantage, to do them all the mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This creded them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to set upon the Garrison, which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to help the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly should set their hands to the getting of it, which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintus* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold without flaying for him; and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Council of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achaïans* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business, or none wherewith to set on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassy to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, *Scipio* and the *African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not have his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The unforcible meaning of *Antiochus* and the tumultuous disposition of the *Ætolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard; yet not sufficient causes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of thoroughly perswading all the *Greeks*

(which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Country was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it self, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near distance appearing, he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsels, touching the moderate use of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Lastly he gave up *Acercombus* to the *Achaïans* withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be known, what years the *Ætolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retain those places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* testify their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done; as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransom and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been sold into their Country by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* Crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end; and by leaving the Country before his departure, was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his virtue and benefits, untainted by jealousie and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph, which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three daies together the shew of the pomp continued: as being set out with the spoils of a Country, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made war. All sorts of Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of Brass or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first daies Pageant. The second day, was brought in all the treasure of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Mass unwrought, some in divers sorts of Coins; and some in Vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten fields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himself entered the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice, the Prisoners, and the hostages; among which, *Demetrius* the Son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the Son of *Nabis*, were Principal. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the shew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*; whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintus*, and the ten that had been his Counsellors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the *Rome* Embassadors wondered. They said unto *Titus* and his Associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their mes-

lage.

For all treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the Victor and the vanquished; or between those, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those, that had lived always in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield; and patently endure the imposition of some Covenant, that else might seem unreasonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it usual to demand and make restitutions of things and places claimed, gotten or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be propounded: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their own; and neither carry it self as superior to the other, in preferring ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should think fit. Hereto *Quintus* answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, He would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to except; Either that it should be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Asia* with any that should seek their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* disliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstain from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*, then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that fought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lysimachia*, wherein he had of late been at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundation, and re-peopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been dispersed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alleged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans* but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour the *Romans* took upon them as if their cause were far the superior. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those Towns which the King would oppress and hold in subjection; especially since those Towns were of *Greekish* blood and language; and fell, in that regard under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* betwixt. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* King of not many subjects on the hither side of *Eubœra*. Neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not only to protect those which relied upon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his subjects. Where-

fore they urged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of their two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving present defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be intreated, and were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether their demands made by *Quintus* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years; or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

SECT. V.

Of the long Wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Cato. Injuries done by Maffianiffa to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.

THE *Insulrians*, *Boians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often (in a manner) continual war upon the *Romans* in Italy, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, until such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of the Empire. These Nations, having served under *Mago* for wages; and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a Carthaginian, to be Leader unto them all, as hath been shewed, by this their fellowship in Arms, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldom afterwards either the *Gauls* or *Ligurians* did stir alone; but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possession in *Gallia Cisalpina*; now *Ch. 2. p. 8.* called *Lumbarie*: it hath been long since rehearsed in the first and second *Punic Wars*. As *Book* also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Country, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war, had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*: that always made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Country was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had: but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken or besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoil their Land. In these respects, they served exceedingly well to train up the *Roman* Soldiers to hardness and military patience: teaching them (besides other ex-

cerdies of War) to endure much, and live content with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gauls*, their neighbours and companions: partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obdurate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages: To be friends or foes, by custom, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such virtue in Leagues, and to acknowledge no such conclusion of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them and any of their neighbours, do use commonly this answer, *It hath till been the custom for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

Divers overthrowes, though none that were great, these *Liguriens* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more and greater they received. Often they fought peace, when they found themselves in distress, and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Country was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Country they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Ox-side; and the *Romans* themselves found in it the property of that Ox-side which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Emblem of his large Dominions. For trading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen that those parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay farthest, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hard Nation, and easily stirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good Captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hindrance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signories, that had little other communication than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And there were the causes of their often overthrowes: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, to make evacuation of this Choleric *Spanish* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Soldiers from one part of the Country, and used them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raised upon the whole Country; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwise, the *Romans*, using the service of their own Legions, and of their sur-

rounds the *Latins*, had little business for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and withall too great for them to send over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain such Armies in the Country, as might serve to hold in obedience perforce; and such heedful Captains as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did, and thereby held the Country; though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised War in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same general ground, as that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while help the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; barely forgetting to help themselves against those that were Drangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Country, being well acquainted with the manner of War in those parts, suppressed this rebellion by many Victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the Country, which lasted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War: yet left it still remaining the cause of the War; which after five years brake out again.

The *Spaniards* fought a battle with the *Roman* Pro-consul, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their Wars in Greece, made the *Romans* think it enough to fend thither two Pretors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the year following, and sent unto that Province, found at his coming little else to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: some were faithful to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chieftest of them, they rose against him in many parts of the Country, and put him unto much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued; some of the lately vanquished, were even ready to rebel. He therefore dismissed them; which they took so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding that such desperation might work dangerous effects: He called unto him the principal among them: and commanding unto them peace and quietness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great loss. He prayed them to devise what course might be taken for holding them assured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counsel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject: He gave express charge. That upon a day appointed they should throw down the Walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carried the war about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their Countrymen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed,

seemed, with a jest. That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing: whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War to so good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publick Revenues in that Province, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the commonwealth by a virtue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or publick. Many books he wrote; whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Husbandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his subsistence; being of a mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the ancient laudable Customs of the City: wherein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the virtue of that noble *Scipio* the *African*, and some other worthy men, that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, he was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved business for well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himself, or accusing others. For at the age of four-score and six years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accused *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family, which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato the Orator*: one that being of like virtue and fervency, had all his good purposes done, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such nobility and greatness as his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many: and the Country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Pretors therefore, of which two every year were sent over Commanders unto *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One flew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a battle: another took fifty Towns: and a third enforced many States of the Country to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of Men, Towns, and People, new that rebelled, instead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, That the business in *Spain* required not the employment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* there departed, untill the

Numantian War broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barthine* House promised all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient City: *Masaniassa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syrus*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Country the *Numidian* challenged, and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to allege, if the Judges had been impartial. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Country: *Masaniassa* himself, now very lately pursuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himself to pass through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniassa* had herewith to justify his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadors, what faithless people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto him from *Hannibal*, one that should persuade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon some supposition of his fraud; yet neither arresting him nor his ship had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidians* concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebel; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Country of *Emporia*: it had always, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime unto the *Numidian* Kings: though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were known, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrentable title unto any more ground, than that whereon their City stood: or scarcely so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africa*, that had gotten leave there to build up on so much ground, as they could encompass with an Ox-side cut into small throngs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This considered, *Masaniassa* requested of the Senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Country sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly, they sent over three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio the African* was one of the chief, to decide the controversy: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Masaniassa* with a strong Army should quickly

quickly prevail against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from stirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereby any disposition; but were prepared by little and little, unto their final destruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

SECT. VI.

The Ætolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, to War upon the Romans, by whom they hold themselves wronged and disaffected. Nabis besiegeth Gytheum, and wasting some part of Achaia. The exact skill of Philopœmen in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquisheth Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace of the Romans, joins with the Ætolians. The Ætolians surprize Demetrius, and by killing Nabis, their Confederate, seize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopœmen his persuasions annex themselves to the Achæans.

ALL Greece being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks*; were not quite disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have satisfied them, if their desires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not to be pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly defeated, wherein they thought that they had unfeignedly wrong. Wherefore they deviled, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves; and give the *Romans* forrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concerning all in one sentence; That they would not only perswade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, to join all together in a new Confederacy: whose joyned forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the *Romans* *Achæans*, *Rhodiens*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well becoming them, for they were great carcers. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with persuasions, as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute, and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courtes, *Nabis* the *Lacedemonian*,

who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet threw himself of all other the most forward; and not flaying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege unto *Gytheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had committed the Affairs of *Laopœnia*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have flaid long from repeating his violence by open war; had not some of them thought it wisdom to ask Counsel of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintus*, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilit thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were advised by *Quintus*, to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* Forces, that would shortly be amongst them; *Nabis* was bold to give juster cause of complaint, by waiting their own Territory.

Philopœmen was then the Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been absent in *Greece*; making War there, for his minds sake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans*, retired themselves, giving him leave to over the War at his pleasure; either staying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve *Gytheum* by Sea; fearing lest the Town, and the *Achæan* Garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But *Philopœmen* was so bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a strong Ship from rotten. He made a *Quadrime* Gally his Admiral, that had four score years agoe been counted a gallant Vessel in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatus*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedemonians*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himself to a light Pinnace or Brigantine, that fought better with her Wings, than with her Talons. For his Admiral Gally was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and took in water so fast, that she was fain to yield without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admiral, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation, he said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the siege of *Gytheum*, to stop the *Achæans*, if they should invade his Country. But upon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; that *Nabis* would have been ready for them to loom. Or if he should come from *Gytheum* with any part of his Forces: yet was it thought that he must over-take them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost secretly, in a long troop, reaching some five miles; having Horle, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custom of *Philopœmen*, when he walked, or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the Country about him; and to discourse what might befall an Army marching the same way. He would suppose, that having with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and forced in such manner, and marching towards

such

such a place; he were upon that ground encountered by a greater Army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the question, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? What piece of Ground it were meet for him to seize upon? and what manner he might best do it? In what fort he should order his men? Where below his Carriages, and under what Guard? In what fort encamp himself? And which way march the day following. By such continual meditation he was grown so perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himself and his followers: At this time he made a stand: and having drawn up his Kere, He encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His Baggage with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rock; encompassing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the ways bad, and the day almost quite spent; so *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereunto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was first to minister the like occasion of skirmish. *Philopœmen* understood this; and laid an ambush in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpose to get between *Nabis* and *Lacedemon*, whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withal encourage the People to take Arms for the Recovery of their Freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some Companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not so to be beguiled. Heatly won the Camp, and gave chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopœmen* conceived a right, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and save themselves when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all those of his light armature, which had followed the chase whilit it was day, he led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto *Lacedemon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopœmen* Camp great store of lights; thought that all had been at rest; and therefore adventured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty days together after this, did *Philopœmen* waste the Country round about, whilit *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embassadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintus* among them, labouring to make their party strong against *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be solicited by the *Ætolians*. Very fair countenance they also made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever he thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore unto him his Son: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receive other favours at their hands;

and regain possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for War against *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whilit their Embassadors that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage between *Ptolomy* and his Daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* ne King's Son, which hapned during the Treaty, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King from giving audience in person to the Embassadors; caused them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their answer as at their letting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to pass during their abode in *Ephesus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livy* rather think) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discouraged often with him, and blamed him for having thus tied unto *Antiochus* upon a causeless suspicion wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his virtue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded one, Which of all the famous Captains that had lived, *Hannibal* judged to be the most worthy? So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the first place: to *Pyrrhus* the second: and the third he challenged unto himself. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better than that it ought to be forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldst thou have said of *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the first place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto himself. Now whether this were to or otherwise, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to use his counsel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly desired him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; he easily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to swear at the Altar, when he was a little Boy, that he should never be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain firmities: but to know thus much, that so long as he thought upon War with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* do him all good service; whereas contrariwise, if he intended to make peace, then should it behoove him to use the counsel of some other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their Friends, were less busie all this while, in making their party strong against the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in murthering out their friends in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vanquishing much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the Victory against *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the *Roman* Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He understood the *Romans* and himself too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own Forces to the uttermost: as knowing that all the burthen must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilit they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated

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them to a resolution, the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, forth their vehemency a little; by exhorting them not to conclude faintly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready Answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion, *Titus* hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the *Romans*, it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panathenium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a *Charnage-field*, on which to the ruin of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Mastery: the *Aetolians*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming *the Sticklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do, to send Embassadors to *Rome*. This should either plead their Right in the Senate, or (if their Right upon the place which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to fight the World in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said or could say, it skill'd not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and lay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words; that by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they desired: either as their Right, or else by way of Favour. For with such Terms had they been sealed once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This was only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore, without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus* the Great should be intricated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide the Controversies depending between the *Romans* and the *Aetolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor to let him see a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know. If he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the River of *Tibris*, Gentler words would have done better, as the *Aetolians* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the War they referred unto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a General Assembly. The *Apolloni* (so were the privy Council of *Aetolia* called) went as hotly to work, as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a Plot how to

get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden; entring some of them as Friends, to conduct home a principal man of the City: who for speaking words against *T. Quintus*, had been driven to flee thence; but was by intercession of those that loved him, again recalled. His *Aetolian* Companions, that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereto they let in a Troop which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it self against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this Hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as Enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*, who more insolently domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetoric they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the Towns-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was slight. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good Friend was Lord of the Town, fighting himself King, but more truly by all Men called Tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopemen* had lately given him: since he durst not stir abroad; and daily expected the mischief that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore he sent Messengers, one after another, to the *Aetolians*: requesting them, That as he had not been flow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to find him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, That the ravenous *Aetolians* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now; For since *Nabis* his Mercenary Forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, and by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* unto themselves. To this purpose they sent either *Alexameneus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by *Demetrius* the Prætor, brought into the Council of the *Apolloni*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make War with the *Acheans*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexameneus* should command them: which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexameneus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words, telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were, like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this Great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the

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Antiochus, he bid that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the Forces that they could raise: But that they were very delicious at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could, before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the City; and train them without the Walls: as if shortly he should employ them in work of Conquest, rather than Defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field: riding up and down with this *Alexameneus*, and no more than three or four Horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexameneus* made it his fashion, to step aside alone to his *Aetolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aside to his thirty Horsemen, and bade them remember the task enjoyed them at their sitting forth; telling them, That they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexameneus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirty *Aetolians* never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where, instead of seeking revenges, they stood foolishly grazing as beholders. *Alexameneus* with his *Aetolians*, halted into the City, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Town, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was shortly in Arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal Stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his Children, whom they mounted upon a good Horse, and made him their Chief. So they fell upon the *Aetolians* that were idly straggling about; and put them all to the Sword. *Alexameneus* with not many of his Company, were slain in keeping the Citadel: and those few that escaped thence into *Acadria*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them as bond-slaves. In this doubtful estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopemen* came thither: who calling out the chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them as *Alexameneus* had done after he had slain the Tyrant: easily persuaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Acheans*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Aetolians*: and the small, but effectual travel of *Philopemen*, the *Acheans* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedæmon* that had hitherto been governed by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the Member of a Common-wealth, wherof the Name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

Antiochus, performed by *Thoas* the *Aetolian*, comes over into *Greece* ill attended. *Sundry passages between him, the Aetolians, Chalcidians, and others. Lewis Chalcis, and thereby the whole Isle of Eubœa. The vanity of the Kings Embassadors and the Aetolians, with the civil Answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Acheans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired Peace between the Romans and Antiochus, as the best assurance of their own Liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of Ammander's, and an idle vanity by which King Philip was lost. Hannibal groves good counsel in vain. Some Towns won in Thessaly. The King retires to Chalcis, where he marrieth a young Wife, and reveals away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming of the Roman Consul, all forsake Antiochus. He with two Thousand Aetolians, keeps the Straights of Thermopylae. He is beaten, and flies into Asia: leaving all *Greece* unto the Victor.*

Antiochus was troubled much in *Asia*, with *Syneira* and *Lampfacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him: and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he delicious with all speed convenient, to shew himself in *Greece*: where he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the Country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affections unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in Arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a Chain, desiring nothing more, than to break loose: and that the *Aetolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this, the least part was true. Yet that which was true, made such a noise, as added credit to all the rest. Whilst therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, there to mock the *Romans*, and to give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Aetolian* came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his Country-men had already taken *Demetrius*, a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed to break the greatness of his virtue and fortune. This did deliver to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his Forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the Kings Service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said that the King should as greatly feel the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable

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Commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the time had miscarried under one of meaner quality: whereas, nevertheless, if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion that such a renowned Warriour should be always nearer unto the Kings Person, to give advice: which being followed, as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the sovereign Command, even of the King himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the Vertue, that shined brighter than the Majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then, or after thought upon.

Presently after this, He made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a riotous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Aegean* Sea, He came to *Demetrius*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnesian*; the fame whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrius*; was now the chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Country-men, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this, and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, That the *Magnesian* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*; they saw three hundred Ships; of which no more than forty were serviceable for the Wars, with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horses, and six Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would do so; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met with him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Council, he made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his good will: in that he said not to make all things ready, but halted unto their aid, even whilst the season was unfit for Navigation. Yet it should not be longer, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and all the Sea-Coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any Charge, Travel, or Danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their Authority out of Greece, leaving the Country free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the Chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all Provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be any way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs treat them, having thus lately come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessities, that they would help him with Corn and other Victuals, wherof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion where-

of was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) that they would yield unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their Forces. Here we may observe how vain a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a business of dangerous importance, upon the promised assistance of a State that is merely popular. For if the vehemency of *Thous*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council; the *Ætolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their Friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thous*, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom *Thous* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen General of all their Forces: and thirty Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. These armed such, as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrius*. With these he halted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the Chief Citizens, issued forth to parley with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, fit Greece at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said, would never be obtained; until by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several Estate had where to find redress, of any prejudice. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them only, so to join with them in League, as that if either the *Romans* or He should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redress at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they spoke of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the *Greeks*: forasmuch as none of them paid any Tribute, was kept under by any Garrison, or lived otherwise than by their own Laws, and without being tied unto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered why the King should thus trouble himself to deliver Cities that were already free. But since he and the *Ætolians* requested their friendship; they besought both him and the *Ætolians*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed:

parted: for he was not as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither, a great power, which terrified them, and made them yield: before all the succours could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the rest of the Island shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Soldiers, that came over late to have defended *Chalcis*, repulsed themselves at *Delion*; a little Town of *Ætolia*, lying over against the Island: where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the privilege of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they thought cause, without fear of any danger; as being in such a place, and no War hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himself in many vain Treaties of Peace, took advantage of their carelessness, and used them with all extremity of War. Very few of them escaped; fifty were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat *Ænanius* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more just cause than before, to make War upon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of Greece; in hope, that his reputation should persuade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reformed themselves until he should come among them: knowing that either if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to rise: or if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just fear, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off, joyed within him in true meaning, like the *Eleans*, that always favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Acheans*. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the *Acheans* to his party. Nevertheless he assayed them upon a vain hope, that the envy which *Titus* was said to bear unto *Philopemenus* virtue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Council at *Aginum*, that spared not brave words, if the *Acheans* would have been so taken. The Kings Embassadors told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming; reckoning up the *Dacians*, *Medians*, *Elymians*, and *Cadusians*: names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought the more terrible. Then they held them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydoniens*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money, and all war-like furniture: it was, he said, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Asia* had always thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late War made with *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful King, that for the liberty of Greece, was come from the utmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Acheans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilst he took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Ambassador, and further added, That in the Battle at *Cynephalea*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Soldiers: but that both he and his Army had been there destroyed, had they not been protected

by virtue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Council, and heard this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have been desired. He told the *Acheans*, That neither the Kings Embassador, nor the *Ætolian*, did greatly labour to persuade those unto whom they addressed their Orations, as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even such brags as here they made before the *Acheans*, who knew them to be Lyars, had the *Ætolians* also made unto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the Victory over *Philip* to be merely their Act; and the whole Country of Greece to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they been flattered by the King, with such tales as his Embassador told even now, of *Dacians*, *Aradians*, and *Elymians*, and many others; that were all but a company of Syrians, such as were wont to be sold about for Bond-slaves, and good for little else. These divers names of rascal People, were he said, like to the diversity of *Venison*, wherewith a Friend of his at *Chalcis*, (no such Vaunter as were these Embassadors) had sometimes flattered him. For all that variety, whereat he wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; that so many pieces of one tame Swine, do oft after several names, with variety of favours. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgement of the Great King by his present doing. He had, notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him: for which little Army he was slain in a manner to buy Victuals of the *Ætolians*: and take up money at *Utiary* to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Country; from *Demetrius* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrius* again. These were the Fruits of his: wherewith, since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded others; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much persuasion is needless. The *Acheans* did not love so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest objects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between these two Nations grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in the story fore-going. Now have they gotten each their Partisans; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwittingly: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of Greece, and left the Country at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an Army thither again. And in this respect ought the *Greeks* to have fought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampacus* might recover their Liberty, (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Country, as two Seas by an *Isthmus*, or neck of Land, might be kept from overflowing the Bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pre-
tence

tenue for their seeking to make free those bare *Astiatiques*, who originally were *Greeks*; but the general applause, wherewith all the Nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take Arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* could have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising jointly to assist the *Romans* with their whole Forces both by Land and Sea, whenever *King Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Country, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Acheans* were at this time, in a manner the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their Friends and Benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides: or if somewhat, as did the *Thebans*, were firm against *Antiochus*, yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his Enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Bacchantes* willingly received him, as soon as he entered upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Antinander* the *Athensian*, besides his old friendship with the *Aetolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the Daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an ill-headed man, and vaunted himself to be defended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two Sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these Brethren, accompanied his Sister to the poor Court of *Athens*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Aetolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high Parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his Forefather: it was for their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling them herunto, it behoved him to draw *Antinander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by persuasions of himself or of his Sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own phrensy, in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his Subjects: or whether from some vanity in *King Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his Friends, than he. *Antinander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynosephala*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*, whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedonians* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but *King Philip* took it in high indignation, as intended merely unto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*: and gave them to understand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them whereinsoever they should be pleased to use him.

The *Etolians*, *Magnetians*, *Enbassians*, *Bacchantes*, and *Athensians*, having now all joined with him: *Antiochus* took counsel of them about the prosecution of the War in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessaly*, that would not hearken to his persuasions: or whether to let all alone until the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his own sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could allege: as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had been long call'd off, as a Vessel of no use, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the fame which he would have spoken, had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bacchantes*, and other their good Friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than to many poor Elites, that wanting force of their own, did adjoin themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest for the present: and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alleging the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behooveful to win *King Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to re-coyle, and forsake them all at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to sustain the *Roman* War with his proper Forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily persuaded to join with them, the benefit likely to redound unto himself, by their society, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope: For, Gid He, These *Etolians* here present, and namely, this *Thos* being lately *Embassador* from them into *Asia*, among other motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us that *Philip* was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly influence of the *Romans*: likened that King to some wild Beast, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so: let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty, and satisfy his angry stomach, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoove us to look unto him; that he may not seek to please his good masters the *Romans*, by offending us. Your Son *Seleucus* is now at *Lysimachia*, with part of your Army: if *Philip* will not hearken to your Embassy; let *Seleucus* be in readiness to fall upon *Macedon*, and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning *Philip*, and the present War in *Greece*. But now, regarding the managing of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarked against the *Romans*, I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then given ear, the *Romans* by this time should have heard other news, than that *Chalcis* in *Euboea* was become ours. Italy and Gaul should have been on fire with War, and little to their comfort, they should have understood, that *Hannibal* was again come into Italy. Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Army hither: (but in any case let *Seleucus* be laden come along with them, laden with Hosts of Vintners: For, at the case now stands, we have here

too few hands and too many mouths) Wherefore let the one half be employed against Italy, whiffy you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affairs of *Greece*, and therewithal make countenance; as if you were even ready to follow us into Italy: yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice: who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all sorts of War, yet how to war with the *Romans*, I have been instructed by long experience, both in their cost and mine own. Of this Council which I give, I promise you my faithful and diligent service for the execution: but what Counselsoever you please to follow, I will in any way be proffered. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said, he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into *Asia*: to make all things ready there. In the mean while they went in hand with *Thessaly*: about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa* that was chief of the Country, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a *Roman* Pro-pretor, did send help thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himself enemy unto *Antiochus*, whereby the fame of the succour coming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountain tops afar off: thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been coming upon him. Therefore excusing himself by the time of the year: He brake up his Siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, Daughter unto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon War in hand. His great Men and Captains followed his example; and the Souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his Army had passed the Winter. But *M. Atilius* *Galericus*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from his looseness of nocturnal Revels, by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Atilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio* *Nafica*. The War against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise, He was no way so honourable, as *Nafica*, his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far less credit and importance. *Nafica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long since, in time of the *Punic* War, Crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate for very fear and desperation, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than the very best, should entertain on old stone, which the Devil then taught them to call *The Mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Virtue, or good opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own province: or arrogate more unto himself, than his lot should afford him. This unpartial distribution of employments,

helped well to maintain peace and concord. *P. Scipio* was therefore appointed to make War against the *Bithynians*; wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Atilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thousand foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants. *Pholomy* King of *Egypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with *King Antiochus* and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent *Embassadors* to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his Forces into *Asia*, there to assist the Consul in this War. *Ptolomy* sent all Gold and Silver, to ward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good counsel. But he was too young, and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto *Philip* *Embassadors*, answer was made, that that his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would think themselves beholden to him, for the assistance that he should give to *Antius* the Consul. *Masanius* likewise, and the *Carrhaginians*, did drive, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. For Each of them promised a great quantity of Grains which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And *hercia Masanius* let out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as also in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the *Carrhaginians* undertook to fit out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-money which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet: nor would let them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was accepted, with condition that they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The haughty and ridiculous issue of this War, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* and the *Astiatique* Souldiers. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few Towns of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*: partly by fair words, and reason of the Rulers: partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuse when they should again forsake him. But *King Philip* and *Babius* having recovered many places and the *Roman* Consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance; he was glad to withdraw himself. *Antinander* fled out of his *Athens*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the *Romans*. *Philip* the Brother of *Antinander* Wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking-stock, and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thebans* used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities one after another, gave up themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them layed behind, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himself to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his Friends: and said, That they had betrayed him.

He had taken a great deal of toy during one half of a Winter, and spent the other half in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promises of the *Ætolians* merely verbal: and himself reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wife man, yea, a very Prophet, that had fore-seen all this long before. Nevertheless, he sent word to the *Ætolians*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their own need to be no less than his. But the *Ætolians* had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*: who having promised to do great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyed with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Theor* and his fellows had done their best in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: He fixed upon the Straights of *Thermopylae*: as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, until more help should come. Of the Straights of *Thermopylae*, there hath been spoken enough before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and focame onwards into *Thessaly*, were unable to pass that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of *Greece*: unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three days together, against a world of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he listed himself in *Greece*: did commit himself unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whilst he lay, he sent earnest messengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus: but at leastwise now to help, and keep the tops of the Mountains, lest the *Romans*, finding any by-path, should come down upon him. By this opportunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages: by which only, and not without extrem difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consul in like sort prepared to force the Straights: without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himself encouraged his Army; not only by telling them with what safe conditions Enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battle. All that night *Cato* had a sore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skillful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with

climbing up steepy Rocks, and crooked ways: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like metal to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a Path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace, there was a fair way thorow the Straights below, that required no such trouble of climbing: neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylae* been so often the Seat of War, as might cause any Travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best yet did it lead him to a bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he lay'd there until day-light: by which he discovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him, and some of the *Ætolians* that were very near unto him, that were keeping the watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty Crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service: and willed them by any means to get him some Prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Ætolians* were no more than six hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently let upon the *Ætolians*, overthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it, in a manner, a desperate piece of work to assault the Camp it self, which occupied the whole breadth of the Straights was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kind of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and poured down a shower of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought, at first, that the *Ætolians* had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* Arms and Ensigns were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance: but all of them forsook the Camp and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badness of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making pursuit. Yet this daies loss drove *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*: and from thence with the first opportunity, got him back into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves unto the Consul, in manner of suplicants. Briefly, in few daies all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the Consul give them any reprieve. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to join with him against *Antiochus*: over whom, since the Victory was already gotten, He did gratefully unto the *Romans* their good success: and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, that the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*: and *Philip*, *Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard; especially *Philip*, who

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lain would have taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that used to work by Myne, were over-much hindered by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither, and told *Philip*, that the spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopylae*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Antiochus*, that could find endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Roman* Victory, got not *Lamia* himself: until such time as another Consul was ready to catch him of his charge.

The loss of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way faster than to desire Peace. Yet had they sent unto King *Antiochus*, presently after his flight: intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those Forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*: or if any thing with-held him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour, but appertained unto his own safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any Enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He well considered of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicanor*, one of their Embassadors, a sum of money, that might defray the charges of the War: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Theor*, another of their Embassadors, he retained with him: who willingly stayed, till he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*: and made suit unto the Consul to obtain peace, upon any reasonable condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience, but said, He had other business in hand; only he granted them ten daies of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*, willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*, wherefore *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced unto terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing unto the faith, signified, in their using of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as yielding to discretion. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speak in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation lately made to this purpose. Then, said he, I command you first of all, That none of you presume to go into *Asia*, upon any business, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicaearchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestheus* the *Epirot*, *A-*

minander the *Athamianian*, and such of his Country-men as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilst he was yet speaking, *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custom of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themselves unto his faith: not unto slavery. What? (said the Consul) Do ye stand to plead Custom with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chain. With that, chains were brought; and an Iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deal thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himself; and said, That neither he, nor yet the *Apocleti*, or ordinary Counsel for the Nation, were able to fulfill these Injunctions; without approbation of the general Assembly. For which cause he entreated yet further ten daies respite; and had granted unto them Truce for so long.

This surceance of War, during ten, and other ten daies together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*: whilst *Philip* had been commanded from *Lamia*, that ere he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this War; He was desired to sit upon the *Athamianian*, and some other petty Nations their Borderers, whilst the Consul was busied with the *Ætolians*: taking for his reward, all that he could get. And he got in that space all *Athamania*, *Pertholia*, *Aperantia* and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians* hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of Peace. And it happened, that *Nicanor* about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with money and hopeful promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea*; and *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicanor* conveyed into *Lamia*, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embassy; was very much perplexed about this his Journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good: but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his Servants to treat *Nicanor* friendly: and he himself being then at Supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up: giving him to understand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madness; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into *Greece*. That had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*: but himself, being their Neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they never made any trial: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much

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more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to signify unto his Country-men; and privately to hold in mind the courtship which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was always after very dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon*; so as in the War of *Perseus* he made himself suspected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul understood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wife as he required it; he forthwith meant to prosecute the War against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*; whether he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length than the *Romans* had pre-conceived it; for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have been a loser by yielding before it without Victory. So he lay'd there well-near all the following time of his Consulship; whilst the *Macedonian* King, and the *Acheans*, made far better use of the Roman Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not higher, to reclaimed, won the strong City of *Demetrias*, and with an happy course of Victory, subdued the *Atamanians* and others. The *Acheans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Messenians*; which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble a while. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the *Achean* Pretor waited their Country, than to offer themselves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*; to whom they sent word, That at his Commandment their Gates should be opened; but that unto the *Acheans* it was not their meaning to yield. A message from *Titus* to the *Achean* Pretor, did suffice to call home the Army, and finish the War; as also the peremptory Command of the same *Titus*, caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves unto the *Acheans*, and become part of their Commonwealth. Such was now the Majesty of a Roman Ambassador. *Titus* did favour the *Acheans*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other should take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their Neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* upon even terms, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Isle of *Zacynthus*; which had once been *Philiis*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who sent a Governor thither. But when *Aminander* in this present War, was driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*; then did the Governor of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Island to the *Acheans*; whom he found ready Chappens. *Titus* liked not of this; but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the Victory which they had obtained. It was bootless to dispute. Wherefore

the *Acheans* referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoise, whereof *Peloponessus* was the shell; and that, holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in *Peloponessus*, he went over to *Naupactus*; where *Glabrio* the Consul had lain two months, that might have been far better spent. There, whether out of compulsion which he had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of dislike of King *Philip* thriving so fast; he persuaded the Consul to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadors to *Rome*; and submitting themselves, crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Ætolians* have made such earnest suit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been sure to carry it in any short space, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; since the winning of that Town, wherein was the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came unto *Rome*, no entreaty could help them to better Conditions, than one of these two: That either they should wholly submit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neither Peace nor War with any; further than as the *Romans* should give approbation. They had not so much money; neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withal, if they should give themselves away unto discretion; which, what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they desired to have it set down, in what points, and how far forth they should yield unto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer: so that they were dismissed as Enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilst the *Ætolians* were pursuing their hopes of Peace, the Consul had little to do in *Greece*, and therefore took upon him gravely to set things in order among the tractable *Acheans*. He would have had them to restore the banished *Lacedæmonians* home into their Country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the *Acheans* liked well enough; but they did not like it, that the *Romans* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedæmonians*; intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholden to the *Romans*, and thereby to disparage the *Acheans*: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted, and law that they should have their desire, without such compulsive mediation.

The Roman Admiral *C. Livius*, much about the same time, fought a battle at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty Sail of *Rhodian* came after the battle, when they were following the Chase. The Kings Fleet was of better of Sail, but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soon as he be took himself to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first years war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, many

many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians* were glad to excuse themselves by fear; thinking themselves happy when by Embassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrary side, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now fend to gratulate this Victory; and, in recompence of his good affection, had retired unto him *Demetrius* his younger Son; whom some few years they had kept as an Hostage. Also King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the Roman Victory, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he desired the Senate not to forego time; but to send an Army, as soon as might be, into *Asia*: promising that his assistance, whereinsoever it pleased them to use it, should not be wanting. This *Ptolemy* was the Son-in-law of King *Antiochus*; but he was the friend of fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The fame did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himself a while as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had been in another world; but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of *Greece* into *Asia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would soon be there, and make him try the chance of a battle for his Kingdom.

SECT. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him Publius the African his elder Brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into *Greece*. He grants long Truce to the *Ætolians*, that so he might at leisure pass into *Asia*. Much troublesome business by Sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon *Eumenes* his Kingdom; with the siege of Pergamus, raised by an handful of the *Acheans*. L. Scipio the Consul comes into *Asia*: where *Antiochus* most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battle of Magnesia: wherein *Antiochus* being vanquished, yieldeth to the *Romans* good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the *Romans* used their Victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous Triumph over *Antiochus*, is furnished the *Ætiauque*, as his Brother was filed the African.

*T*hus Cornelius Scipio, the Brother of P. Scipio the African, was chosen Consul at *Rome* with G. *Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate; and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if L. *Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Province; to be pleased, to the hazard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his Brother *Publius*, approved of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent, P. Scipio the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint

his Brother to the War against *Antiochus*, He himself would follow his Brother in that War, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the Controversie was forthwith at an end. For *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppose than *Scipio*: that had been victorious against that same great Worthy? But indeed a worse man might have served well the turn. For *Hannibal* had no absolute command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in confederation; where his wiliness was much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a sign of the freedom that he used in his censures, even whilst he lived in such a Court. *Antiochus* mulctured his Army in presence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish, that he had been served by such brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with rich costly furniture of Gold, Silver, and Purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing himself with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the *Romans* the most covetous men in all the world: meaning that all this cost upon the backs of cowardly *Ætiauque*, was no better than a spoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is easy to guess. The little use that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the use of his service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The *Scipio*'s made all haste away from *Rome* as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the War, about five thousand Volunteers, that had served under P. *Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirty *Quinquageme* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto L. *Æmilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admiral the same year for that voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphissa*, a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denied Peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town, but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlessly, as in a time of confusion, they had left unguarded the last year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden, was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to *Amphissa*: which he had almost gotten, when L. *Scipio*, his Successor, came with thirteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Castle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadors had dealt with P. *Scipio* in behalf of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to stand their friend, and help them in obtaining some tolerable condition of Peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to persuade the *Ætolians*, that they should faithfully, and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro; though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the

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Consul made still the same answer, with which they had been chafed from Rome. The Conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from War: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time should afford. So they obtained half a years truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another half years leisure of breathing. Hereof they were not more glad than was P. Scipio: who thought all time lost, which withheld the War from passing over into Asia.

The business of *Stolia* being thus laid aside, and the old Consul *Labienus* sent home into Italy, the *Scipio's* marched into *Thessaly*, intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Hellefpon*. Yet they considered, that hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*, who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would he be unfaithful; though he were not so courageous, yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of Victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to return. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some trial; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post unto him, and observe his doings as he should take him on the sudden. The King was merry at a Tell and drinking when the Messenger came, whom he lovingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of Victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made Bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to pass. With this good news *Gracchus* returned back in haste unto the *Scipio's*: who entering into *Macedon*, found all things in a readines, that might help to advance their Journey. The King entertained them Royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Hellefpon*: where they stayed a good while, until their Navy was in readines to transport them into Asia.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was banished *Rhodian*: true to the King, and desirous of revenge upon his Country-men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samus*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to do somewhat upon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and sent words, as in great secrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral. That if the Intence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew so careless, expecting still when he should receive a watch-word from *Polyxenidas* that he himself was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and for fear of being discovered, resting one day in harbour by the way, came the second night to *Samus*: where, by morning it was ready to enter the Haven. Perceiving the *Rhodian* Admiral seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Haven; & to guard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himself by

Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some Companies in another part of the Island: which falling upon the back of *Pausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies took him out of all order, and sunk or boarded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a sudden device made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Crescent upon two Poles, at the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemy: who having not thought himself what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto these desperate Gallies; for fear lest they should burn, together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some loss by Tempest: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such advantage as he had hoped: because, putting to Sea for that purpose, he was driven back again by the like foul Weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* also, with King *Eumenes*, repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery presented battle to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Ephesus*. When he durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entertained by the *Rhodians*, or perfwaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindered by Storms at Sea; and another while by strong resistance made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* waited all the grounds about *Elea* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his Son *Selenus* to besiege the Royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the rest of his Army spoil the whole Country thereabout. *Antiochus* the Brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*, having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in fear: being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand foot, and an hundred horse of the *Achaean*: old Souldiers all, and trained up under *Philippenus*, whose Scholar, in the art of War, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes* beholding from the Walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to disdain that such men as they should hold them besieged. For *Selenus* his Army which was encamped at the Hill-foot, seeing that none durst fall upon them, grew so careless: as otherwise than by spoiling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Country. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Antiochus*: and told him that he would go forth to visit them. *Antiochus* had no liking to this adventure: for he said, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achaean* would needs have his will: and issuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers; they wondered at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himself quiet; they made a jest of his boldness; and laughed to see with what handful of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as fast as they well might: and he himself, with a hundred horse, brake out

out on the sudden upon the station that was next at hand. Very few of the Enemies had their horses ready saddled, but moreover, or none had the hearts to make resistance: so as he drove them all out of the Camps and chased them as far as he might safely adventure, with great slaughter of them and no loss to his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the walls of the Town, men and women, to behold this spectacle) were very joyful; and highly magnified the virtue of these *Achaean*. Yet would they not therefore issue forth of their Gates, to help the *Achaean* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Selenus* encamped half a mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time, who quietly rested a while in his old station. When they had stayed many hours, looking who should begin: *Selenus* in fair order as he came, withdrew himself toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilst the enemy was in sight: but as soon as the ground between them hindered the prospect, he followed them in all haste, and soon overtaking them with his Horse, charged them in the Rear: so as he brake them, and pursued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldness of the *Achaean*, and the baseness of his own men, caused *Selenus* to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of these *Assaigues*, *Philippenus* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their Victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feasting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his Souldiers brook themselves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great security: a good man of War might have cutt all their Throats, even as they were tripling in their Victualling Houses; which *Philippenus* said, that he would have done, had he been General of the *Achaean*, and not as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himself with a few of his Horse and light Armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his Son, as before hath been shewed, and went to *Elea*: whether he heard that *Emilius* the Roman Admiral was come to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of Peace, about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Emilius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consent of this Treaty broke off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which caused *Selenus* to give over the Siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King, and the Syrian Fleet, being of seven and thirty sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian*, which was of like number. But of this Victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the Syrian, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having his Victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made him a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the War, the last and greatest was a Victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admiral. The battle was fought by *Myoniusus* a Promontory in Asia: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourscore and

nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the last year. That his Armada should cover all the Shores of Greece. The *Romans* had eight and fifty Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twenty: the *Romans* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodians* more light-timbered, and thin plankt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samus*. For with Fire in their Prows they ran upon the Enemy: who declining them for fear, laid upon his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long lying, the Kings Navy hoysed sail, and, having a fair Wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans* and their fellows lost only two or three Ships: but got hereby the absolute Mastery of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had been remaining to defend those places that he held in Europe, he presently withdrew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily have been kept, even till the end of Winter following, and having reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) unto terms of great extremity. He also gave over the Siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thoughts, save only of defence, drew together all his Army; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Antiochus*, rather the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the Roman Consul, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellefpon*, but had yielded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on Europe side. The Fleet was also then in a readines to transport him over into Asia: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before that he landed quietly at his own good ease; even as if the Country had been his already. The first news that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Ambassador that came to sue for Peace. This Ambassador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining Peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perfwade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputes heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lysimachia*, and was further purposed not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with War? If it was their desire that any other Towns upon the Coast of Asia, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratify them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of Asia, so as the bounds dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain, and it should be quickly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewise bear half the Charges wherewith they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers,

which to the Ambassador seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should bear all the Charges of the War, since it began through his own fault; and that He should not only depart out of those few Towns which he held in *Asia* and *Ionis*; but quite out of *Asia* the *less*, and keep himself on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Ambassador therefore saw that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promised a great quantity of Gold, together with the free restitution of his Son, who (it is uncertain, by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of Gold: nor otherwise to the Restoration of his Son, than upon condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the public business: He only said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lyfmanthia*, and suffered the War to take hold on his own Kingdom; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your King in my name, That I would advise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may have Peace.

The King was not any whit moved with his advice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no less than if he had been already subdued: little reason there was, that he should fear to come to battle; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him threethousand and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fifty *Indian* Elephants; and many Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, according to the manner of the Eastern Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased to hear that the Consul drew near him apace, as one hastening to fight. But howsoever he was affected: He made a little shew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elea*, He sent thither unto him his Son without ransom: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and withall not desirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise, it might be suspected that herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to do such a courtesy before the battle, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to stay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the Recovery of his Son; so as the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He paid only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other mends, than by advising him not to fight until he shall hear that I am in the Camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his Counsel; and therefore withdrew himself from about *Thyaira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Ephrus*, unto *Magnesia* by *Syphilus*: where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul, and sat down within four miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they

few some; and were anon, with some loss, driven back over the River. Two days were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would pass the water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbances; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an half of *Antiochus* Camp. There, as they were taking up their Lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foot: whom the ordinary Corps de *Guards* repelled. Four days together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented battle; which the King would not accept. Therefore the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Country of their Friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unless they would stain their honour by returning back, to Winter in a more convenient place; and to defer the War until the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was thoroughly periwaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the general Cry, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were too many Beasts to be slaughtered, than Men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed in discovering the Fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the Field again, and ordered the Battels: He also did the like; and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army consisted of four Legions, two *Roman*, and two *Latine*: in each of which, were five thousand and four hundred men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points; the *Roman*, in the mean battle. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Hopliti* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*; at such distance as was usual; and last of all, the *Triarii*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Acheans*, and partly such as belonged to *Emmenes*: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and some of the *Trallians*) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Emmenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being *Romans*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the River; the four Troops of Horse were placed there, though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians* were left to guard the Camp. The Consul had with him sixteen *African* Elephants, which he betowed in his Rear: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men, as being sure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater, and more courageous Beasts: whereas *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his

Foot

Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly Beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their Backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*; then three thousand Barb'd Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Country, and accompanied by some other. All which Troops of Horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather then to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoining unto these, were sixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings own Regiment; called the *Argyrsphid*, or *Silverfields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on Horse-back, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of *Myfia*, with four thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Circassians*, and *Elymaeans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barb'd Horse: as about a thousand Horse that were sent from *Ararat*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations: and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called The Kings Troop; being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*; wherein late *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cissians*, *Pamphilians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtians*, *Elymaeans*, and many others, having also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himself commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first onset was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrify the Horse; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Emmenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the Field; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left Wing: Whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly be credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with such variety of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner as soon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left wing of his own Battle: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flinck with Horse, gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Minimus*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows: and what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the Fight. Succour also came from the right

Wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach: He not only turned his Horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tardiance. The Camp was defended a little while; and with no great Valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this Battle fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans* there were not slain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horse: of *Emmenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custody of *Sardes*, and the Cattle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the Towns-men and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in those parts, without expecting Summons, yielded up themselves by Embassadors, whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilst they were on the way. Neither were many days spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassador was in the Camp: having none other Errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his Brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it would be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, That he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their Charges in that War, they required fifteen thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* should have confirmed the Peace; and the other twelve thousand in twelve years next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred Talents for *Emmenes*; and some store of Corn that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty Hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thas* the *Asiatic*, with some others, who had stirred up the King to this War, delivered into their hands. But any wife man might easily have perceived that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands; as no great Art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassador had full Commission to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the Ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volsus*. The *Asiatics* desired Peace, but could not obtain it; because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make War upon the *Asiatics*; the other upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now, though shortly there came news, that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in Battle; and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands; yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to be so thoroughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care, *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by Lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon after this, came the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhedians* and some others; yea, by King *Emmenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the Peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disputa-

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tion: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own defects, and comparing himself with *Majusilla*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the *Numidian*, since they had found him a King, indeed, whereas *Majusilla* was only chief in title; and since, both he and his Father had always been their Friends, even in the worst of the *Roman* Fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: He still referring himself to their courtly, and they desiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpose to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving Liberty to many of the *Greek* Towns that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his War, it was no reason that they should be Gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodian* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be true Patrons of the *Grecian* Liberty; and to call to mind, that no small part of *Greece* it self had been subject unto *Philip*, and served him in his War: which was not alleged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point wherein they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* against King *Antiochus*, was so great, as easily might satisfy the desires of all their Friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this, and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well-pleased.

Such end had the War against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio* returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the Pomp whereof exceeded in Riches, not only that of *Titus Quintus Flamininus*, but of any that *Rome* had beheld until that day. Now forthwith as the furnace of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by some to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *The Asiaticus*: which the fortune of his Victory had not less deserved, though the Virtue requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

SECT. IX.

The *Etolians*, and the *Gallo-Greeks*, vanquished by the *Roman* Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. *Manlius* hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the *Romans* by *Sibyl*. Of *Sibyls Prophecies*: the *Foeks* of *Hermes*; and that Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. The ingratitude of *Rome* to the two *Scipios*: and that beginning and *Faction* among the *Roman* Nobility.

M. Ar. Fulvius, and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now titled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to *Greece* and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio*

had granted so long a Truce to the *Etolians*. But since, in this long *Interim* of Truce, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it self to the *Roman* Majesty, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The belt was, that so great a Storm fell not unexpected upon the *Etolians*. They had foreseen the danger, when their Embassadors were utterly denied Peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the last Remedy; which was to entreat the *Rhodian* and *Asiaticus* to become Intercessors for them. Neither were they so dejected with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well devolve, even upon helping themselves by repurchase of Countries lost, where they stood advantage.

Poor King *Antiochus* was in exile among them, whilst *Philip* of *Macedonia* kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the *Asiaticus* (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been so long accustomed to serve a Mountain Lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, used by the Captains of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were only four of them: neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet assurance that all the rest would follow, made *Antiochus* willing to try his fortune. He was at the Borders with a thousand *Etolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty Adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, four of the chief Towns in the Country to his use. The fame of this good success at the first, with divers Letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the Action, made the Licutenants of *Philip* unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the Town of *Theima* a few days, giving thereby some leisure unto his King to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence, and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all save two thousand behind him, and so came to *Antiochus*, a little *Asiaticus* Castle, that still was his, as being on the Frontier of *Macedonia*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theima* a while, to take a place lying over *Argihea*, that was chief of the Country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King, had the boldness to defend upon *Argihea*: for that they might perceive the *Asiaticus*, all along the Hill-sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: especially when *Antiochus* came in fight with his thousand *Etolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back from wards *Argihea*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his own Borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The *Asiaticus* and *Etolians* way-laid them, and purified them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plain flight, with great loss of Men and Arms, few of these escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Country, until *Philip* his return.

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The *Etolians* having found the business of *Asiaticus* to cease, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphibolians* and *Asiaticus*. These had belonged unto their own Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*: from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Etolians* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did purpose still to continue. These took Arms at first: but soon laid them away; seeing their Neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Etolian* quarrel, and seeing their own King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these Victories the joy was the less; for that news came of *Antiochus* his last overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Consul his halting with an Army into *Greece*. *Antiochus* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in despite, that he had recovered his own from *Philip* with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharp correctors, nor earnest reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the business about which he came, and layd Siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief seat of *Epirus* his Kingdom. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Etolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal ground.

To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Etolian* power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conquest, by *Perseus* the Son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphibolians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly fought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the mean while the *Armenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors came, who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the *Assailants*, or danger that might seem to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend half his time about one City, and to be driven to leave unto his successor the honour of finishing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Etolians*, and bade them seek Peace with as quiet intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reasonable price, considering with how great a part of his Kingdom their friend *Antiochus* made the same purchase. He also gave leave to *Antiochus*, offering his Service as a Mediator, to put himself into *Ambracia*, to try what good his persuasions might do with the Citizens. So after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grievous to the weaker, but not unprofitable. The same Embassadors of the *Armenians* and *Rhodian*, accompanied those of the *Etolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more useful in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made a very grievous complaint about the loss of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the Peace, which those good Mediators of *Rhodes* and *Armenia*, did earnestly solicit. The *Etolians* were bound to uphold the Majesty of the People of *Rome*; and to observe diverse Articles, which made them less free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any People of *Greece*; they having been the first

that called their Masters into the Country. The Isle of *Cephalonia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achaean*, by filly prostituting their own right) that so they might have possession along the Coast of *Greece*, whilst they seemed to forbear the Country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Roman* Judges of their Controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedonia* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Consul, had at the same time War in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*, of whose Victory, his acts were the confirmation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*: to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at Wars, without regard of the great alteration that happened in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat, and by their quarrels, found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaded with booty, when, having fetched a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their fore-past deeds, than any present virtue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Or the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Country, where those Enemies were very like to fear them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their own Nation, that had been Friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then was no counsel thought so good, as to forsake their Houses and Country, and with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These Mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time, as also the natural strength being helped by such fortification as promised great assistance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them; or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had stayed there awhile, Winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with calling weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Arms, than impediment in disadvantage of Ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against Castles of Stones especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, neither excused in that manner of Fight, nor having prepared their Stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, other than those of a fit size. Finally the Barbarians, wanting de-

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ensive Arms, could not hold out against the Arrows and Weapons of the Roman Light Armature; but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had none other way left, than to seek themselves headlong down the steep Rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: all their Wives, Children, and Goods, became a prey unto the Romans. In the very like manner were the rest of that Nation overcome soon after, at the other Mountain: only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way than their backs.

These Wars being ended, *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retain as Pro-consul, his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave Peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Arivarthes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the Roman Arms. He drew from them all, what profit he could; and laid upon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the League of Peace with *Antiochus*, where he swore, and received the Kings Oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of *Asia*, he took his way toward the *Hellaspont*, laden with spoil, as carrying him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home rich in money alone, or Cattle, or things of needful use, which the Roman Soldiers had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous Houehold-stuff, and slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians for Banquets; and in a word, with the seeds of that Luxury which finally over-grew and choked the Roman virtue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellaspont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*; either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this Roman Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the Romans to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have been in his own Kingdom, if the People of *Rome* had not made War in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand Talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take part with him, and the *Asiatians*, promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek Cities*, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the War began: He thought it no even dealing of the Romans, after their Victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Cherfoneus*, and *Esfimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility

to go to *Rome*, and beg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipios*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by Letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the Wars in *Spain* and *Affrick*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a surer way. For the *Scipios* had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself: yea, himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to with, that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joined with *Antiochus* and the *Asiatians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness, the *Asiatians* were, he shall very shortly be urged to demonstrate at large. At the present it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on to assail the *Romans* passing through their Country. They knew all advancing, and that fell, unexpected, upon the Carriages that were followed in the midst of the Army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous Wood through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting and the leaving, did cost many lives, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the Romans. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apolemia*, which was their habitation of Greece.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax as an unworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation, it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One Clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his doing to have hindered the Peace with *Antiochus*, they said, That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over *Taurus*, and adventuring upon the Calamity threatened by *Sybil's Verber*, unto those that should pass the *Fatal Bounds*. What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sybil's Prophecy* threatened the Roman Captain, or Army, that should pass over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. Pompey was the first that marched with an Army beyond those limits: though the *Victories* of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a fort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his Racs, though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or Pompey, suffered any loss, in presuming; to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sybil*. Indeed the accom-

accomplishment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemy King of Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sybil*. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of *Sybil* had in them any true foundation.

Time, there to take root, and get crevice by event; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolemy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinus* the Roman, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and modern Christian Writers have been well pleased to interpret *Sybil* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sybiline Predictions*, I have sometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shameful Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the Books of *Sybil*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Master *Casaubon* upon the Annals of *Cardinal Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only those Prophecies of *Sybil*, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, but even the Books of *Hermes*, which have been such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whoever devised them) by the indifferet zeal of such as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with foreign powers. And in the same Rank I think, we ought to place that notable History, reported by *Eusebius* from no mean Authors. Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*, namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sanctis*, that is, To *Simon* the Holy God. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publick, should have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Senecca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am persuaded, that this Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sanctis*, was, by some bad *Circumstance*, taken amiss in place of *Simoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the Goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many Ages before been consecrated *Simoni Sango*, that is, To the Spirit or Demi-god *Sangus*, in whose Chapel they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman Letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them it might easily come to pass, that the words should be mis-read, *Simoni Sanctis*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true History. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historical, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be safe, to let our Faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well-painted, yet rotten post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbered among a few of the richest, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasury, was made the last payment of those moneys which the Commonwealth had borrowed from private men in the second *Pannick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had till some feeling of *Hannibal*; which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even so long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an inquisition, then raging there, in should be allayed. The two *Scipios* were called one after another, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, known to *Ptolemy*. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with Bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great Train of his Friends and Clients, with which he passed through the midst of the Assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the People, That upon the same day of the year he had fought a great Battle with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Pannick War* by a signal Victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Laws; but intended to visit the Capitol, and there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both at that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty business of the Commonwealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Prince and great One of their City might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the People, even the Officers of the Court followed *Scipio*, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them excepting their own Slaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, until for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their Suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgraceful trial; he willingly relinquished the City, and his unthankful Romans, that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at *Literum*: quietly with a few of his inward Friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertain. The relation of his dying in the same year with *Hannibal* and *Philopomen*, as also of his private behaviour at *Literum*, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribunes, and of his Accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was: the same Tribunes went more than to work with *L. Scipio* the *Asiaticus*. They Proposed a Decree unto the People,

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touching money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed Author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect Virtue, temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugal also, both of the publick, and of his own; so as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with Bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconformable, in seeking to increase his own wealth, by such means as the Law did not permit. Ambition was his vice, which being poisoned with envy, troubled both himself and the whole City; whilst he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own rank, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopylae*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury. That he had not brought into the common Treasury some Vessels of Gold and Silver, gotten in his Camp of *Arctium*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipios*, grew partly, 'besides his general spite at the Nobility' from his own first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some check that was given unto himself, in the *African* Voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consul had Husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the virtue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue Reports against his General, whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the Author of such false Tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded, nor thought upon by the *Scipios*, whilst it was nourished by their Enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his Brother being dead, or out of the way. A fever inquiry and judgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soon condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *Non-payment* his body should have been laid up in Prison; but from this rigour of the Law, he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his Estate, which was confiscated to the use of the City, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; then fell his Accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. Kindred, Friends, and Clients, made such a Colledion for him, as would have set him in better Estate than before, if he had excepted it. He took no more than such of his own Goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his near-est Friends.

And thus began the Civil War of the *Tongue* in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been,

or not been much regardable until now, since the Punick War. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient Employment, were effectual helps to the kindling of this Fire; which first caught hold upon that Great Worthy, to whose Virtue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extrem danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude in such quarrellousness, grew to perfection, they that found themselves overmatched by their Adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition first with Clubs and Stones, afterwards with Swords; and finally, proceeded from Frayes and Murders in the Streets, unto battle in the open Field. *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Scipio the African*, a Lady of rare Virtue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly named, *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two Sons, whilst they were but young, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their Friends: by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At that time the Senators began to take upon them Authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the *Senatus* all the whole power of the City, under this name. *Let the Consuls provide, that the Common-wealth receive no detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus*, a popular man; whom by such Authority, they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius* a famous Captain of theirs, was so condemned; who by force of Arms returned into the City; and murdered all the principal Senators: whereupon began the Civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher Spirit, to affect and obtain the like Sovereign Power, when by the like Decree of the Senate, he was provoked. It is true, that never any Consul had finally cause to rejoice, of his having put in execution such Authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in passing their Laws, by hurling of Stones, and other violence, made the City stand in need of a Sovereign Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as Enemies, those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by Violence in the House, did compell *Cæsar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by Arms; wherewith prevailing against his Adversaries, he took such order, that neither Senate nor People, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principal Citizens, lost their own freedom, and became Subjects unto the arbitrary government of One: suffering this change in three Generations; after this beginning of their insolent Rule, wherein they took upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto complete Greatness, nor believed of her self; as if she had, whilst a King fate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the Reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this confirmation of her honour was thought upon betimes. Now it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP. VI.

The Second MACEDONIAN War.

SECT. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were Associates of the Romans, when the War with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrel with Philip. They deal insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains Peace at Rome, by his Son Demetrius: of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.

AFTER the Overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip of Macedon*, *Emperor* King of *Persepolis*, the Common-wealth of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates as formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the public Declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute Vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Privileges belonging to a Monarch, or unto Sovereign Power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, *To make Laws, To create Magistrats, To arbitrate Peace and War, To beat Money, and To reserve* (as the French call it) *le dernier Ressort*, or the last Appeals, the *Romans* had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the fore-named Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King or Common-wealths declined, or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining; yet so, as neither the Laws were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrats so free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a Yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the Art of Flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But *Emmanuel* living further off, and being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not of long time questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of War and Peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to hold his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations by them not thoroughly subdued. For upon the first reason (as well as upon his own high desires) were they very loving unto *Majauria*, and to his House, until *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion settled in *Africa*; as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*,

Cappadocia, and others, holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministry of Kings: especially of such Kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But such Magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their Estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies thorow his Country, prepared the ways for them, and furnished them both with Victuals and other things needful, to transport them over the *Helle-spont into Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the Complaint of *Emmanuel* and the States of *Thessaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Places and places demanded by any of his Neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered; by direction or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his Dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Transylvania*: In which Province it is said, * That innumerable Medals of * *High of* Gold have been found in the age of our Grand-
Henry
Mary, *For*
fathers, each of them weighing two or three
met. lib. 9.
Crowns, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victory*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his Estate in *Europe*) fell to *Selenus Nicator* by right of War, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right *Polymachus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Selenus*. But the inundation of the *Gauls*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crown, together with the most part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of Land newly thereunto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius* and his Successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gauls* being over-past, those Countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their Liberty; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find these advantages; and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischief commonly done

done by these, King Philip did provide the most convenient remedies : by shutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdoms : and by occupying *Lysmachia*, with some other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own Estates : yet forasmuch as these Towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of Justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Asians*, of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lysmachia*. Hereto he made a good answer. That his Garrison did only save it from the *Thracians* : who, as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the Town, and ruin it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Amis* and *Maronea* : That they were places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdoms. But this Plea had not availed him, in the dispute about *Lysmachia* : and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their own titles : since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country therabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former War : and since they, by their Victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate : referring it unto their disposition, Whether *Amis* and *Maronea* should be set at liberty : whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Demetrius* : who begged them as an Appendix to *Lysmachia* and *Cleronius*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive by the demeanour of their Embassadors towards him : who sitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controverſie. Nevertheless he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintain his Right unto these Towns : wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the War against *Antiochus* and the *Asians* : wherein, whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their Embassadors : and would they now deprive him of those two Towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruins of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruins, *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deal more ? By such allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at least to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had been their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their Liberty, he took counsel of his own passion ; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Gnumatius*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the Town, and use all cruelties of War. This was done : but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors, who had better notice than could have been feared, of these proceedings ; that the King was by them directly

charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majesty, to an account. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the *Maronites* : affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being some fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one another's Throats. And hereto he willed the Embassadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themselves : as well knowing, that they who survived, were either his own Friends : or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the *Romans* more severe, and more thoroughly informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himself of the Crime objected, he must first *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his Spirits, and said, That *Cassander* should be at their disposition : but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requested them not to press him, since it stood not with his honour to lightly give away his Friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales : He took order to have him poisoned by the way. By this we see, that the Doctrine which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief, was not of his own invention. All Ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt Scholars in this Lesson to the more ancient : as the Reign of *Henry the Eighth* here in *England*, can bear good witness ; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same unjust Law that himself had devised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the War which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embassador unto the Senate : giving him Instructions how to make answer to all Complaints, and withal to deliver his own Grievances in such wise, that if ought were amis, he might it appear that he had been strongly urged to take such course. The sum of his Embassage was, To pacify the *Romans*, and make all even for the present. *Demetrius* himself was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate, as having been well approved by them, when he was Hostage in *Rome* : and therefore seemed the more likely to prevail somewhat ; were it only, in that regard would be born unto his person.

Whilst this business with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readines to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himself some other way the *Roman* Arms : the same Embassadors, that had been Judges between him and his Neighbours, made their progresss thorough the *Grecks* : and took notice of the Controversies, which they found between some Estates in the Country. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedemonians* against the *Acheans*. It was objected unto the *Acheans*, That they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedemon* : That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the Walls of the City : as also further, in changing the Laws, and abro-

abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lyortas* the Prætor of the *Acheans*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedemonians*, who now took upon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that Murder, whereof themselves they laid the blame upon others : the *Acheans* having not only called those unto judgement, that were supposed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans* : and these Plaintiffs having slain them, upon private, though just hatred, as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing down the Walls of *Lacedemon*, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance : who, having persuaded his Citizens to defend their Town and Liberty by their proper virtue, did inhibit unto them all kind of Fortifications : as the Retracts and Nets either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedemon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Usurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these Walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his Ordinances : and governed the City by their own lawless Will. As for the *Acheans* : they communicated their own Laws, which they held for the best, or else would soon change them, and take better, unto the *Lacedemonians* : whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of Policy. For conclusion, *Lyortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embassadors. That he and his Country-men held it strange, being Friends and faithful Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and give account of their actions, as Vassals and Slaves unto the People of *Rome*. For if they were indeed at Liberty : why might not the *Acheans* as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did bulie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedemon* ? For if the *Romans* would stand upon their Greatness, and intimate, as they began, that the Liberty of their Friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratify it : then must the *Acheans* have recourse unto those Agreements that were confirmed by Oath, and which, without perjury could not be violated ; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortal Gods. To this bold answer of *Cyortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state upon him, he pronounced more like a Matter than a Judge, that if the *Acheans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilst they might ; they should be compelled with a mischief, to do what was required at their hands : whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Acheans*, which groaned to hear the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation : and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors reformed some banished and condemned men : but the *Roman* Senate, very soon after, did make void all judgements of death or banishment, that had been laid by the *Acheans* upon any Citizen of *Lacedemon* : as likewise they made it a matter of dispute, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedemon* should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achean* Commonwealth : or, taken from them, and made, as it had been, an Estate by itself. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much

or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered to enjoy : though by contributing *Sparta* to the Council of *Achaia*, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Acheans*, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Grecks*, and all Kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and persuasions of many wise and temperate men among them ; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Celts*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans* ; and, by seeking Patronage, made meer Vassals : to instruct them, in the like case they should expect : yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy prevail with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore brought Revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearful servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon* : who, though he saw the *Grecks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe ; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans*, by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in heavy affliction all the Country would be his, whensoever he should take Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired Ratification of Peace ; though qualified with much indignity from following. He had been lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of Objections, where to his youth, unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer : it was permitted unto him, to read such brief notes as he had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather Satisfaction ; more for *Demetrius* his own sake, as they then said, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodness in the Defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his Son, together with some insolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans* : did increase in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and bred in him a jealousy of his too forward Son. To let him forward in these passions, there came dayly new Embassadors from *Rome* ; some bringing one Commandment, some another, and some requiring him to fulfill those things which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goes. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance ; and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands : yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius* was conversant : rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect ; yea a great deal more than was pleasing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the Elder Son of the King, should not succeed unto his Father, but that the Diadem should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*. This offended, not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself : who suspected his younger Son, as more

Roman than his own; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousy, it will not be amiss to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

SECT. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the Military profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.

THE Romans wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of Greece, had of late been so peremptory with the *Acheans*; that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them in any controversy that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achean* Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up again the Estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strictly affected in the business, were careful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achean* League. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility, whereby blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Praetor of the *Acheans*, levied such Forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principal Gentlemen of the *Acheans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, Horse; He had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Messenians*, whom he charged, and forced to run. But whilst his Horse-men were too earnest in following the chafe; there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred *Messenians*, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again: and with the help of those, who very seasonably came to their back, compelled *Philopœmen* Horse-men to turn back; *Philopœmen* himself had long been sick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his Horse-men to pass along by him in a narrow Lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom, the reputation and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrify from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to the ground by a fall off his Horse, and being withall in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet scarce believed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought this

news to *Messene*, was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible! They caused him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might satisfy themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune; and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his delivery. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were detestous hater to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and that would never leave any disgrace, or injury done to him, unrevengeed. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong Vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So further they let him down fast bound, and with an Engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his Enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him with a cup of Poison, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand; and asking no more than whether the Horse-men were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his mind, he laid it was well: and with a cheerful countenance, drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weakened with long sickness, whereby the Poison wrought the sooner, and calily took away his life. The *Acheans*, when they missed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilst they were devising what to do in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Acheans* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadors were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement; and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*: who coming thither, and laying Siege to the Town, enforced it in short space to yield. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been parties in the Murder: were compelled to wait in Bonds upon the ashes of *Philopœmen* that were carried home in solemn pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slain at his Funeral, as Sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *St. Martinus* a Roman Embassador, was then in Greece; whence, upon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldom absent. He would have inter-meddled in this business of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was *T. Quintinus* *Flamininus* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the War against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spiteful enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy

worthy of the Crown he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Livie* thinks) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flamininus*. For upon the next conference between the King and *Flamininus*, a Troop of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the Lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deviled some secret Salles under ground to save himself from any treacherable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fortified, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practice as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and merciless hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way to escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he always preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest Dificals of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now (said he) deliver the Romans of that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old Man. This Victory of Flamininus, over me, which am disgraced, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be counted among the rest of his heretical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how far the ancient Roman virtue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their Forefathers, as when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them battle at their own door, they gave him knowledge of the Treason intended against him by poison: whereas that of a latter race, have employed Flamininus, a man who hath heretofore been one of their Confidants, to practise with Prusias, contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Law of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest. He then cutting the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his Fidelity, drank off the poison and dyed.*

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the African; these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the World had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been the Prince of the *Corthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook required; it is probable, that he had torn up the Roman Empire by the Roots. But he was so strongly croit by a cowardly and envious Faction at home, as his proper virtue, wanting publick force to fulfill it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the common misery of his Country and Commonwealth.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousy of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-wealths, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of Men of War, and great Captains, being no Kings. For besides the envy and jealousy of Men, the spoils, rapines, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastations and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Moline* the Marshal of France confess, That, were not the mercies of God infinite, and without revulsion, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: (seeing the

crucifixes by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. However, this is true, That the Victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardice of the Nation against whom they serve. For above of others, whose Virtues have raised them more the level of their inferiours, and have furnished their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we find many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Amylius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the Greeks we read not of many that escaped these rewards. Yet long before these times, it was a Legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his Victorious Captain *Joab*. With this fear *Alexander* feared *Perseus*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Heretofore *Valentinian* the Emperour invited *Armenius*: who, after many other Victories, overthrew *Attalia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battle for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was stricken in the World, for there fell of those that fought, beside raw-awakes, an hundred and fourscore Thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Procopius*. That in killing of *Armenius* he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Armenius*, murdered the perjurant *Valentinian* flew *Armenius*, murdered the Emperour; which he never durst attempt *Armenius* living. And, besides the loss of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Armenius*, the glory of the Western Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse had *Bellerophon*; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torn out of his head by *Jysimian*: and he died a blind beggar. Nay, also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion; was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Caio* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every Age since then, to wit, That the Common-weal cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the Turks drawn another Principle; and indeed, a Turkish one. That every War-like Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of War, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bajazet Acomat*; *Selim* (travelling *Mysaphas*) and most of those Princes bring to ruin the most of their *Vassiers*. Of the Spanish Nation, the great *Guastaflo*, who drove the French out of *Naples* and *Evindrudus* *Cortez*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with Nettles, not with Laurel. The Earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear Garlands on. And that the great Captains of all Nations have been paid with this Copper Coin; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary; it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of War. This conflicts. Yet mult it be had withall in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unreasonable, that the Tyrants, which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities; and the Licutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have

traiterously cast down their Masters, and stepped up into their seats; were not all of them good men of War: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which underevery were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtue; is far more in seeming than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by the help of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*; but he was a Coward; and, with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than Cowards, he flew first the Children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face; and after them *Mauritius* himself: This his bloody aspiring was but as a Debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heracles*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and set it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperor *Justine*, cut off his Nose and Ears, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge he had left his own men of War. *Justine* having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippus* commanding the Forces of *Justine*, murdered both the Emperor and his Son. *Amalassus*, the Vassal of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Ausgastus*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Prisoner. It were an endless and needless work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*, how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captains to make themselves Kings, have by Gods Justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of Arms, is to take what may be gotten by the spoil of Enemies, and the liberality of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by *Solomon*, of unthankfulness in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City, and a few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poor and wise man therein, and he delivered the City by his wisdom: but none remembered this poor man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits: which the unwiser sort of them think to favour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are often times couzened and abused; which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they glory; thus the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountiful in giving thanks, yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captains have made, by enriching themselves with the spoil of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it; and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition; that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloined somewhat from the common Treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples:

that of the two *Scipios* being so largely recited.

In my late Sovereigns time, although for the Wars, which for her own safety, she was constrained to undertake, her Majesty had no less cause to use the service of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many years had: yet according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest, and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And, that her Majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affairs did well witness, who in all her days never received dishonour, who in the Cowardice or Infidelity of any Commander, by her self chosen and employed.

For as all her old Captains by Land died poor men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drenry*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Contable*, *B. webber*, *Barkley*, *Bingham*, and others: so those on a later and more dangerous employment, whereof *Norris* and *Vere* were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did; those I say with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for the *Thomas Barrrough*, and *Fergine Berry*, *L. Willoughby* of *Essex*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the World their Titles and Estates.

That her Majesty in the advancement of her men of War did sooner believe other men than her self, a dislike unto which many wise Princes, besides her self, have been subject; I say, that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not in some sort accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actions are so unprosperous, and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which Martial-men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnify a profession far more Noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their Masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use than themselves.

But his Majesty hath already paid the greatest part of this debt. For besides the relieving by Pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honoured more Martial men than all the Kings of England have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a Coronet to the *L. Tho. Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable service, as well in the year 1588, as at *Caliz*, the Islands, and in our own Sea; having first commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His Majesty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldoms; and created *Sidney Vicount*, *Killes*, *Rufel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons for their Governments and Services in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Philip, making provision for War against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own Subjects. His Negotiation with the Balthare. His cruelty. He suspects his Son Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his Brother Perseus; and shortly after slain by his Fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his Sons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Quintus Marius the Roman Embassador, who travelled up and down, seeking what work might be found about Greece, had received instruction from the Senate, to use the utmost of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedonia. At his return home, that he might not seem to have discovered nothing, he told the Fathers, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enjoyed him: yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meer necessity should enforce him thereto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King, did wholly tend unto Rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was to be noted, that *Philip* much repeated him of his faithful obedience to the Romans; and foretold their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their own hands; which safety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what means soever. He was in an ill case: as having been already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having Subjects that abhorred to hear of War with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could devise, against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his own People as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad service against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwelling, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of the *Assians*, whose faith he thought a great deal more assured against those enemies that were upon alluring the *Balthare*, a strong and hardy Nation, that dwelt beyond the River of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take possession of their Country. These were like to do him notable service against the Romans; being not only stout fighting men, but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the utter extirpation of the Kingdom of Macedonia, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to persuade those *Balthare*, by hope of spoil, and other incitements, unto a more desperate Expedition, through *Thyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriatick* Sea, into Italy it self. It was not known who should withstand them upon the way: rather it

was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others through whose Country they were to pass, would accompany them against the Romans: yet it only in hope of spoil. Now to facilitate the remove of these *Balthare* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of Macedonia; a long and tedious journey unto them; *Philip* with gifts did their Wives and Children: which carried with them did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to pass. And thus he sought means to strengthen himself with the help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the Romans, nor were known unto them; since he was not like to find assistance from any civil Nation, about the whole compass of the Mediterranean Seas. But these devices were long ere they took effect: so as the *Balthare* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to War, and the exercise of them in some small Expedition against those wild People that bordered upon him, and stood worst effected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own House. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meet for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it self within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindictive nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traitorous malice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused men to dye; among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the People, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general, when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistaking all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the Children of those Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical then perhaps could have been desired, gave him cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own Children. It is hard to say what the Romans intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention between the brethren, but only to cherish the virtue and towardsness of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extreme jealousy in the Fathers head. If any custom of the Romans, the manner of their life, the fashion of their Apparel, or the unglynt con-

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triving and building (as then it was) of the Town of Rome, were jested at in ordinary discourse and Table-talk; *Demetrius* was fure to be proficely on fire, detesting and flouting them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadors as often as they came, gave his Father cause to think, that he was no fit partaker of any counsel held against him. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder Son *Persius*: who caring so much lest his Brother should split between him and the success, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Persius* was then thirty years old; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in Valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspicions, that were much incited by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a slight occasion made the Fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Mulier and ceremonial lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. This manner of it at the present was thus. They chift in twain a Bitch, and threw the Head and Trunk, with the Entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Army was to pass: This done, the Arms of all the Kings of Macedonia, from the very first Original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons: after him came his own Band, and they of his Guard; whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Having performed other Ceremonies, that Army was divided into two parts: which under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true Fight; using Poles, and the like, instead of their Pikes and accoutred Weapons. But in this present Skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the Victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did over earnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a tokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Persius* hid his side at length recoyled. *Persius* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad prejudice: but his Friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort; who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the counsels of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, advertised their Services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this Victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him, as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the Brethren was that day to kill his own Companions, and each of them had spits in the others Lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Persius* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indifferently, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his Men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of Wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his Brother, and see what cheer he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his Brothers man: yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company.

They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet there was such good espial kept, that this their coming Armed was forthwith made known to *Persius*: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his House. *Demetrius* wondered to see himself excluded, and faced very angrily with his Brother. But *Persius* bidding him be gone as an Enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder Brother accused the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alleged, and, in effect, the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this Murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon consideration of the Romans; by whom he knew that he should be detested and born out. For *Persius* made them, as if the Romans did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his Father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his Brother against him: as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the Macedonians. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, sent of late from *Titus Quintinus* to the King himself: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to Rome; and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of Macedonian Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsel was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wait upon his Brother to Rome; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become Servants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Here to *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Persius*, that converted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in Wine, to such an accusation, whereby he fought his innocent Brothers death. As for the love which the Romans did bear him, he said that it grew, if not by his own virtue, at leastwise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, he were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted no such passions, as are incident to Fathers, Children, and Brethren, besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father. That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to *Persius*: using to little conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, he liked neither to have him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintinus*.

sins, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, *Phileas* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way interested in the quarrels between the Brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a Letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose Seal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it. That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unprofitable, against his elder Brother, which yet should never take effect: for that *Titus* himself would not be Author, or Abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly persuade the King to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custody, made them as if he had pitied the Estate of the unhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to fly secretly to Rome; where he might hope not only to live in safety from his Father and Brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the Crown of Macedonia. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his Son to death, without further expense of time. It was thought behooful to make him away privately, for fear lest the Romans should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof sufficient, at least of the Kings despite against them, if not of his meaning to renew the War. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince of his life. This accursed Minister of his kings unadvised sentence, first gave poison to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainously accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Macedonia.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own blood. The houles of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of Sovereign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of *Polomy* and *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievously dilapidated. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that unpart-family of the Kings of Pergamus had raised it self to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of mere slavery: whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own Children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature; and there-

fore unmet to be a good persuader unto kindly affection. The Murders by him, done upon many of his Friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satisfying of his boundless Appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both Strangers and Subjects of his own; did now procure Vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poison. After the death of his Son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equal balance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining Son *Persius* could do little to still the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause than the remove of those dangers which he had lately feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his duties, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carcass of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, more expecting his death, and for a scarce enduring the remissions of such expectations. This bred in the King a deep Melancholly, and filled his head with suspicious imaginations: the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed; and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued to be true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Persius*; and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Commellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Persius* would not vent it self, and give cause to the King, until the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the Treason objected; as also that *Phileas* and *Apelles* (the Embassadors which had brought from Rome that Epistle of *Flamininus*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of Forgery in the business: made diligent enquiry after the truth. In this doing he found one *Xyebus*, a man most likely to have understood what tale dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King: saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xyebus*, for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of business. No marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one Son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withal against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into Italy; *Phileas* was taken; and either forasmuch as he could not deny it when *Xyebus* confronted him, yielded himself guiltily, or else was put to torture. *Persius* was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the Country: yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his Fathers

preference. He kept on the Borders of the Kingdom towards *Thrace*, whilst his Father wintered at *Demetria*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious Son, took a resolution, to Aliene the Kingdom from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grief of mind, so disabled him in the Travel thereto belonging, that e're he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years: always full of trouble, as vexed by others, and of which vexing himself with continual Wars; of which that with the *Romans* was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wife Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befall him, he might thank his own perverse condition: since his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an Estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it ealie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was on, ly drawing near, was fore-figured unto *Perseus*, by *Calpurnius* the Physician, who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the sudden, and took possession of the Kingdom: which in fine he no less imprudently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

SECT. IV.

How the Bastard fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning of his Reign. Some Wars of the Romans: and how they suffered Masaniassa cruelly to oppress the Carthaginians. They quarrelled with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates to make War without their leave obtained. The Treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks Friendship of the Achæans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of Warring upon him.

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastard* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indemnity of the Country. This Compact was friendly observed, as long as no other was known, than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that should be done, or fulfilled, for his Service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withall, that he took any care what became of the enterprise: then was all dash and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford fo good markets unto their strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastard* would not be contented with reason, but became their own Carvers. Thus each part having lost their rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew careful of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. With-

in a while they fell to blows; and the *Bastard* had the upper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plain Countries. But the *Victors* made little use of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extrem bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand sped in their Voyage, I do not find. It seems that by the careless using of some *Victories*, they drew loss upon themselves: and finally took that occasion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perseus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his Reign, to embroil himself in a War so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the settling of his Estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for War or Peace. To prevent all danger of Rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*.

To win love of his People, he fate personally to hear their cases in Judgement, (though herein he was fo over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his virtue of Justice to be no better than feined) as also he gratified them with many delightful spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all necessity of War with *Rome*: and therefore made it his first work, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the League; which he obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and Friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greeks*, and other his Neighbours, but was rather herein too excessively bountifull, that it may seem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruin, he became grasping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the mairing passion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into fo many shapcs, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in Wars against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; People often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new Rebellion. They also conquered *Libria*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Ilyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever since the Victory) a heavy hand; and suffered *Masaniassa* to take from them what he listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in defence of their own, to take Arms: from which they were bound by an Article of Peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Masaniassa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was therefore had great advantage over them, and was therefore ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoever he desired, e're their complaining Embassadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and fo he did use them again and again: with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masaniassa* had won some Land from the *Carthaginians*: which afterward *Syllabus* won from

from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to the right owners, for love of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aspidochus* his Father-in-law. This did *Masaniassa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whose judgement the case was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Estate, to use all manner of submissive obedience to *Rome*. They had scarcely digested this injury, when *Masaniassa* came upon them again, and took from them above seventy Towns and Castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman Senate*. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in the League: That they should not make War out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now though it were so that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masaniassa*, invading their Country, howsoever he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to bear defensive Arms against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that they might have fairer Justice; or be suffered to defend their own by strong hands; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour. That the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine, how far forth *Masaniassa* should be allowed to proceed in these outrages; if none of these Petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them understand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gave them Peace; and vouchsafe to insist on them such punishment as they themselves in honour should think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Judges, than continually to live in fear, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Nimidian* Hang-man. And herewithall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping; in hope to move compassion.

Here we may behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant house of the *Barchinies*; of their irresolution in prosecuting a War so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in Italy; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole Estate in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they Servants, even to the Servants of those men, whose Fathers they have often clased, slain, taken and sold as Bond-slaves in the Streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africa* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman Peace*, which *Hanno* too often and so earnestly desired. Only they want Peace with *Masaniassa*, once their Mercenary, and now their Master, or rather their tormentor, out of whose cruel hands, they beseech their Masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourish in rich prosperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varrus*, who lost the battle at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal*, that won it: was used by the *Carthaginians*; they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extrem want, to set out an Army into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their own Walls. These were no *Car-*

thaginian virtues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their tears may less from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to right with *Masaniassa*; which estimation of their Forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into compassions with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained not such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by Arms: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained, they presumed to far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an ealie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Scipio* was then in *Rome*, and had not as yet crowned his triumph. He therefore was called before the Senate, where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions how to deal in that business. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Council divers Nights, in the Temple of *Asclepius*; whereupon he himself was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to treat the Senate, that these common Enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be over-much trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the People of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, That for *Masaniassa* his sake, they had done, and would do, whatsoever was reasonable, but that it stood not with their Justice, to allow of this violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those Lands, which by the Covenants of the League were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed *Scipio*, besetwining on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should do well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* War was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unfavorably to Rebellion) or *Masaniassa*, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they added both by the *Carthaginians* and *Masaniassa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better oblige in the future; by *Masaniassa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished; he made none other account, than that all *Africa* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perseus*. They willed him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. This he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out e're long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, until the *Bastard* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had no more to them. Afterward they cried narrowly into his

his doings: and were no less ill contented with good offices, by him done, than fondly of his rebuffs, than with those wrongs, which (they said) he did unto other home. Where he did harm to any; they called it making War upon their Friends. Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking Friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his Subjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments flew *Esphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It seems that *Esphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a People without strength to resist the *Macedonians*; and therefore unlikely to be presumed far, unless either they had been extremely provoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whosoever it was that bred this courage in them, *Perseus* did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angrily this presumption of the King: even as if he had invaded some Country of their Italian Confederates, and not corrected his own Rebels at home. Fain they would have him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*: whereunto had he humbly done his neck, they could themselves have done the part of *Masanius*; though *Emmer*, or some other in for that purpose, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were such as made it unlawful both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take Arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also fain have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their Adherents, even such as had entered into League with them upon equal terms: whom they usually rewarded with a frown, whenever they presumed to right themselves by force of Arms, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their own Carvers; and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome*, caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitration. For when they went about to have chastised the *Messinians* by War; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times they were reprehended, even with Lordly Threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of Arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard Lesson, they were such untoward Scholars, that they needed not, not long after felt, very sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being desirous to humble the *Acheans*, refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League between them; but further, with a careless infidelity, rejected this honest and reasonable petition. That the Enemy might not be supplied from *Italy*, with Victuals or Arms. But with not content, the Fathers, as warred with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmo-*

nians, or *Corinthians*, would revolt from the *Acheans*; they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them.

This was presently after, the death of *Philopomen*: at what time it was believed, that the Commonwealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distress: were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Acheans* had utterly subdued the *Messinians* far sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Acheans*; but many entered into their Corporation; then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City.) That they had straightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messina*. Thus thinking, by a feigned gravity, to have served their own turns, they manifested their condition, both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected, and also to assume unto themselves a Sovereign power, in directing all matters of War, which discernibly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make War, whether offensive or defensive, though it were against more strangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*: unless peradventure, sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these *Roman* Arts, howsoever many (for gainful or timorous respects) would seem to understand them, yet were generally displeasing unto all men ended with free Spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither Subjects of their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; nor want of more noble arguments, wherein to practice their eloquence, that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remaining free from all trouble, until the War of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratuulators of the *Roman* Victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-wealths and Kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands from consuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonians*, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greek* began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to break.

Neither *Perseus*, nor the *Romans*, were ignorant, how the *Greeks* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his near Neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his Subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopomen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subjection, whereto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become

come obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick, to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care to choose among themselves none other Magistrats, than such as effected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatness which kept all in fear. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soon be at an end; when honesty, and love of the Common-wealth, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly advertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors; whom all men knew to be little better than spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many.) As were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to speak maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or Charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own desires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Acheans* being to find Embassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the same business: chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embassy. By their making choice of such a man, one may perceive the advantage, which malicious wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plain sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome business of the weal-publick. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition, that he chose much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himself therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alledging what was meetest in justification of his People, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppress both the *Acheans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the settling of their Authority, among his froward Countreimen: if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a custom, to stand upon points of Confederacy, and Laws: as if these were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from *Rome* notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Acheans*, both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged or hindered from obeying the Decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if he, and some other of his opinion might have their wills: who could not to affirm, That no Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no solemn Oath of the whole Nation, to ratify the observance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* would the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themselves, that the multitude refused to give ear unto such persuasions. For howsoever in popular Elates, the found of liberty used to be more plausible,

than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were sure by their fo doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increase apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore, strange how the Fathers could so neglect the advancement of those, that fought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* Majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwise of little account or desert, only for having uttered some brave words against the *Romans*. The Fathers hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obnoxious, and by cherishing their Friends, to make their party strong; resolved to follow this good counsel, in every point; yea to depress all those that held with the right, and to set up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedæmon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*, that advised men to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their several Common-wealths. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his Country into the way of ruins, but himself in the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself of his eloquence used in the Senate. Only he so reported his Embassy, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such Arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Acheans*: in which Magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now, as the *Romans* by threatening-terms won many flatterers, and lost as many true Friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts, and hospital promises, to assure unto himself those that ill could brook his Enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honestier than his Enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with Factions: some holding with the *Romans*, some with the *Macedonian*, and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not sufferable, that a King, no better than their Vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of the Trepasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make War upon him. *Perseus* having finished his business among the *Dolopians*, made a Journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was: the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himself; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or Letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his

Father, might be buried with his Father's since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his Neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of Hostility in his passage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken such a journey, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Acheans*: which his Father had lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no less than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a Decree. For howsoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cause to abhor him, yet in the private administration of their Estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general consent, they resolve to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a Country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messengers, they might make themselves suspected by their new Friends; but the continuance of this Decree, beyond the time of War, and when all danger of innovation was past, was unskillful, as no inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Acheans* escaped no good fruit. For, although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst lift foot therein. Hence it came to pass, that their bond-men, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their Masters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loss of such, as made of their Slaves very profitable use. But *Perseus* took hold upon this occasion: as fitly serving to pacify those, whose enmity vain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these Fugitives, to send them home again: and wrote unto the *Acheans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their Servants, so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his Letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly received by the Prætor, before the Council. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angrily; and bade them beavited what they did: for that this was none other, than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithall he took upon him somewhat liberally, to make the *Acheans* before-hand acquainted with the War, that was coming upon *Perseus* from *Rome*. He told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the same War; how *Demetrius* had been made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of Peace. Briefly, He rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alleged by the *Romans*: the invasion of the *Bastarne* upon the *Dardaniens*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect

the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the Prætor's brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest in lo fight a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman Senate*, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perseus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate: and that he had lovingly entertained their Embassadors: This being so why might not the *Acheans*, as well as the *Ætoliens*, *Thracians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheless *Callicrates* was grown a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffly gain-say him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and answer made the whilst, That since the King had only sent a Letter without an Embassador, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than, that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus* here-with not contented, would needs urge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience, which was proof sufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were soon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonians*; though hitherto no cause of War was given.

SECT. V.

How Eumenes King of Pergamum was buffeted with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the Rhodians; with the cause thereof. The unusual stoutness of the Macedonian Embassadors. Perseus his attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly love between Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus his device to poison some of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree War against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.

EUMENES King of Pergamum had been troubled about these times, by the Kings Pharnaces and Mithridates, his Neighbours. He had taken Pol. Leg. the right course, in making first his complaint to 56, c. 50. the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise. That they, by their Authority, would end the business of his content. But in conclusion, by the help of the Kings *Perseus* and *Antiochus*, he ended the War himself; and brought his enemies to seek and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure: he began to consider how the affairs of *Macedon* stood under *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very

very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy was as great, and withall notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonians*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his Father and him) began to wax every where flake; whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignity, He stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodiens* his old friends; and in helping their rebels, was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, in open War. But final pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge.

The *Lycians* could not be fayed by his Patronage from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodiens*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of Hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*: they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Acheans*, as too unmeasured, mis-befitting them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he need not to have regarded, had he been not too vainly ambitious) he felt him; especially for his being over-serveable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounty, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to persuade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompensed with some piece of the Kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where, though he had little to say, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty; and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the balance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarne* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermeddling in business of his Neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse of his own, many in a readiness to entertain ten thousand Mercenaries for ten years, Arms to furnish a number three as great: The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready at a call, to bring him Soldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared Victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consi-

der, that King *Selenus* the Son and Successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his Daughter *Laudice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Selenus* offering the match. That King *Transas* of *Bybina*, by earnest suit, had gotten to Wife the Sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassadors from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envy to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvelously well affected to his Son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Athyrbis* the *Thyrians*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify unto the most, saying, That he thought it his duty to forewarn them: since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in Italy making War upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should sit upon them in Italy. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make War without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their Associates, but of further hurt intended; great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautify their intendment. Now though it were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embassadors, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of Hostility against them, their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done, were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own Kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the War, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well known, helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of rectification. The vanity, either of him, or some about him, seems to have discoloured all: when the weariness of the Fathers, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable show of some fearful apprehensions; against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore earnest Audiance was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes* as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to Rebellion. The *Rhodiens* had with great pomp conveyed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Laudice*; which friendly Office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully required, so the *Romans* delightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were sitting themselves in their obedience to

the People of *Rhoder*, Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange news, which gave new life to the Rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection, any People or Nation by them vanquished: and that the *Lycians* were by them aligned unto those of *Rhoder*, not as meer Vassals, but as Dependants and Affiliates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the Victory against *Antiochus*. Heret *Eumenes*, *Masani*, the *Asians*, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to *Rome*, for increasing the number of their Subjects, had cause to find themselves aggrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like Decree, those their Subjects might easily be made their Fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so that all men knew the prudent meaning of the Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodian* for their good will to *Perseus*, by letting them and the *Lycians* together by the Ears. The Fathers could therefore find reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made to the *Rhodian* Embassadors, which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King for much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carefully as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them of find cause of anger: for whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacify them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plain language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might favour of Hostility; but that, if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by Arms, and stand to the chance of War, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* hurt felt might, at this time, think to speed better by a few of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude: it was not expedient that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection born to him, which therein depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune, which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soon after on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer show of reason to make War upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there do sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* desirous hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mis-

chievous Enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout Rufians to do the Murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence assault the Kings, whom they forely bruited with great Stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all lure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own Companions, who could not hold pace with them; because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveyed away to the little Isle of *Epis*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his Death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his Brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took, or would have taken to wife (supposing it be-like a matter of State) *Sratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbered among the rare Examples of brotherly love, That when the King returned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than, That he should forbear to marry with the Queen, until he were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of their matters, but bequeathed at his death, unto the same Brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his Brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in special favour, when *Eumenes* kill into their hatred) were in good readiness to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By such concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld; as might also that of *Macedonia* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived, and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his Ministers had both accomplished his will, and had fared all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived, so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly conceived the less matter. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business: and they, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embassador, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Laminius* a Citizen of *Brundisium*; who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, laden with dangerous secrets, had secretly sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundisium* was the ordinary Port for Ships palling between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Romanius* a fair House, wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable persons, both *Roman* and *Macedonian*, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his Hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with Friendly Letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings Secret. The fun of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality;

lity; sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this Employment: for far less the virtue of this Medicine should be tried upon himself. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Romanius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see again: and therefore, besides that the Kings denial ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other; yet withal professing, That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the Rightfulness of making War upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proof which might have been easy (than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gave him no privilege: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make War upon *Eumenes* their Confederates: that is, if he might not send men to waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns: might he not Rufians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the League to destroy the Senate by fire or famine, than by violence of the Sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed War against him; and sent Embassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to have been so confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he desired not War, yet he did not fear it: or at least he thought by show of courage, to make his Enemies more calm. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their Errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference in the Isle of *Samos*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia* about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they contemptuously required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence, brought against him by *Romanius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well-beloved, and well-befriended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage, calling the *Romans* greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League made between them and his Father; and renewed by himself indeed only for fear, but without them to descend to more equal conditions; whereupon he,

for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as is set down by *Polypion*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* infers a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any War abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* Confederates were included in this Peace: whereby every one of the Neighbours round about *Macedonia*, entering shortly into League with *Rome*, did so find the Kings hands, that he could no more make War abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain Covenant. And thus might that seem an Article of the Peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear Defensive Arms, without their permission: then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his Father, without controul, to make War in *Thrace*, (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why they should now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own Rebels? or to repulse an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the League as unjust, he missed occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could give him to undertake this War, he should courageously have managed it, and have fallen to work immediately, whilst the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost the opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse Peace than the former.

SECT. VI.

The *Romans* solicit the *Greeks* to join with them in the War against *Perseus*. From the *Greeks* good success in that War. The *timoroni* of *Perseus*. *Martius* a *Roman* Embassador declares him with hope of peace. The losses. The taking the Field, and miss part of *Thessaly*. The Forces of *Licinius* the *Roman* Consul: and what Affiliates the *Romans* had in this War. Of Tempe in *Thessaly*; and what advantages the *Macedonian* had, or might have had; but lost by his fear. *Perseus* braves the *Romans*, fights with them, knows not how to use his Victory; flies for Peace, and is denied it by the Vanquished. *Perseus* having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the country lying about *Tempe*. The *Bacotians* rebel against the *Romans*, and are rigorously punished. The *Roman* Commanders unfortunate in the War against *Perseus*. They vex the *Greeks* their Friends; for whole ease

case the Senate makes Provision, having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the Romans been seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behindhand in Provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confidence of good pretences to make the War; whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their Cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the Action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strengths were such as would prevail in the end; they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreasoning a small help, towards examining the Greek and others: who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the Greek, or other Eastern People should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonians: such was the diffidence between the several Estates; howsoever the generality of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless, Embassadors were sent to deal with them all; and to crave their help against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the Liberty of Greece. The Embassadors used as gentle words for falshood sake, as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greek were now well acquainted with such Roman courtship; and understood that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the Romans: the *Acheans* and *Rhodiens*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to fit up the side, whereof they gladly would have seen the ruin. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to *Perseus*, of the Nobles and Rulers, if some few vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest, and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wished better to *Perseus* than to the Romans. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Historians was one: who though he judged the Victory of *Perseus* like to prove hurtful unto Greece, yet wished he the Romans ill to thrive, that so the Greek might recover perfect Liberty: for his endeavours in which course, he was at length tyrannically hindered, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Acheans*, and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their fear may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of *Perseus* himself. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few Compa-

nies brought over-Sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the Enemy fair, and sue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would serve to terrify him: and consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans Power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of Peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had afflicted him; little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his Army; taking by force or composition some few Towns, and soliciting all to join with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he fought all means of pacification; and to that end, made humble suit unto the Roman Embassadors. *Q. Martins*, the chief of those Embassadors, and a man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the Romans, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the King entertained and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereunto *Perseus* made none other answer, than the time which they could have made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a Truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his desires, which was to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in a readiness, and might have done much, ere the Roman Army could be in Greece. But by the interposition of this Truce, he no way increased his Forces; he suffered his most convenient season of winning upon the Enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herewith: as it had been with some Victory: publishing a Copy of the Disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gave men to understand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodiens*, of whose good will to him he was best persuaded; not only to let them know how much he was superior in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the Romans; if perhaps notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied Peace. These were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than mere vanity: his own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearfulness might seem excusable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the Greek; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of necessity, that was partly their own: had it not been his Office; who took upon him as their Champion, to give such a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his more and more lying being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were careful not to put their Shoulders to a falling Wall. The *Rhodiens*, among whom he had many stout Partizans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The *Bacians* also, who had entered of late into a strict society with the Macedonian, renounced it now, and made the like with the

Romans:

Romans: to whom further, in a fort, they yielded themselves as Vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission under a general form; but caused their several Towns to make covenant apart, each for it self; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Commonwealths, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated into one, under the City of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Bacians* from *Thebes* their Head, was more than *Aegleus* could effect, or *Epinomondas* would follow, then when all Greece followed the Macedonians. So far were all provided to *Thebes*, being destitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epinomondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the society with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the Macedonians.

Martius brought this to effect, whilst the King sat still, as being bound by the Truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed again by the Senate; with commission to deal as he should think expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent; audience was given to them, for that they thought not plainly for how their Matter was delayed; but neither excuse nor intreaty would serve their turn: the Senate being resolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days respite allowed them to depart out of Italy: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the usual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to such Commanders as might not, by reason of some Custom, enter the City) and had only the short warning of Eleven days, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poor courtship serve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest; but it was a likely mean both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his bulwarks, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the Roman Consul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soon as the Macedonian Embassadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have roused *Perseus*, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting Pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himself Tributary to the Romans, and to redeem their good will with some part of his Kingdom, than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed, which also was the wisest, and so would have proved, had it been stoutly and wisely followed. Hence now began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what should have been done long ago. He caused all his Forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendezvous at *Citium*, a Town in Macedonia. All being in readiness, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beasts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his Guard, set forward to *Citium*. His Army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were stran-

gers, of sundry Nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest of his own Macedonians. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their Ancestors, the intolence of the Romans, the goodness of his Cause, the greatness of his Provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of Macedonia there came likewise Messengers, offering to help him with Money and Victuals, according to their several Abilities. He gave them thanks: but answered, That his own provision would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with Carts, for his Engines and Munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he issued forth into *Thessaly*: knowing that the Romans were to pass thorough that Country, in their Journey towards him. Some Towns of *Thessaly* opened their Gates unto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well-manned; and some he won by force. Of these last was *Nyle*; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the Assailants. It was taken by reason of a Sally, which the Towns-men rashly made, and being driven back, received the Macedonians, that entered pell mell with them at the Gate. All cruelty of War was practised here: to the greater terror of the obstinate, *So Velatie* and *Comus* (Towns of much importance, especially *Comus*, which stood in the straits of *Olis*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Siccrinum*, a Town seated on the foot of Mount *Olis*; where he rested a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of Auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* & *Attalus* his Brother came to him in *Thessaly*, with four thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. Thither also came, from every part of Greece, such aid as the several Estates could afford: or thought expedient to send, which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad, *Masanius* sent thither his Son *Misigenes*, with a thousand Foot, a many Horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, by reason of his Affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his young Son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this War; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Perseus* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the Romans. *Antiochus* and *Proimus* (though *Proimus* was then young, and under Tutors) had business of their own: the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian; yet each of them promised help to the Romans, which they cared not to perform. *Geminus* the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian, yet made good countenance to the Romans, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith *M. Lucernus*, the Roman Admirals Brother, served him, for this his counterfeited good will. This King had four and fifty Ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucernus* took away, after a very kind sort; making them to believe, That for none other end than to serve the

Romans,

Pol. lib. 2, 73, 80.

Pol. lib. 2, 77.

case the Senate makes Provision, having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

So long had the Romans been seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a consequence of good pretences to make the War: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their Cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the Action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strengths were such as would prevail in the end; they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unready (as a small help, towards examining the Greeks and others; who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the Greeks, or other Eastern People should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonians: such was the diffidence between the several Estates, howsoever the generality of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless, Embassadors were sent to deal with them all; and to crave their help against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the Liberty of Greece. The Embassadors used as gentle words for sedition sake, as if they had stood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now well acquainted with such Roman craftiness; and understood that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the Romans: the *Acheans* and *Rhodiens*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to set up the side, whereto they gladly would have seen the ruin. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest, and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wished better to *Perseus* than to the Romans. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Historians was one; who though he judged the Victory of *Perseus* like to prove hurtful unto Greece, yet wished he the Romans ill to thrive, that to the Greeks might recover perfect Liberty: for his endeavours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Acheans*, and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their fear may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of *Perseus* himself. He had undertaken a War, whereto the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few Compa-

nies brought over-Sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the Enemy fair, and sue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would serve to terrify him: and consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans Power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of Peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had afflicted him: little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his Army; taking by force or compulsion, some few Towns, and soliciting all to join with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit unto the Roman Embassadors. *Q. Martins*, the chief of those Embassadors, and a man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the Romans, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the King entertained and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a Truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in a readiness, and might have done much, ere the Roman Army could be in Greece. But by the interposition of this Truce, he no way increased his Forces; he suffered a most convenient season of winning upon the Enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herewith: as it had been with some Victory: publishing a Copy of the Disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gave men to understand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodiens*, of whose good will to him he was best persuaded; or only to let them know how much he was superior in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the Romans; if perhaps notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied Peace. These were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than mere vanity; his own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his carelessness might seem excusable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the Greeks; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of necessity: yet was partly their own: had it not been his Office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give such a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were careful not to put their Shoulders to a falling Wall. The *Rhodiens*, among whom he had many stout Partizans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The *Bœotians* also, who had entered of late into a strict society with the Macedonians, renounced it now, and made the like with the

Romans:

Romans: to whom further, in a fort, they yielded themselves as Vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission under a general covenant apart, each for it self: to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Commonwealths, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated into one, under the City of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their Head, was more than *Aegleus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all Greece followed the Macedonians. So far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the society with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the Macedonians.

Martius brought this to effect, whilst the King sat still, as being bound by the Truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed again by the Senate; with commission to deal as he should think expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent; audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded; but neither excuse nor intreaty would serve their turn: the Senate being resolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days respite allowed them to depart out of Italy: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the usual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to such Commanders as might not, by reason of some Custom, enter the City) and had only the short warning of Eleven days, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poor courtesy serve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good counsel: but it was a likely mean both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his business, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Lucius* the Roman Consul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soon as the Macedonian Embassadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have roused *Perseus*, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hopes of getting Pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, whether it were not better to offer himself Tributary to the Romans; and to redeem their good will with some part of his Kingdom, that so he might enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed; which also was the wisest, and so would have proved, had it been stoutly and wisely followed. Hence began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what his Forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendezvous at *Citium*, a Town in Macedonia. All being in readiness, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beasts, to know not what *Mintevus*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country, and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his Guard, set forward to *Citium*. His Army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, whereto about twelve thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were stran-

gers, of sundry Nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest of his own Macedonians. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their Ancestors, the infolency of the Romans, the goodness of his Cause, the greatness of his Provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of Macedonia there came likewise Messengers, offering to help him with Money and Victuals, according to their several Abilities. He gave them thanks: but answered, That his own provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with Carts, for his Engines and Munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he issued forth into *Theffaly*: knowing that the Romans were to pass thence that Country, in their Journey towards unto him. Some Towns of *Theffaly* opened their Gates unto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well-manned; and some he won by force. Of these last was *Nyle*, a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the Assaultants. It was taken by reason of a Sally; which the Towns-men rashly made, and being driven back, received the Macedonians, that entered pell-mell with them at the Gate. All cruelty of War was practised here: to the greater terror of the obstinate. *So Velatie* and *Comus* (Towns of much importance, especially *Comus*, which stood in the straits of *Offa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sicrimum*, a Town seated on the foot of Mount *Offa*; where he retired a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Lucius the Consul brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of Auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* & *Attalus* his Brother came to him in *Theffaly*, with four thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. Thither also came, from every part of Greece, such aid as the several Estates could afford: or thought expedient to send, which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad, *Melampus* sent thither his Son *Misagenes*, with a thousand Foot, as many Horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariseus* the Cappadocian, by reason of his Affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his young Son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this War; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Perseus* was contented to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the Romans. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* (though *Ptolemy* was then young, and under Tutors) had business of their own; the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian; yet each of them promised help to the Romans, which they cared not to perform. *Genius* the Ilyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian, yet made good countenance to the Romans, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith *M. Lucius*, the Roman Admirals Brother, served him, for this his counsellor good will. This King had four and fifty Ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucius* took away, after a very kind sort; making them to believe, That for none other end than to serve the

Romans,

Romans, their good friend *Genius* had sent thither this Fleet. But whatsoever *Genius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of this War; by offering, rather than giving his help to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessaly*, foisted with a painful Journey, through the Mountainous Country of *Athamania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plains, the *Romans* must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied Army, by the River *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his Auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved to abide where he then was, and keep his Trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himself in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Thessaly*, in which these two Armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautiful Valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large to signify the most pleasant and goodly places. This Valley of it felt was not great; but adding to it those huge Mountains *Off* and *Olympus* (famous in Poëtic) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unless they would make an hungry Journey thorow the Country of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former War with *Philip*; they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perseus* therefore had no small advantage, by being Master of the Straights leading unto *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the rugged passages of these Mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the works; yea, to win upon them (for a while) every more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionless he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the Straights of *Aons*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*. Surely, not without extreme difficulty, with all the *Romans* have either travelled by Land, with all their Carriages and Impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found, or else have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of the Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have sought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courses they once deviated, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present War. It may perhaps be said, that the *Greeks*, and others, whom the King must have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former War. The *Aetolians*, upon whom the *Athamians* depended, grew into faction with the *Romans* (as we shall find anon) even as soon as they met with *Perseus*. The *Epi-*

tians, how politically soever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the *Macedonian* quarrel: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best? The *Rhodiens*, *Lyrians*, yea, and *Eumenes* himself, after a while began to waver, when they saw things go better with *Perseus*, than they had expected. So that if instead of discouraging his Friends, by suing basely for Peace; he had raised their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well-willings; yea, and bought down with money (as he might have done) some of his Enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have been compelled to forsake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the Liberty by them given, entire; which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this War, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have been expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearful company running from their Enemies, till some River lay their flight; are there compelled by meer desperation to do such acts, as done, while the battle lasted, would have won the Victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to avoid that danger of that War, wherein if he should have fought the honour; he left his Friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety: yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to fly back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himself with his proper Forces; than to be driven into such misery, as was inevitable, if he have a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessaly*, it is hard to show particularly, for that the History of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the sum.

The Consul having no desire to fight, until such time as all his Forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay still encamped by the River of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which persuaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter unto a hasty trial. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the Field; by waiving the Land of the *Phereans* their Confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which, if they issued, it was likely that his advantage in *Horle* would make the Victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was fudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his *Horle*, and with them some light-armed Foot, to entertain Skirmish. The Captain, and some other of the were slain: but no matter of importance done for that neither *Licinius* nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazard battle. Thus, day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battle; which they still refused. Herdoy his boldness much increased; and much more his reputation: to the grief of those, who being so far come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame that fell upon them by their enduring their Bravadoes. The Town of *Sycarum*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the morning, but he was fain to bring water along with him in Carts, that his men might not be both weary

and thirstily when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a Lodging seven miles nearer to the Enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sun-rising. His coming at such an unusual hour, filled the Camp with Tumult: innumerable as though he brought with him only his *Horle* and light Armature, that were unfit to assail the Trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his Brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of *Horle*, his Velites, and all the rest of his light Armature to try their fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp, with his Legions in readiness. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the Victory in a manner intire (though the *Thessalians* made a good retreat) with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to counsel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great rage, lest he should assault their Camp; and to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unfurled for: he nevertheless took it for found advice, which indeed was timorous and base. To work warily, and moderate his Victory; by which means it was said, That either he should get honest conditions of Peace, or at least many Companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the Hope and Courage of his Friends. Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his Friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for Peace: And in suing for it, even when he had the Victory; what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, That neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whenever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his Victory would admit none of the Considerations. He had slain of the *Roman* *Horle* two hundred, and taken of them Prisoners the like number. Of their Foot he had slain about two thousand: losing of his own no more than twenty *Horle*, and forty Foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this disaster, was full of heaviness and fear: it being much doubted that the Enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsel to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Consul, though alarmed to profits, by so doing, in what fear he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the Loss paid, than by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater Calamity. So he passed the River in the dead of the Night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Aetolians* were sorely blamed for this loss: as if rather a traitorous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especial mark, had been observed to be the first which turned their backs: an observation likely to cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learn by Examples of either kind, that if they would shun indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no less for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own Liberty. Thus ended it with the Consul and his Army. *Perseus*

came the next day to correct the former days error; which how great it was, they not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whether they could never have attained, if the King had either pressed his Victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light Armature being alone sufficient to have routed them whilst they were conveying to themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City. The Gentlemen of *Rome*, out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Pretors, Consuls, and all that bore Office or Command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they flew away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the Glory of his Action; dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour found. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mafissa*, a place in a mid-way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily persuaded to use the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining Peace. Therefore he sent unto the Consul, and offered to yield unto the same Conditions wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the War might to take end. It were needless here again to show the folly of this course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired Peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a Truce, whilst *Eumenes* should go to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions, and ratify the League. And of such a Truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommodity returned. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of Peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yield both his Kingdom and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in Adversity. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that having received an answer to pre-emptory he still persisted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the Peace which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the King withdrew himself back to *Sycarum*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose Forces were well repaired by the coming of *Maffigenes* the Son of *Maffinilla*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the King and him, caused the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their Harveist: about which business they ranged over all the Fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon those that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the first season; but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the Foragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a Guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a Skirmish of *Horle*, or (for the report is divers) in a great Battle, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few days, to fall back into *Macedon*.

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cedors as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was: whereby what loss he felt will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, gave only Tempe, weakly guarded: and consequently an easy prey to the Romans.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight into *Comus*; hoping to have taken it, and to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back unto the *Perreians* and others; from whom he won some Towns, and among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundry Towns thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul took, may seem not to have belonged unto the *Thessalians*; unless, perhaps, after his Victory, *Perseus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got some part of *Thessaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the Histories of them are greatly deficient. One may think it strange, that the *Boeotians*, whom a Roman Ambassador could terrify, and bring altogether to his own will, should not be afraid of a Roman Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navy on their Coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martinus*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty Towns, which by that same diffraction of the *Fæderis*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had been. The causes hereof were to have been fought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Licinius* the Roman Admiral: who got so much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebel in like sort, if by extrem oppression he could have driven them so far. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul undiligent in the same kind. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I find nowhere mentioned. Only this is said in general; That in the War which he made, he cruelly and covetously demeaned himself.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hyllinus* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hyllinus* shewed more of his industry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the War against the *Macedonians*. For concerning the Roman War upon his Kingdom, after that the Consul had fought passage in vain over certain Mountains, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked towards *Thyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an Army of four Thousand, and who, by Leives made upon the Confederates, doubted this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Usciana*, a border Town of *Thyria*, by Treachery, came thither in such careless order, that the Inhabitants which had made them of Treason, with purpose only to train him into danger; fellied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so far, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Town of *Usciana*, shortly after became Roman: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very soon recovered it, and many other places therewithal: *Corycæ* a *Thracian* King, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*, and *Cephalus* an *Epirat*, revolted from the Romans, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a

painful Journey into *Ætolia*, where he was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest City in that Region. Of this hope though he was disappointed by those of the Roman Faction, yet in his return home, he took in *Aprantia*; and shortly after heard good news, that *Ap. Claudius* was again thoroughly beaten by *Cleus*, one of his Lieutenants. Such success had the *Macedonian* War under *Hyllinus*. The same Consul offended much the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affliction towards *Rome*. For these Embassadors travelling thorough all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gave out speeches tending to shew, that they liked no better of those who fought not by might and main to advance their business, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* Faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Com. Polyb. 174. mander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopemen*; and together with him, his son *Polybius*, who soon after was General of the *Achaean* Horse; but more notable by that excellent History which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The form of the accusation should have been; That they were not hearty Friends unto the Romans, but such as abstained from railing troubles, more for lack of opportunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: they demanded hostages, and found none in the Council that approved the motion: as also among the *Acarnanians*, there were that intreated to have Roman Garrisons bestowed in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. They of the *Roman* Faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but also the good Patriots; making it no less than a matter of Treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thanks of their base flattery, rating them openly, in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in the presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations, and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselves, as men that could believe none ill; though it were well enough known what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and published to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burden for the present War, unless it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meet. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that standing on privileges herof, refused to fulfill every commandment, were numbered among the Patriots; which in the end of this War proved little better, if not worse, than to have been Traitors. The Senate was driven to set down this order, by reason of many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, and especially by the Admirals, *Licinius* and *Hortensius*. *Licinius* was condemned in a great sum of Money, for the wrongs by him done; highly to the commendation of the *Roman*, in that they loved not to have their Subjects

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oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in Office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services: it is not unworthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the lesser *Asia*, there was presented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred Horsemens Targets, and a Crown of Gold, to bestow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratify the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular, and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple unto the Town *Rome*, and appointed anniversary Games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Perseus*, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the shameful flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of men, divine honours: when he sees a Town of Houles, wherein powerful men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess; and receiving (without korn of the Givers, or shame of the Present) the title of *Deity*, at such a rascal City as *Alabanda*?

SECT. VII.

Q. *Martinus* the Roman Consul, with extrem difficulty and danger, enters into *Tempe*. The cowardice of *Perseus* in abandoning *Tempe*. The Town of *Diium* quitted by *Martinus*; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill success. Their affairs in hard estate. *Martinus* a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent Ambassador to *Martinus* from the Achæans. Polybius his honest wisdom beneficial to the Achæans. King *Eumenes* grows averse from the Romans. *Perseus* negotiates with *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*. His false dealing with *Gentius* King of *Illyria*; whom he draws into the Roman War. He sends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be Arbitrators between him and the Romans. *Perseus* loses a mighty succour of the Bastarnæ, by his wretched parsimony.

AFTER two years of the *Macedonian* war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the War began; which had been thought likely to reform all those Countreys, and bring them to what pass the Romans desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in Peace. He had enlarged his Borders on the *Illyrian* side, his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the War might prove, and therefore upon to become wile for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius*, and *Hyllinus* the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprise of Conquest, by many losses received.

The Roman Admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many Towns, even of the best situated to *Rome*, kept them out by force. General, by the fear was great on the Roman side; and the Army much lessened, not only by casualties of War, but by the faculty of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himself (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licencing the Soldiers to depart. *Quintus Martinus* the new Consul, who succeeded unto *Hyllinus*, was to amend all this: which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do; though he began with him a strong supply of men. He brought horly to him the War on the Foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way; not seeking to force the Straights that were surely Guarded, but taking pains to climb the Mountains which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or need of any custody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit access; and the Consul proceeded in his Journey: with hope, either not to be discovered by the Enemy, or to break through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should have that lay to (stop him; and at length, if all failed; to make a safe retreat. He went before him four thousand of his most expedite Foot, to discover the ways. Two days was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had fight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe piece of ground; and sent back word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonian* where not a wile dismayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three days together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loss on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a Mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed; all the rest were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to return. Wherefore *Martinus* took the only course remaining: and indeed the best: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilst he, with the rest, fetcht a compass about, and fought ways that never had been trodden. Herein he found extrem difficulty: which notwithstanding, he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such Journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled by labour of hand; to make paths where none were; yea, where Nature might seem to have intended, that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the Mountains, in this way which he took: that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part to rowl themselves down, as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with Rocks, that stood one over another, so upright; and cumbersome to get down: that their Elephants were afraid of that giddy project, and casting their Governors, made a terrible noise; which affrighted the Horses, and bred great confusion: Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous Journey; there was nothing more devised by the Soldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again, the same way which they had come. But

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shift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of Bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the end of the Cliff, the other sustained by two long Poles, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two Poles, or Poles, (which indeed, not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two raters, answerable in length to the distance between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one Bridge might reach to the beginning of another. They were covered with Planks and Turfe; that they might seem continent with the ground: so to make the Beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a Rock, to the next down-fall; then might the Bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of these; the Poles upholding the frame were cut asunder: thereby causing him to sink down into the next Bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner to the third, and onward still to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their Feet, others on their Buttocks, till they came to an even Valley. By this it appears, how thoroughly provided the *Romans* use to be in their Journeys, of things needful in all occasions; as also what ineffable pains they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their Carriages down the Mountains. The next day they rested, staying for *Euphrates* and his Company, who hardly, or perhaps, should have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth days journeys were like unto the first: gave that custom, and the nearness to their ways end without meeting Enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him: since they fought with his men upon the passage, three days together: he lying so nigh, that he might well-near have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear; that he neither fitted to help his own men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsel, fate hearkening after the event. Four only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Comus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force; the second and third were the same which *Marius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it, the last, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as *Marius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King did benefit: for that his Enemies could not get thither, save through the Valley it self, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the huge Mountain *Olympus*, about a mile from the Sea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a Lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half, the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keep: where the spurs of the Mountains, reaching far into the Valley, drew near to the very Banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep River which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easy, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome Journey: if *Perseus* could have seen his own advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not only

in ill case to night, after the vexation of that miserable travel: but must needs have either perished for want of Victuals, or been enforced to return the same way that he came, if the King had made good the strait of *Dium*. To have returned and climbed up with their Elephants and Carriages, against those Rocks, from which, with extraordinary labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility: especially considering how the Enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them: being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange that the *Romans* did not rather take their Journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Thracia*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they departed to win. But the Cowardize of *Perseus* did commend the counsel by them followed, as wife. For he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*, than he feared like one out of his Wits; saying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all, without battle. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haste; and straightways abandoned the Town. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent a straight command to *Theflalonica*, that the Arsenal there should be set on fire; and *Pella*, that his Treasures there should be cast into the Sea: as if the *Romans* were like presently to be Masters of these two Cities. *Nicasa*, who was appointed to draw the Treasure, performed it as hastily as well he could: though soon after, his Master grew sorry for the loss; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the Water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge for sitting on the Kings Arsenal, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Nicasa*, for his absolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easy pardon; is referred in the King to interpret. The reward of his Service was this: *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad Cowardize, that appeared in this hasty direction: caused them both to be slain. Also those poor men, which had fetched his Treasure out of the Sea by their Diving, were paid their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would have gone surely to work, for the hiding of his faults; then must he so royally have behaved himself, that no man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or counsel. But his virtue was of no capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had stopped the Consul on the top of the Mountain) and *Asclepiodotus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed: he raised them openly, saying, That they had betrayed unto the Enemy the Gates and Bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged, then might they have sped as did *Nicasa* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Marius* had great cause to rejoice, for

for that the King had so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the *Roman* Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subtil for want of Victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having Travelled about a days Journey, and gotten one Town that yielded, he was compelled by meagre lack of Food for his men, to return back to wards *Theflaly*. His Fleet came to him, in this time of necessity, well appointed to have helped him in the War: but having left behind, at *Albanesia*, the Ships of Burthen, which carried the Provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those ways only might Corn be brought to the Army. To meet the sooner with this Corn, which was most desirously expected, he forsook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish Journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer falling had been worth. It is probable that his Carts, withall, or the most of his store, were lost among the Mountains: for otherwise it had been madness to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or light of the Enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was: men thought him a Coward, or at least a bad man of War; since he thus recoyled and gave off, when it most behooved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or Cowardize of *Marius*; the King recollected himself, undid what his own error: fought to hide it by such poor means as have been shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repaired, finding the Town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Less diligence, more timely uld, would have been enough, not only to have delivered *Marius* into his hand, but to have given him such an idle hope of Peace, but to have given him such a noble Victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seek a good end of the War upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in hate. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his Only the Town of *Heraclea*, standing on the River of *Peneus*, five mile from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defiance as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, *Marius* had taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chief care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Theflalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vain. The Fields about *Theflalonica* were wasted; and some Companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Town, were still put to the work. As for the Town it self, there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reason of the Engines, which shot from the Walls, and reached unto the Fleet.

Wherefore the Admiral setting Sail from thence, ran along by *Amia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing near to each of them; and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to *Palene* in the Territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Sumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty Ships of War: and five other were sent thither from King *Perseus*. With this access of strength, the Admiral was bold to try his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new Ditch lately cut by *Perseus*, before the Town: which, while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, What became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank? By this occasion, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of Brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by fapping the Walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meet: giving an alarm to the other side of the Town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But whilst the *Romans* were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and falling forth unexpectedly, gave a fierce charge on the Companies that were between the Ditch and the Walls: of whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the Town which King *Sumenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entering the Town by Sea) caused the Siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereto *Euphrates*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his coming, with such Forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had had time to it; but to keep the Land about it from spoil; or, at least (as they did) to make the Enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphrates* had taken his Journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melissae*: whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, letting their Camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelessly) most unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: yes, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befell them, or, at least, that they were in more greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining History of this War. For *Marius* persuaded the *Rhodiens* by *Asclepius* their Embassador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other business of less importance, That they should do well to interpose themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish the War. Now, although *Polybius* Poly. Lib. 80. do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Marius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodiens* in danger (as anon it fell out) than for their opposing the resolution of the Senate; that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeited. And so were the *Rhodiens* moved to think of him, not

Polyb. Lib. 87.

not only for that the extraordinary courtesies, both of him and the Admiral, towards their Embassadors, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of *Perseus*, and of *Genius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their business at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonians* had gotten, than with the honour of some Victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the *Roman* Horse. Thus much we find intimated; though the time, place, or other circumstances of the Fight, be not specified. And here-to may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the Estate of *Marius* his Army. For they found the Consul wanting near the Admiral wanting men; and for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *App. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme dangers: so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new Army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at least that the *Romans*, with greater loss than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the Towns which they besieged.

Now, although it were so, that *Marius*, in view of his actions, behaved himself like a man of War: yet in exercise of *Courage*, which one hath most aptly termed, *A crooked or sinister kind of wisdom*, he dealt as a Crafts-maker, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiency, nor commended his honesty; since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheless out of envy, vain-glory, or such delight as weak and bubble-headed men take, in creating explicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the success of his doings against *Hyspinius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Thessaly*. *Archus*, *Lyceus*, and other good Patriots among the *Acheans*, judged it expedient for their Nations to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archus* proposed a Decree, which passed: That the *Acheans* should send their whole power into *Thessaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all dangers. So the Army was levied: and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadors unto *Marius*, to certify him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Consul busy in finding passage thorow *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army, and awaited the Consul's leisure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where, finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, whereinsoever it should be commanded. *Marius* took this very kindly; but said, That he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signify thus much: tarrying himself behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Marius*, that *App. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Acheans*, five Thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in Field, he might do notable service, by distracting the Forces of *Perseus*. But the *Labrian* head of *Marius*, could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, That *Appius*

had no need of such aid, and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Acheans* be put to such needless charges. Away went *Polybius*, smiling, and unable to resolve, whether it were for love to the *Acheans*, that the Consul was so earnest in this business; or rather for envy, and to hinder *App. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Council touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own self, and those of his party. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Marius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to help *Claudius*, alleging that he had no need: In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, unless, by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Acheans* were Givers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polybius* himself ran into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policy of *Marius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in fear lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own Lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to outweigh all other passions, it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, That *Eumenes* did not so much as give any help to *Marius*; but coming to have joyed with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certain Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requested to have done it. If this were true, and that his Brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the Consul, did the *Romans* good service: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, born afterward by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received, that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meer desire of gain. And it might well be, that covetousness drew him on, in the course, wherein into indignation first led him. Howsoever it befall; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be founded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicit him by an Embassy. The tenour of his Advertisements, both to *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love between a King and a free City: that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings; though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed with help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes*

menes to confider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him what they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his War with the *Egyptians*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compel the *Romans* to forebear from their War upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way; and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly touch'd; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of Peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be now less weary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he proposed for his own part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this War, then would he remain a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantity of money (how much I find not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto Peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give Hostages: *Perseus* liked well to receive the Hostages, but not to lay out the money, especially before-hand, as was required. He would have had Peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to bear any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samos*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the Peace was fully concluded and ratified. The like of *Samos* was *Perseus* his own: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in *press*. Thus the two Kings did no more than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Genius* the *Illyrian*. He had scrippited this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not fight. Heretofore *Perseus* loved not to bearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Genius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made; and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Army might have comfort; by such access of strength to their party. Privately upon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Genius*: who desired the *Rhodian*s, to take upon them as Arbitrators between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the War to an end. The *Rhodian*s thinking that *Marius* the Consul was no less desirous of Peace, than the *Macedonian*s, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make Peace; willing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors, gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as the vain glory of the *Rhodian*s was thoroughly chastised; and more

thoroughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Genius* his friendship, made *Perseus*, without laying out one Ounce of Silver. Now *Illyrian* he would have hattered this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the War: but then must the money be hattered away. *Pantaneus* the *Macedonian* Embassador, who remained with *Genius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilst the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Heretupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantaneus*: who delivered it to the young King, as Earnest of that which followed. More followed it indeed; and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians*, but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Genius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embassadors, and cast them into Prison, which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pessa*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make War with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Claudius*, a great Foot, ten thousand Horse, and ten thousand King of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratify with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their General asked, was, whether the King had sent money to give their Soldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Claudius*) tell thy Master, that the *Gauls* will not stir on foot further, until they have Gold, as was agreed, and Hostages. *Perseus* heretupon took counsel: if to utter his own opinion before men to wile that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the *Bastarnæ*; who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdom. Five thousand Horse of them he said would be as many as he should need to fight, and not so many, that he should need to fear them. It had been well done; if any of his Counsellors would have told him; That there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, since without any danger to the Kingdom, they might be let out, by the way of *Perræbia*, into *Thessaly*; where, wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they won any Victory or not. This, and a great deal more, might have been alleged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, *Antiochus*, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the Kings mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmur of those many Thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But *Claudius* asked him now again, Whether he had brought the money along with him to pay these five Thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antiochus* could make no better answer, than (sitting

ting excules, the *Bastarne* returned presently towards *Danubius*, waiting the Neighbour-paras of *Thrace*; yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than he could well have expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a careful Treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the sum. But of this painful Office he was very soon discharged by *L. Æmilius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteen days after his setting forth from *Italy*, brought the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

SECT. VIII.

Of *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul. *Æ* is Journey. *Æ* foretells *Perseus* to discom. *Æ* will not hazard Battle with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon. *Æ*mylius his superstition. The Battle of *Pydna*. *Perseus* his flight. *Æ* forsakes his Kingdom: which hastily yields to *Æ*mylius. *Perseus* at *Samothrace*. *Æ* yields himself to the Roman Admiral, and is sent prisoner to *Æ*mylius.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though they were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity moved them, that either they decried that Province to *L. Æmilius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of Lot, between him and his fellow-Consul; or at least were gladder that the Lot had cast it upon him, than so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second Consulship. He refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province, until by Embassadors, thither sent to view the Estate of the War, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the *Roman* Forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being thoroughly known to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, not only to the Consul, but unto the Navy, and likewise to the Army that lay between *Ilyria* and *Epirus*; from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmilius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the custom, spoke with much gravity and authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this War, either to accompany him unto *Macedon*, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his Father *L. Æmilius*, who died valiantly in the battle of *Canne*, might well be living in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wife and resolute Consul.

All his business within the City being dispatched, *Æmilius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his Journey, with an especial hope of

men, that he should finish it so soon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundisium*: whence, when the wind came fair, he set Sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Coreyra* before night. Thence he passed to *Delphi*: where having done sacrifice to *Apoll*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Camp, and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining, in which he finished the War.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*: having parted no labour of Men and of Women to fortify the Banks of *Enipeus*, where it was fordable in dry weather: so as there was little hope or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of fresh Water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea shore, and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmilius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the Shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no Shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Marius* from taking up his Lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Camp had such means to lie close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way: which by enquiry was soon found out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perrabia*: hard of ascent, but fleetly guarded; and therefore promising a fair Journey. *Marius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Soldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over *Ofsa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the Soldiers among other good Lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their General. And now he appointed about five Thousand men to this enterprise; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmilianus* and *G. Fabius Maximus*, his own Sons by nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a Son of *Scipio the African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings Guard, upon the Mountain, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers; who though, at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet, where Victuals were provided for their Journey: it being supposed, that they were to run along the Coasts of *Macedon* by Sea, and waste the Country. All the way they

were

were passing the Mountains (which was about three days) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Therefore *Æmilius* employed none save his *Lighters*; of whom the Kings light Armature had advantage at far distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain. Yet *Æmilius* persisted as he had begun; and recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the *Macedonians*, that some greater work was in hand: since otherwise a good Captain, as *Æmilius* was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looks only unto that which was before his eyes: until his men, that came quarrelling fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the Camp, that the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the King himself no less (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Camp was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had the custody of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good success in their Journey. It may well be, that they kept until the *Romans* came somewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their Arrows and Slings could do little service, were beaten at handy-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polysius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had been effected by *Marius* in the year foregoing; but was closed up again through his not prosecuting so rich opportunity.

Perseus was in an extreme doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, and so to linger out the War: having been taught by the last years example, how resolute the People were in making defence. But far worse counsel prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberation. The King resolved to put all at once to hazard of battle: fearing belike to put himself into any one Town, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures always are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even that fame that *Æmilius*, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto *Pydna*, that served well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light Armature. There he abode the coming of the Enemy; who stayed not long behind him. As soon as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Army; which with greater fear than discretion, had halted away from them, forsaking the Camp that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to give Battle immediately: doubting lest otherwise the King should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake

with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmilius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tired with their Journey; had no Camp wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they stood. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himself unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of Battle, gave charge to have the Camp measured out and entrenched before the Army; whereunto, at good leisure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined each part thinking their own General to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he executed himself by the backwardness of the Enemy, who advanced no further; but kept upon ground serving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Galba*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Praetor, foretold unto the Consul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipse of the Moon, which was to be the same night: willing the Soldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses, to beat Pans of Brass, and Bells, as we do in following a swarm of Bees, thinking that thereby they did the Moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noise, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigy bokeneking their loss: since their desire to fight was now well lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses do signify, or cause any alteration in civil affairs, and matters that have small dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the wisdom of the wisest, where the help of true Religion is wanting. *Æmilius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing; yet above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this Moon, and congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as the thine out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet it is like, that he, being a Senator; and one of the Council for War, was partly the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Heracles*: which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Heracles* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafed to them tokens of good luck in the entrails of the Beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of Victory to *Æmilius*: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. *Heracles* was a

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Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonians than to the Romans. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddess, lately Canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their City, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deity; or (if a God of older date were more authentic) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of Military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrary to the rules of War.

Now concerning the Battle; *Æmylius* was thoroughly persuaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at *Pydna*, when, as a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the Roman faces: which would be much to their hindrance all the fore-noon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the Clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which whereto neither of the Generals had ever earnest desire.

A Horle brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman Soldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank: whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this Horle over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countreimen seeing this, halted to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slain him over the River, whereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battle, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the Arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat Level, save that on the sides a few Hills were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better Soldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could but faintly assist. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure battle, since he had bestowed himself of such a stratagem, whereby to save his own person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward; whose unfavourable devotion could be no better then Hypocritical. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also Plough, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battle, he found it no better than lost; and he in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find recorded are, that the Roman Elephants could do no manner of good: That the Macedonian *Phalanx* did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thence much affo-

nished, that the *Phalanx* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-born; many of them slain, and the Squadrons following them discouraged herewith, as they retired away towards an Hill. These were the things that fell out over to the Romans; and which the Consul beholding, is said to have rent his Coat-Armour for grief. If of the King with all his power of Horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the Victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battle, was the same which doubled the Consul expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty, or almost the impossibility of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the Romans small Battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it, it was necessary (if the Macedonians would follow upon those which were put to the worst) that some Files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming to pass, admonished the Consul what was to be done. The long Pikes of the Macedonians were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the Roman Targettiers; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the front of the Enemies great battle become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal reluctance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battle of *Cyncephale*: yea this form of Embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike directed, it would break of it self; though here were little such inconvenience of Ground, as had been at *Cyncephale*.

Perseus, when he saw his battle begin to rout, turned his Bride presently, and ran again towards *Pella*. All his Horse escaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing for the poor Foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who flew above twenty Thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in that Battle, only some fourscore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the Foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his Company in a Wood, where they fell to railing at the Horse-men, calling them Cowards, Traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he felt the danger of fortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and Household-servants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the Battle, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholly time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he dashed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come

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at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief, he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his Friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two others. There followed him likewise about 300 *Cretians*, more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his Plate, as much as was worth about fifty Talents, though shortly he consumed them of some part thereof; making them as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the Battle he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Town-men to fidelity with Tears; and his own speech being hindered by Tears, he appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first flame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in Garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the Gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly bad *Evander* to begone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but Embarking himself and the Treasure which he had there, in certain Vessels that he found in the River *Strymon*; passed over the Isle of *Samosbrace*: where he hoped to live safe, by privileges of the Religious Sanctuary therein.

These miserable steps of the King make it the less doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within few days after his Victory. *Pydna*, which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About six Thousand of the Soldiers, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the Battle into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of 50 many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippias*, who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Mastius*, with *Panacrus*, who had been sent Ambassador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yielding themselves, and the Town of *Bereæ*, whither they had retired out of the Battle. With the like success came others from *Thessalotica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedonia*, within two days: the less of the head receiving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer; when they knew that the King had forsaken his Country: but opened their Gates upon such terms, that the lack of it was granted to the Roman Army. *Æmylius* sent abroad into the Country, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: he himself marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents: the same, whereof *Perseus* had lately decanted the *Phalanx*. But within a very little while he had leave more.

It was soon understood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samosbrace*: his own Letters to the Consul confirming the report. He sent these Letters by persons of such mean condition; that his case was pitied; for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire favour: which, though he begged in terms fit becoming a King, yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, "King *Perseus* to the Consul *Publius*", the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to be re-established, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came no Letters, as home he as could be expected: whereby he craved and

obtained, that some might be sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this Conference, he was marvellously earnest, that he might be allowed still to retain the name of King. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had so carefully preferred his Treasure, unto the very last: flattering himself with such vain hopes as these: That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and to be called King. Yea, it seems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this Isle of *Samosbrace*: both for that in one of his Consultations about the War, he was dejected by his Friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedonia*, for 5 such a paltry Island; and for *Lih. l. 45.* that he offered to lay up the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and, without more ado, to yield to the discretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is so far against his mind, that the Conference breaks off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samosbrace*, *Cn. Octavius* the Roman Admiral with his Fleet: who, as he says, as well by terrible Threats, as by fair Language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; where, in fear of Imprisonment, he had now already imprisoned himself. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the *Samosbracians*: How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy privilege of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samosbracians*, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and sent word to the King, that *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*; whereof unless he can clear himself in judgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majesty, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himself is charged with the same crime. But what will this avail, when the Minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perseus* therefore wills *Evander* to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the Roman hand; who are like to be prebidders and over-seers of this judgement: so as it were better to dye valiantly, than once more other hopes remain, than to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this mood *Evander* seems to like well: and either kills himself, orhoping to escape thence, by decaying the time as it were to get person wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandments. The death of this man, who had luck to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perilous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the privilege of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the Romans will affirm so much, who shall dare to gainstay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also liable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity, he surpiseeth to escape,

§§§§§ 2

escape,

SECT. IX.

Gentius King of the Illyrians taken by the Romans.

ABOUT the same time, and with like celerity, *Anticus* the Roman Prætor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Gentius* the Illyrian. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen Thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anticus* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drove him into *Sorda*. This Town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of Fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Thyria*; *Scardis*, which, assisted with the Kings pacience, made it seem impossible to be won, in any, not a very long time. Yet *Anticus* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore presented his Army before the Walls, making countenance to give an assault. The Illyrians, that might easily have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten, and thereupon forthwith began amazed to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors, by whom, at first, he desired Truce for three days, that he might deliberate concerning his Estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the Roman Embassadors, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison, where they were all alive. Having obtained three days respite, he passed up a River, within half a mile of the Roman Camp, into the Lake of *Scardis*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his Brother *Caranus* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to return into *Sorda*. He sent messengers craving access unto the Prætor; beseeching whom, having lamented his folly past (which, excusing the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his Wife, Children, Brother, Friends, were presently given up. So this War ended in thirty days: the people of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perseus*, one of the Embassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anticus* how all had passed.

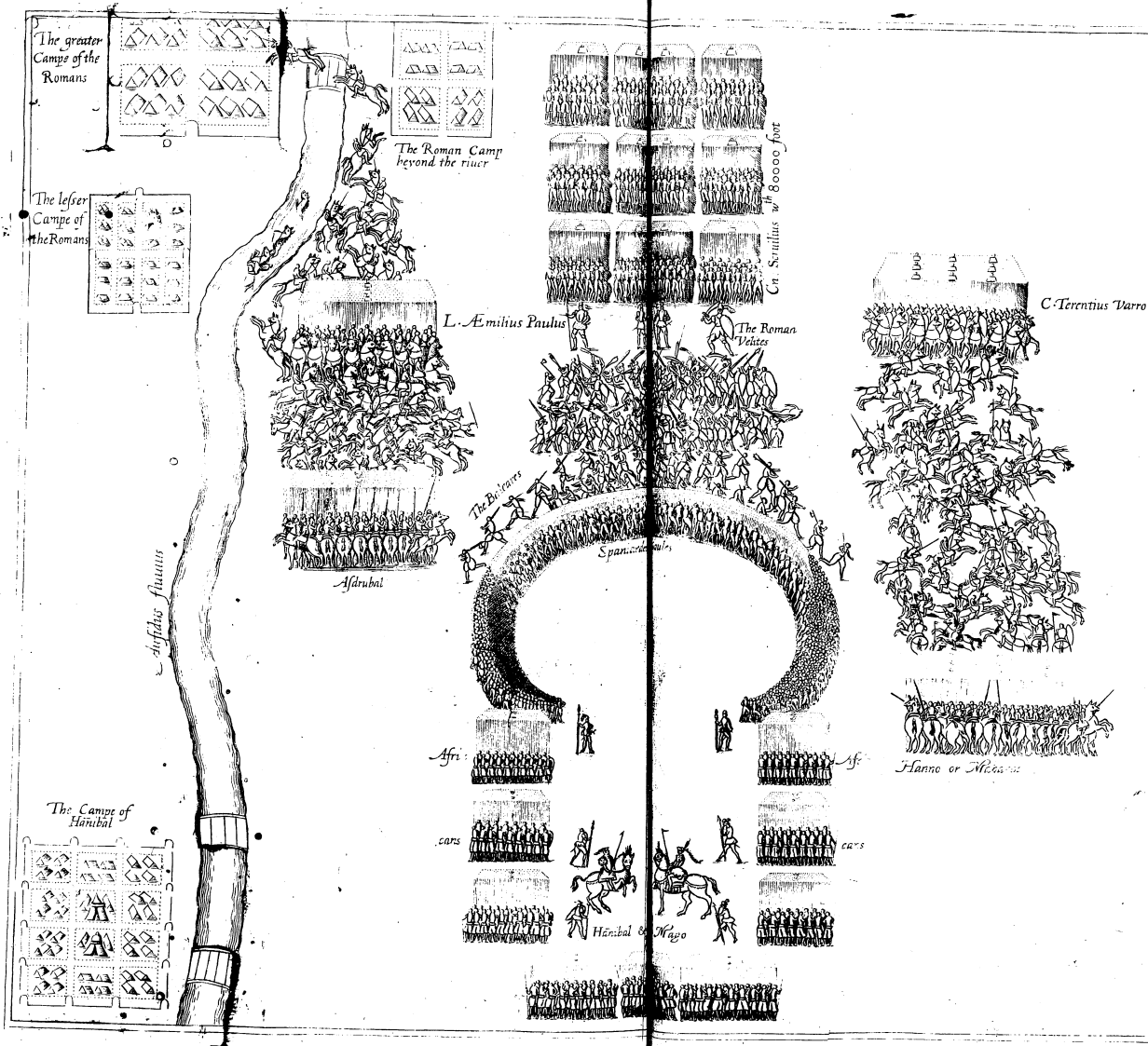
SECT. X.

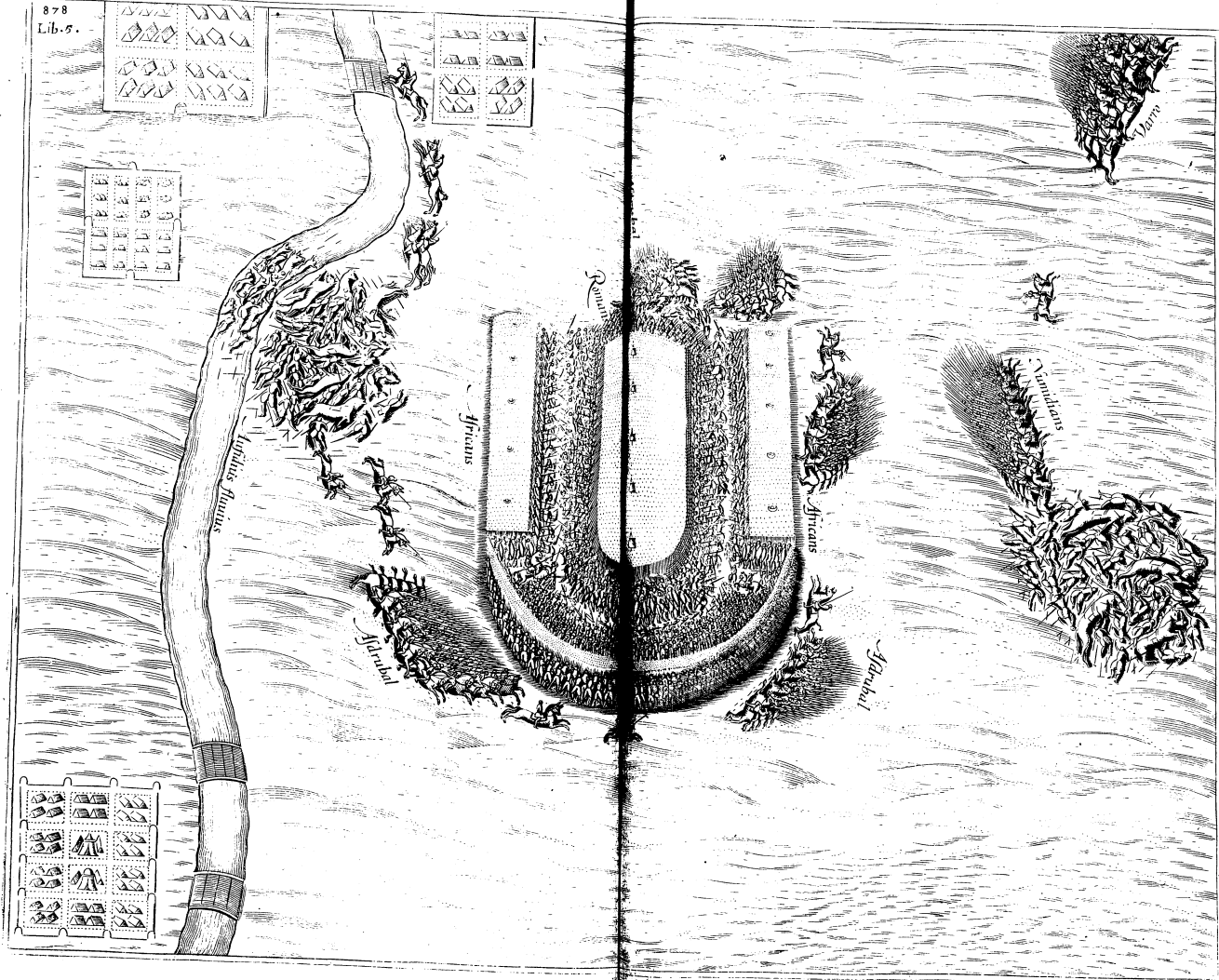
How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon, after their Victory over Perseus.

NOW began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune, and to look Tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly toward them before, whilst the War with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The Rhodian Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good

escape, and fly, with his Treasures, unto *Cypris* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one Ship, who easily was persuaded to waite the King thence. With all secrecy the Kings money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himself, with his Wife and ^{Plutarch. in vit. Amyr. Liv. lib. 45. Liv. lib. 44.} Children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only *Philip* his elder Son, being his Brother by nature) with much ado got out at a Window by a Rope, and over a Mud-wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the Shore: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. Here therefore remain towards his Lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure Corner. His Pages mistaking him, ran up and down making inquiry; till *Ollivius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and Macedonians whatsoever, abiding with their Master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally. That they should presently yield themselves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion* a *Thessalian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his Children, delivered them up to *Ollivius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his Son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendered himself, and made the Roman Victory complat. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdom by Arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Æmynus*; before whom he fell to the ground to beseech, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Æmynus* used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a mind, made War upon the Romans. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better Spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the People at *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectfully entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Æ. Ælius*.

Such end had this Macedonian War, after four years continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.





good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace, saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of Peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this War was no less grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Romans* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassy to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonians*, whose partizans they were, and should be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City, beseeching all men, especially the great Ores, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance, for some foolish words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averse from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent Prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that flew themselves for fear, whose goods also were Confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and less would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a mild sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in deceiving War against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to snatch, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the *Roman* Faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the *Romans*: a favour which till now they had not esteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as equal Friends.

With the like, or greater severity, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Emilius* himself made progress thorow the Country; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias*, were slain at one time by those of the *Roman* Faction, and with help of the *Roman* Soldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their Goods Confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redress was such, as required not the pains of supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their Country, he seized like a King, with excessive cheer; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an easy matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors were likewise sent from *Rome*, to give orders for settling the Estate of *Macedon*; towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate, than was usual in such case; and some, to visit the affairs of *Greece*. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Emilius*, and the Embassadors, his Assistants, who had order therefrom the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* used to bestow: The

best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was lessened by half. As for the rest, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden Commerce on with the other. All the Nobility were sent Captive into *Italy*, with their Wives and Children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated: and new given by *Emilius*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not Subjects to *Rome*, the things done to them could deserve no better name than usuet Tyranny: yea, and shameful perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confederation seem of no validity. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unrevocable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*, where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent Letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Roman* hands: and in that respect, though they were not Subjects, yet wanted there not colour, for using them as Traitors, or at least as Enemies. But since only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side: and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriots* were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyranny. With the *Acheans* these Embassadors were to deal more formally; not so much because that Common-wealth was strong; (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Communion to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by Letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Acheans* could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his Adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or suffering their service to the *Romans*; but only such as were the best *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time; wherein, since all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season seemed highly to rank the *Acheans* with the rest. And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Acheans*: where one of them, in open Assembly of the Nation, spake, as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. He said, That some of the chief among them, had with money and other means befriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned; whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given (cried out the whole Assembly) what Justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well do; we will soon condemn them: Then did the *Roman* boldly, That all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, than should

I like.

Corr. in
erat apud
Salust. de
creberrat.
Cætilian.

I likewise have been friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man accuse me, I shall throughout answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon*, the Embassador laid hold and said, That even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a Thousand; willing them to appear and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the Captivity of *Greece*; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause, than their love unto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that virtue, and regard of the public liberty, should dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all cast into Prison, as men already condemned by the *Athenians*. Many Embassadors were sent from *Achaia*, (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of their innocent men could be remaining: since honesty had been thus punished as a Vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to inform the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Athenians*, nor yet held to be offenders. But instead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that these men should return into *Achaia*. Neither could any consolation of the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all, until after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and virtuous man *Philopator* the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or, having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of *Jayle*, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as Malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirotes*. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* Treasures whole; yet withall, to gratify the *Souldiers*, gave order, that the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Antiochus* with mischievous subtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent unto the *Epirotes* for ten of the principal men out of every City. These he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into every one of their Towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gave secret instructions to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed, they should fall to sack every one of the Town whereinto he was sent. Thus in one day were threethree and ten Cities, all consecrated with the *Roman* Souldiers; and besides other acts of Hostility in a time of Peace, a hundred and fifty Thousand of that Nation made Slaves. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirotes* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perseus*. But since they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yet, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in general, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had even in this War done good service against the *Romans*: I hold this act so

wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the less marvellous that God was pleased to make *Antiochus* Childless, even in the Glory of his Triumph, how great soever otherwise his virtues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their Victory with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof, before we speak, we must say somewhat of *Antiochus* his fore-gors, of himself, and of his affairs about which these Embassadors came.

SECT. XL

The War of Antiochus upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman Embassadors.

Antiochus the Great, after his Peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his Reign and Life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Antiochus* Epiphanes; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Beth*, or according to *Strabo*, *Jupiter*. He left behind three Sons, *Strabo*, *Seleucus* Philopator, *Antiochus* Epiphanes, *Demetrius* Soter; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Antiochus* Epiphanes King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his Sons; reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Eusebius*, *Apian*, and *Sulpicius*; though *Josephus* give him but five years. A Prince, who, as he was forthly by nature, to the great loss which his Father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing of any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gave this Judgement, *Et habit in dies ejus vultus ejus* & *Antiochus*, the Father of this man of a King, under this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, and others to the same effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, because of the goodness of Onias the Priest, it came to pass, that even the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon*, of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasure of the Temple; and of *Heliodorus* felt by the King to seize them; and of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*, of the Kings death, and of his successor *Antiochus* Epiphanes. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the Books of *Maccabees* take beginning. Which Books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his Story; nor of the acts of his Successors, till the time of *Antiochus* Epiphanes, the Brother and Successor of this *Seleucus*, from whom downward to the death of *Simon* *Maccabees* (who died in the hundred threethree and seventeen year of the *Greek* in *Syria*) that first Book treateth. The Author of the second Book, although he take the Story somewhat further off, by way of a Prologue, yet he endeth*

endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* Reign, and with the death of *Nicator*, slain by *Judas*: remembering in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jeson* the Brother of *Onias*; who, after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus* Epiphanes, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Josephus*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Jews*, as to their Brothers and Kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the Brother and Successor of *Judas*, remembering the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Nicomachus* and *Antipater* his Embassadors, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Josephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedaemonian* Embassador was *Demetrius*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her Claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus* Epiphanes, in the hundred and seventh and thirtieth year of the *Greek* in *Syria*. He was the second Son of the Great *Antiochus*; and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his Brother; which also he usurped from his Brothers Son.

Antiochus Philometor, his Nephew by his Sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years King of *Egypt*.

Antiochus Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty year, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the Great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom between them, whilst he was a Child. But they found such other business ere long with the *Romans* as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his Daughter in marriage, unto this *Philometor*, the Provinces of *Calycis*, *Phoenice*, and *Judea*, which he had won by his Victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Philometor* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind his two Sons, this *Antiochus* Philometor, and *Antiochus* Physcon, with a Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her Brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her Daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Antiochus Philometor, so called (that is the Lover of his Mother) by a bitter nickname, because he flew her, fell into hatred with his Subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom, his younger Brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Memphis*, craving succour of *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that Kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the Son of *Mordaneus* Embassador into *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to persuade the Government of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew, with the principal places of that Kingdom, into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well

doing. And the better to answer all arguments to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he along the Coast of *Syria* to *Joppa*, and from thence on the fudden he turned himself towards *Jerusalem*; where, by *Mat. 4.* *Jeson* the Priest, (a Chaplain fit for such a Patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the Brother and Predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the Treasures thereof to *Apollonius*, Governor of *Calycis* and *Phoenicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from Heaven; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrify others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jeson*, the Brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his Brother, and to obtain the Priesthood for himself, offered unto the King three hundred and threethree Talents of silver, with other rents and sums of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jeson*, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Athenians*, when as that mischievous *Cadistars*, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It was thus:

One Fire than other burns more forcibly,
One Wolf than other Wolves does bite more sore,
One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly:
So one most mischievous of men before,
Callistrates, false knave as hawk might be,
Met with Menalcas more false than he.

And even thus it fell out with *Jeson*: who within three years after was betrayed, and over-bidden by *Heliodorus* the Brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred Talents more obtained the Priesthood for himself: *Jeson* thereupon being forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phoenicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of War, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty Army of *Mac. 14.* Land-forces, He went about to reign over *Egypt*, that he might have the dominion of two Kingdoms, and entered *Egypt* with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navy, and moved War against Ptolemicus King of *Egypt*; but Ptolemicus was afraid of him, and fled, v. 13, 19, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong Cities, and took away the spoils of the Land of *Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Daniel*: He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful Province, and he shall do that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Father. Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a Victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captains of *Ptolemy*, between *Pelusium*, and the Hill *Cassius*, after which he entered and sacked the great and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had finished *Egypt*, he turned again, and went up towards *Hebron* and *Jerusalem* with a mighty people, and entered proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the Golden Altar,

Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Show-bread, and the pouring Vessel, and the Bolt, and the Golden Basons, and the Vail, and the Crown, and the Golden Apparel. He took also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.

Lib. 6.

* Chap. 5.

* lib. 2.

Polyb. Lib.

81, 82, 83.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian War, that *Antiochus* took in hand this Egyptian business. At what time he had laid claim to *Cæle Syria*, justifying his title by * the same allegations which his Father had made; and stiffly averring, that this Province had not been conquered over to the Egyptian, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all Egypt. The *Acheans*, *Rhodiens*, *Attians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by several Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philoterus*, the elder Brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the War be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two Brothers consume themselves with intestine War, than by the terror of his Arms, threatening destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak estate, the younger almost ruined by his invasion, the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how was fever these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other business at Jerusalem, or elsewhere. So after the sack of Jerusalem, he rested him a while at Antioch, and then made a journey into Cilicia, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thracians*, and others in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of Syria, called *Antiochia*. For Governor of Syria in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while, *Menelaus*, the Brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Jafon* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred Talents for an In-come; committing the charge of the Priesthood to his Brother *Lysimachus*, stole certain Vessels of Gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus*, the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth to advance the payment of the three hundred Talents promised; the same being now by *Solistratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Jafon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himself into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight, adjoining as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compals it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, banqueting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust, and other such voluptuousness. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to commit himself to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim privilege from the Holiness of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not

stand to discourse. Only I say for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far less, to hold this flatter which *Onias* (though a virtuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the Book seems to do. As to this refuge, it could not save the life of the poor old man: for *Menelaus* taking *Andronicus* parts, prayed him to slay *Onias*. So when he came to *Onias*, he counselled him craftily, giving him his ring, he band with an Oath, *Mac. 2. 4.* and persuaded him to come to * of the Sanctuary; so he flew him incontinently, with any regard of righteousness. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of Cilicia, He took away *Andronicus* his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City; and in the same place where he had committed the wickedness against *Onias*, he was slain as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life time done Justice. But presently after this, at the suite of one *Ptolomy*, a Traitor to *Ptolomy Philometer*, he condemned innocent men to death, who justly complained against *Menelaus*, and his Brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outrageous will, and by any regard of Justice: since he revenged the same cause with *Onias* *Phon*, had they sold their souls as innocents. By reason of such his uncharitableness, this King was commonly termed *Eupimenes*, that is, Mad, instead of *Epiphaneus*, which signifies Noble, or Lustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second Voyage into Egypt, and then were there *Mac. 2. 4.* throughout all the City of Jerusalem, forty days long, *Herodotus* running in the Air with Robes of Gold, and as Bands of Spear-men, and as Troops of Horse-men set in array, encountering and confusing one against another. Of these prodigious signs, or rather forcible warnings of God, all Histories have delivered us, some more, some less. Before the destruction of Jerusalem by *Vespasian*, a Star in the form of a City, after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Epiphaneus*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian Wars*, *Vergil* tells us, that the Armies were then fighting in the Air from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *Joh* the seventh, a fountain poured out blood instead of Water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; soon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of *Mercator*, these and the like prodigious signs, *Viperæ* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the most infamous and notorious. All men know, that in the Emperor *Julius Cæsar*, the off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable sign gave warning.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an *Sext. Calp.* Eagle let fall into her Arms a white Hen, holding a Laurel branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished. The white branch to be planted: of the Hen came a fair increase of white Poultry; and from the little branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Laurel, so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors were used to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the Triumphs ended,

ended, to let it again in the same ground: which Branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to forewarn the death of those persons who carried them in Triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsar* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were thickened down with lightning. That the *Jews* did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon God, and praying, that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into Egypt, was occasioned by discord of the two Brethren therein reigning: so was this second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his Brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Uncle, thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal City, rather by persuasion, than by Arms. *Phylo* had not yet forgotten the error of the former life: the *Alexandrians*, though they loved not *Ptolomy*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity, or in Vexations (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Country; and the Friends of the younger Brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philoterus* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of Egypt with his Army; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelusi*: retaining that City, which was the Key of Egypt, to his own use. This consideration wrought all with *Phylo*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their Sister, the two Brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged, for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philoterus* his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger Brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadors, yet he now prepared to make a sharp War upon them both. And to this end he plentifully furnished and sent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his Land Army into *Calcedonia*, ready to enter Egypt the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhincorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolomy*. Their errand was partly to give thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philoterus* in his Kingdom, partly to beseech him, that he would rather be pleased to forgive what he required to have done in Egypt, which should be performed, than to enter into an Enemy with so puissant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition; than that *Ptolomy* should surrender into his hands, together with the City of *Pelusi*, the whole Territory thereto belonging; and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the Syrian Fleet entered *Nilus*, and recovered as well those

places which appertained to *Ptolmy* in *Arabia*, as in Egypt it felt, to *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, passed on thitherwards by safe journeys.

On all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to see, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a Civil War; and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet yet they gave consideration, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdom of Egypt taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, as would not do, being troubled with *Persians*; and therefore loath to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the Egyptian Kings being reconciled, and standing joyfully in need of help against their Uncle, who prepared and made open War against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence of their Kingdom.

Rome had been furnished with word from Egypt, in the War of *Hannibal*; when *Isid*, *Lyons*, *Wales*, had neither Corn nor Money wherewith to buy sufficient force. By help of the Egyptians had *Isid* laid the foundation of that greatness, where to the *Acheans* attained. And by the like help had *Rhodes* been defended against *Domitius* *Philoterus*. Neither were these friendly turns, which that bountiful house of the *Ptolomies* had done for sundry people abroad, left followed, or seconded, by others as bad in requital: but with continuance of suitable beneficence, from time to time increased. Wherefore the two Brothers King abroad considerably for aid especially to the *Rhodiens* and *Acheans*, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phylo* and *Cleopatra* had lent, a year time: but their Embassadors lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Acheans* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave Warriour might be sent unto them, as General of all the *Antiochians*, and his Son *Talysius* General of the Horse. Hereunto the *Acheans* readily consented: and would immediately have made performance, if *Calpurnius* had not interposed his malicious Art. He, when seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousness to the *Romans*, or much rather envying the Noble Captains, who served the Kings directly, without the common voice; which was, That no Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be sent unto the *Ptolomies*. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle them selves in any such business, as might make them less able to yield unto the *Romans* what helpsoever should be required in the *Macedonian War*. And in this sentence, he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; carrying others with his words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Marius* the late Consul had signified unto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of help: adding further, that a thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, might well be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, the Egyptian Kings, without disabling their Nation to perform any service to the *Romans*; so far as the *Acheans* could without trouble, raise their wish, or forty thousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Cæli* *raton*. For when it was thought that the Decree should have

have passed; he brought into the Theatre where the Assembly was held, a Messenger with Letters from *Marius*: whereby the *Achaean* were desired to conform themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadors to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadors to make peace: but as in a time of greater business elsewhere, with such mild words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achaean* should do any good in the same kind. Yet *Polibius* and his friends durst not gain-say the *Roman* Counsel; which had the force of an Injunction. So the Kings were left in much distress; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome; and then might the Embassadors, sent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto those Embassadors of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*; which having stayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The Embassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no less than his Brother and Sister.

In this Embassy of *Phrygia*, now requesting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had been before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* Wars either he, or *Eumenes*, or *Leontus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon *Antiochus* for *Calagryta*, but would have interposed himself between the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassy was by a Friend persuaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his Brother and Subjects, to live under protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by attouchment with his Brother and Subjects, he might have seemed to stand in no need of such protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his Kingdom and Life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his Brother and Sister, shewed it self, even in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. They entered into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and prostrate upon the Floor. Their Garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For, having told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had always remained friendly and faithful to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as, if they pleased but to send their Embassadors, and let *Antiochus* know that the Sen-

nate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that at the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; then should *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia* be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to *Rome*, with thankful dishonour to the Senate and People thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lentus*, *C. Decimus*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the War between those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Phrygia*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that, unless they succumbed, and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and People of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrian* Embassadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three days after.

Whilst *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Army over *Lebanus*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embassadors met him. After greetings and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read those Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the business, he told *Popilius*, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandment, after he had stood and paused a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the Senate shall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without ^{Den. 11.} any good issue of his costly Expedition; even in ^{25, 30, 36.} such manner as *Daniel* had prophesied long before; yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jersusalem* after his return; like as if these things had rather been Historized than foretold by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed a while, and settled the Kingdom of *Aegypt*, leaving it unto the elder Brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus's* Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* Ships.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings.

Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Mafanilla, and Coys. The end of Perseus and his Children. The instability of Kings Estates. The Triumphs of Paulus, Anticius, and Octavius. With the Conclusion of the Work.

BY this preemptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their Conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the *Achaean* and *Asians*, when he went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far less power than King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his Brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the Victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo-Greeks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who had him be confident, and request of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful counsel of *Stratius* a Physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his Brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to the *Romans* in the late War; *wherewithall, he forgot not to make of his Brother as good mention as he could: and finally, requested, That the Towns of *Zeus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed upon himself. *By his omitting to sue for his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custom to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italy*, they gave order for the liberty of *Zeus* and *Maronea*: thereby making void all their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Greeks*, which were about to invade the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another Voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second Voyage thither, for this necessi-

ty of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had laid open unto those ambitious Potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to fend him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an Enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconsistency; and to entertain him as a friend, was more than their hatred for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by virtue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

Prusias King of *Bythinia* had been at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For, entering into the Senate, he lay down and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and favourites; as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of Slaves newly manumitted, professing himself an enfranchised Bondman of the people of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe, though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand unto the Senate the care of his Son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have some Towns added to his Kingdom: where, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to him, in freeing it from *Antiochus's* will, he would thereby to consider, what effectual protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Masius* held his credit with the *Roman* good. His quarrels were ended with the *Carthaginians*; which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all Controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Country of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Nimidian*, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leisure to devise upon the ruin of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masius* himself was shortly by them rooted up. But heretofore the old King never dreamed, He sent to *Rome* one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the Capitol. His good will was lovingly accepted; his Son rewarded, and he continued to stay at home.

Cypr the *Thracian* sent Embassadors to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by Hostages; and to intreat, That his Son, which was taken with the Children of *Perseus*, might be set at liberty for convenient ransom. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to *Perseus*, by giving Hostages without necessity: Yet was his Son given back to him ransomless; with admonition to carry himself better toward the *Romans* in time following. His King-

T t t t 2 don

* Liv. l. 45.

Pol. l. 16. 9.

Pol. 3. lib. 10.

dom lay between *Macedon*, and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led thorow *Rome*, with their Children and Friends, in the Triumphs of *Amynius* and *Anticus*. *Perseus* had often made suit to *Amynius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one scornful answer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in *Macedon*, than to have been beholding to the courtesy of his insolent Enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemency, whereof *Amynius* had given him *Love*, was no better than this: After that, he, and his fellow-King, had been led in Chains thorow the Streets, before the Chariots of their Triumphant Victors, that were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the Capitol, there to do sacrifice, he should command the Captives to be led away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanguisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto *Perseus*: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either furnished himself, or (for it is diversely reported) was kept watching for force by those that had him in custody; and so dyed for want of sleep. Of his Sons, two dyed; it is uncertain how. The youngest called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his Father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner; or, at his last testament, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In such poverty ended the Royal house of *Macedon*: and it ended on the sudden; though some eight score years after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had known it before, that his own Son should one day be compelled to earn his living by handi-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonness of Sovereignty have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his Treasures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most under-trodden wretches, are all subject unto the one high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unlikeness to that blessed Counsel, *Deus ut vos vultis le dare vultis*, a Sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is, I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly,

Ja-ne-fat. ——— *Et qui noluit occidere quenquam*
10. *Passe voluit.*

Even they that have no murderous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controul: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few; among whom also, very

few there are, that use not this to their own hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Sovereign Authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes, which could not humble themselves to such flatteries, and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperors to murder all their Brethren, without expecting till they offended; are two good proofs hereof. Hereunto may be added, that the Heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traitorously, and barbarously, King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, their apparent to the Crown of the *England*: which, had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posterity: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That *God is the truest and sharpest Schoolmaster that can be*. *Law of wisdom, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without contrivance to turn it upside down at their pleasure.*

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Amynius Paulus*, it was in all points like that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest, and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasury, that from thenceforth, until the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have been hindered by the Soldiers; who grudget at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them, but the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the people and Soldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortation. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of this Victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one dyed five days before the Triumph, the other three days after it. This loss he bore wifely; and told the people, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private calamity, instead of the publick.

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admiral, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samarbrase*; and *Anticus* the Pretor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their several Triumphs. The glory of which magnificent Spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassadors from all parts, and Kings, either visiting the Imperial City, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person; were enow to pay unto *Rome*, *Summe Superbium*, Take upon the Majesty that they desire have purchased.

BY

BY this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the World; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the height. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the Field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the World. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the flames of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her Leaves shall fall off, her Limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the Field, and cut her down.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have been the subject of those ancient Histories, which have been preserved, and yet remain among us; and withal so for many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerful Princes and other mighty men have complained against the Variable Time, Destiny, and most of all against the Variable success of worldly things, and Instability of Fortune. To these undertakings, these great Lords of the World have been stirred up, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and bloweth in the Wind; than by the affliction of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation, and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cicero* to *Pyræas* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so it is to the dead of no use at all; because separate from knowledge. Which, were it otherwise, and the extrem ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse, understood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have then wished, to have holn out of the world without noise, than to be put in mind, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the World, by rapine, oppression, and cruelty: by giving in spoil the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent; and by having emptied the Cities of the World of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of foreigners.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germans*, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the East, but that of the *Turks*; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings far over his Nest, but the *Spaniard*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moor* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the Treasures of both *Indies*, and by the many Kingdoms which they possess in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the *Turks* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so instead of so many Millions as have been spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherland* in a defensive War, and in diversions against them, it is easy to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two years, or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace, but all their

swelling and overflowing Streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the Truth and sincere Profession thereof; the one to join all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said; That the Kings and Princes of the World have always laid before them the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; but they follow the counsel of death, upon the first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the World, without speaking a word; which God, with all the works of his Law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is always forgotten. These considered, (*saith Solomon*) *all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit*: but who believes it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the Conscience of *Charles* the fifth, made him enjoin his Son *Philip* to relieve *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the first of *France*, to command that justice should be done upon the Murderers of the *Protestants* in *Mirindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent, That they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a Glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness; and they acknowledge it.

Oloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none have dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cut out of the world and despoiled: thou hast drawn together all the far stretched greatness of all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hi-jacet*.

Lastly, whereas this Book, by the title it hath, calls it self, *The first part of the General History of the World*, implying a second and third Volume, which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements, persuading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed, whose unspokeable and never enough lamented loss hath taught me to say with *Job*, *Perseus est in bellum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem fletum*.

F I X I S.



To the READER.

THe use of Chronological Tables is need-
ful to all Historians, that reach to any
length of time; and most of all, to
those that are most general: since they
cannot, like Annals, yearly set down all occur-
rences not coherent. This here followeth, may
serve as an Index to the present part of this
work, pointing unto the several matters, that
having fallen out at one time, are far dis-
joyned in the relation. Certainly it is not
perfect, neither do I think that any can be. For
howsoever the years of the first Patriarchs may
seem to have been well-near complet, yet in
the reigns of the Kings of Juda and Israel,
we find many fractions, and the last years, or
years of one King reckoned also as the foremost
of another. The same is most likely to have
fallen out in many other, though not so precise-
ly recorded. Pereto may be added the divers
and imperfect forms of the years, which were
in use among sundry Nations, causing the
Summer months, in process of some ages, to
fall into the winter, and so breeding extream
confusion in the reckoning of their times. Nei-
ther is it a small part of trouble, to choose out
of so many, and so utterly disagreeing computa-
tions, as have already gotten Authority, what
may probably be held for truth. All this, and
a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuse
of such errors, as a more intensitive and per-
fect Calculator shall happen to find herein. It
may serve to free the Book, and likewise the
Reader (if but of mean judgement) from
any notorious Anachronicism; which ought
to suffice. The book indeed will need it, even
in that regard; not only from some errors of
the Press, in the numbring of years, but for
some hasty mis-reckonings of mine own, which
I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that
the Printing of this Table shall not want care-
ful diligence. The Reader, if he be not of-
fended with the rest, shall find reason to be
pleased with this, as tending wholly to his
own ease.

The titles over the Columns, have reference
to that which follows under them, as will read-
ily be Conceiv'd. Where two titles, or more,
are over the head, as [Egyp-
tians] there do the
numbers underneath proportionably answer,
the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower.
For example, The walls of Jerusalem were fi-
nished in the 319 Year from the building of
Rome, and in the 314 from Nabonassar. In
like manner it is to be understood, That Jeho-
saphat began his reign in the 3774 of the Ju-

lian Aera, in the 3092 of the World, and in
the 99 year of the Temple. This needs not
more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those
that are acquainted with works of this kind.
To avoid prolixity, I have forbore to insert
those years, which I find not sign'd with some
regardable accident, as with the birth or death
of some Patriarch; the beginning of some
Kings reign; some change of Government;
some battle fought, or the like. So of the 13
years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over
the Latines, I note only the first; that is,
omitting all between the 4 of Jehosaphat,
wherein Capetus began, unto the 17 wherein
Sylvius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Je-
horam first reigned with Jehosaphat his Fa-
ther. For I thought it vain to have fill'd up a
Page with 12 lines of idle ciphers, numbring
forth, 2, 3, 4, 5. and so still onward, till I
had come to the first of Aventinus, and the
17 of Jehosaphat. In setting down the Kings,
there is noted over the head of every one, what
place he held in order of succession: as whether
he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so
forth, in rank of those that reigned in his
Country, without notable interruption: Before
the name, is the first year of his reign; at the
end or foot of the name (as the space gives
leave) is the whole number of years in which
he reigned; in the spaces following under-
neath, are those years of his, which were con-
current with the beginning of some other King,
or with the year of any remarkable accident.
Where two numbers, or more, are found before
one Kings name; there it is to be understood,
that the same year belonged not only to the
King then beginning, but unto some one or more
of his foregoers: as the first year of Jehoram
King of Israel, was the same with the second
of his Brother Ahaziah, and the 22 of his Fa-
ther Ahab. So where two or three names are
found in one space, as in the 3077 year of the
World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri; it is meant,
that every one of them reigned in some part
of the same year, which is reckoned the second
of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, un-
der the reigns of the Egyptian Kings, are set
down the years of those Dynasties, which it
was thought meet to insert; as likewise other-
whiles, the day, the month, upon which Nabon-
assar's year began, which how it varied from
other years, may be found in the place last
above cited.

Concerning the Aera, or account of years,
from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from
Rome

* See lik.
cap. 3.
jet. 6.

Rome built, from Nannafar, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the book it self: so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of Olympiads, is set down, first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the year of that Olympiad; as that Cyrus began his reign in Persia, in the 55 Olympiad, and the first year thereof.

Now, for that of the year of the world, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to express their several beginnings, some painful Chronologers have divided them proportionally in their several Columns, opposing part of the one year to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. Put this labour have I spared, as more troublesome than useful, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will be only needful to observe, that howsoever the *Æra* of the Olympiads be 24 years older than that of Rome, and 29 than that of Nabonassar, yet the reign of some King may have begun at such a time of the year as did not suite with this difference. Put hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning: the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example will explain all. Queen Elizabeth began her reign the 17th of November, in the year of our Lord 1558. She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw down Images, and reformed many things in Religion, all in her personally learned Jo:eph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Julian years, now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980 years, which result from the multiplication of 19, 28, and 15, that is, of the Cycle of the *Æon*, the Cycle of the Sun, and the years of an Indiction. *F* being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year, or if no fraction remain, it shews the last year of that Cycle to be current. I for example, in the 4498 of this *Æra*, when was fought the great battle of Cannæ, the 1st Prime or golden number was 14, the Cycle of the Sun 18, and consequently the 7th Omnia Ieter *F*, as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian *Æra* 4498, by 19 for the Prime, by 28 for the Cycle of the Sun. This Julian *Æra*, after the present account, always exceeds the year of the World by 682. Besides the former uses, and other things redounding, it is a better character of a year, than any other *Æra* (as, From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertain position. None I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in work of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

first year, yet not all in that year 1558. but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the first of January, or with the 25 of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but so, as the difference is never of a whole year.

The Julian *Feriod*, which I have placed as the greater number, over the years of the *I'feriod*, was deliv'ed by that honourable and excellently learned *Joseph Sculliger*: being accommodated to the Julian years, now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980 years, which result from the multiplication of 19, 28, and 15, that is, of the Cycle of the *Aeon*, the Cycle of the *Sun*, and the years of an *indiction*. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year, or if no fraction remain, it sheweth the last year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the 4448th of this *Feriod*, when was fought the great battle of *Cannæ*, the *I'rim* or golden number was 14, the Cycle of the *Sun*, 18, and consequently the *Omniscient* I eter *F*, as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian *Feriod* 4448, by 19 for the *Ferme*, by 28 for the Cycle of the *Sun*. This Julian *Feriod*, after the present account, always exceeds the year of the *World* by 682. Besides the former use, and other thence redounding, it is a better character of a year, than any other *Æra* (as, From the beginning of the *World*, From the *Flood*, From *Troy* taken, or the like) which are of more uncertain position. More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years of the Julian Period, World,
Patriarchs, &c.

[illegible]

	Julian The World	Enos.	Cainan	Maba- lalel.	Jared.	Me- thofo- lab.	La- mech.	Noah.	Sem.											
Enos died.	1022 1140	505	815	745	680	453	266	84												
Cainan died.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179												
Mahabalcel died this year.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234												
Jared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	366												
Flood threatened. Gen. 6:3.	2219 1537					850	663	481												
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1 Sem. 600											
Lamech dyed.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93											
Methuselah died the year a little before the Flood. Noah entered into the Ark, C. 7. 1. 8. 8. & p. The Flood.	2338 1657					969		600	98											
The Flood ceased. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99											
	Julian World Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1 Ar- phaxad. 438																
	2341 1659	603	101																	
	2376 1694	638	136	36	1 Sa- lab. 433															
	2406 1724	668	166	66	31	1 He- ber. 464														
	2440 1758	702	200	100	65	35	1 Pe- leg.		Kings of Assy- ria.											
	2470 1788	732	230	130	95	65	31	1 Ren. 239	1 Nim- rod. 114											
	2502 1820	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1 Sa- rang. 230	Kings of E- gypt.									
	2530 1848	792	290	190	155	125	91	63	61	29	1 Cham 161									
	2532 1850	794	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1 Na- bur. 148								
	2561 1879	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1 Terab. 205							
	2584 1902	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	1	Belur. 65	83	55	53	24						

	Julian World Flood	Noah.	Sem.	Arph- axad.	Salab.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria.	Sarang.	Egypt.	Nabur.	Terab.	Kings of Syria.						
	2618 1936 279	880	278	378	243	213	179	149	33	117	89	87	58	1 Ar- phaxad. 145						
	2649 1967 316	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1 Ni- nias. 155	148	120	118	89	32						
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	11	139	110	2 Ea- rphaxad. 145						
The last year of Peleg his life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9						
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10						
Noah died this year.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19						
The 16 Dynasties in Egypt. P. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.																				
	2701 2019 363		461	361	326	296		232	4 1 Semi- ramis. 152	200	11		141	32	11					
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18					
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	46	25					
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41					
Julian World Promise		Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salab.	Heber.	Assyria.				Egypt.		Terab.	Sicyon.	Abraham.						
	2739 2053 396	495	395	360	330		35			45	175		4 1 Apis. 25		45					
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338		5 2 Ninias. 28			53	183		9		53					
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18			70	200			5 1 Thelexion or Tobelen. 52		70					
Abraham receives the promise. Terah dies in Haran. L. 2. C. 1. § 1, 2, 3.	2765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23		75		205		6		75						
Julian World Promise		Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salab.	Heber.	Abraham.				Assyria.		Egypt.	Sicyon.							
	2766 2084 431	526	426	391	361	76				24	76		7							
Abraham enters into Canaan. The first of the 430 years of servitude.	2767 2085 432	527	427	392	362	77				25	77		8							
Abraham his victory over Chedorlaomer, and other things. L. 2. C. 1. § 8, 9, &c.	2775 2093 440	535	435	400	370	85				33	85		16							
Isaac born.	2777 2095 442	537	437	402	372	87				35	87		18							
Arphaxad dies.	2778 2096 443	538	438	403	373	88				36	88		19							

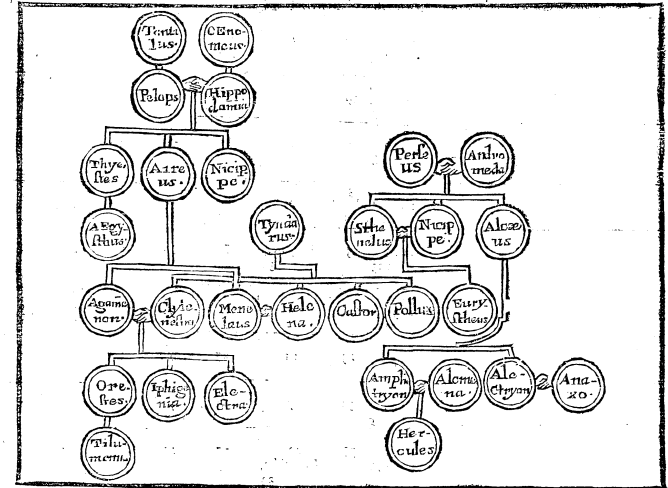
	Julian World Premise	Salab.	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Affyr- a	Egypt.	Sicyon.	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91 6 1. Ari- us, 30	91	22	
Isaac born when Abraham was 100. years old complete, 101. current.	2791 2109 25	551	416	386	101	11	101	32 1. Isaac 180
The last year of Salab.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49 18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121 7 1. Ara- lius, 40		121	52 21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. E- gr, 34
Sarah the Wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16 37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40 years old complete.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20 41
The last year of Sem.	2840 2158 75	600		433	150	30	150	29 50
	2846 2164 8	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Mar- marius, 46
	2851 2169 80	446	161	61	1. Jacob 147 us, 30	8	161	6 1 1. Ina- chus, 50
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20 15
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24 19
The seventeenth Dynastie, called of the Shep- herds, beginning this year, lasted 103. years.	2891 2199 116			91	31		191 1	36 31
	2760 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	8 1. Le- opold, 53
	2901 2219 130			111	51	21	211 21	11 1. Pho- reus, 50
The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See Lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1. Julius Priscus, 35	229 39	29 19
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52 42
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 Mussa- mus, 47
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	1. Typhon, & af- ter him Hercu- 7. 72	9 52 11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Bale- us, 52	3 74	11 54 13

	Julian World Premise	Isaac.	Jacob.	Affyr- a	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194		169	109	6 101 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196		171	111	8 3 81	18	1. Apis, 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205		180	120	17 12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215			130	27 22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 348 years.	2984 2302 219			134	31 26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226			141	38 33 8	1. Pera- int, 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231			146	43 38 13	6 1. Argus,	4 55	
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232			147	44 39 14	7	2	
	3006 2324 241	Joseph	Affyr- a	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Aladar, 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	98	32	79 54	11 1. Ple- men- 48	43		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamius, 30	80 55	2	43		
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	1. Pirof- us, or Crisf- us, 54		
	3068 2386 303	11	14 1. Mancaus- 30	110 85	32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	1. Sefstris the Great, 33	38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1. Or- tho- polis, 64	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus, or Iphereus, 20	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10 1. Sefstris the second, 14	7 23	42			
	3116 2434 351		19	10 133	32	51		

	Julian World Exod.	Mos.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argiver.		
	3118 2426 353	3	16 1 Mamilar, or Mameluz, 30	12 135	34	53		
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1 Phorbar, 35		
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1 Orus, 2 or Bu- sris, 38.138.	37	2 Athen- nians.		
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1 Sparatur, 40	28 165	13 1 Ma- ratib- us 30	29		
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32 1 Ce- cropt 50		
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kills an Egyptian, and flees into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1 Tripas, 46	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	2 1 Thermusis, or Acherret, Qu.12.176.	12	5	9	
	3171 2489 400	56	24	10 1 Rathoris, or Achoriz 9.188	24	17	21	
	3178 2469 413	63	31	8 195	14 1 Mara- nus, 20	24	28	
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1 Cheneret, 16 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 423	67	18 1 Aftader, 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Moses his wandering into Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
	Julian World Exod.	Mos.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argor.	Athen.	
The Pass-over. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480 years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.	3196 2514 431	81	9	12 1 Acherret, 8 213	19	42	46	
The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of the world about this time.	3198 2516 433	83	11	3 215	15 1 Echi- renus 55	44	48	
	3201 2519 436	86	14	6 218	4	8 1 Crotopur, 21 10	2 1 Cra- naus, 10	
	3204 2522 439	89	17	13 1 Cherret, 15 221	7	4	4	
	3211 2529 446	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1 Amphi- sion, 12	
	3219 2537 454	104	32	14 1 Armet, or Danau, 5.236	22	19	9	
	3222 2540 457	107	35	4 239	25	9 1 Siboncluz, 11	12	

	Julian World Exod.	Mos.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argor.	Athen.	
	3223 2541 458	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 1 Eriß- nus, 50	
	3224 2542 459	109	37	15 1 Ramestet, 68 241	27	3	2 Troy.	
	3228 2546 463	113	19 1 Anyntas, 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 464	114	2	6 246	32	8	7 1 Darda- nus, 6	
	3233 2551 468	118	6	10 250	36	10 1 Danaus, 50	11	5
The last year of Moses.	3235 2553 470	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian World Exod.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argor.	Athen.	Troy.
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3236 2554 471	1 1 Ja- wa, 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 488	18	26	30 270	16 1 Co- rax 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 489	2 1 Orbo- 59 niel, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 508	20	20 1 Belobus the second, 25	50 290	21	41	5 1 Pau- dion, 40	45
	3283 2601 518	30	11	60 300	17 1 Epe- pous, 35	11 1 Lynceus, 41	11	55
	3292 2610 527	39	20	16 1 Memphis 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 528	40	21	2 310	11	11	21 2 Eriß- binus, 46	
	3294 2612 529	3 1 Ehad 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 533	5	21 1 Beloparer, 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 548	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1 Eriß- binus, 50	21
	3318 2636 553	25	21	27 335	18 1 Lame- don 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 559	31	27	33 341	7	12 1 Abbar, 2.	12	32
	3328 2646 563	35	22 1 Lamprider, 32	37 345	21	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie of the Lathies, 194 years. See Lib. 2. c. 26. § 4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 Zethus, or Sethus, 55 1	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	5 1. Tror. 60
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Prae- tar, 17	35	9
	3350 2676 165	65	21	27 27	19 1. Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. Cecrops the second 40	25
Peleus in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1. Acris- ius, 31	2	26
Ion and Xuthus the sons of Hellen. See Lib. 2. c. 17. § 6.	3374 2692 179	15		43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. Lamart. 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	15	18 1. Ramfer, 66 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycenæ, whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedigree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argos	Achens	Troy
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 63	42	37	4 1. Ilar, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. Poly- bius, 40	8	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannus, 45	24 79	8	9	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. Gide- on, 40	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his son Egeus, in few years after. The omission of this Interregnum, and reckoning the years in the forty eight of Egeus, or the num- bering them apart by themselves, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following as Mnestheus, Carops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25 29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. Ege- us, 40
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Ina- chus, 4	42	12 45
	3447 2765 253	34	38	61 116	5	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 Amenophis, 122 40	11	7	22 55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Abi- melech	45	2 123	12	8	23 5 1. Laomedon 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. Sofarmus, 19	3 124	13	9	24 2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Tho- as, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26 4
	3474 2762 379	18	27 1. Mitreus, 27	22 143	32	28	43 21
	3480 2792 285	8 1. Fair- 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. The- stus, 30
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Phoe- bus, 8	39	6 32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11 1. Priamus, 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. Anomene, 162 26	23 Ara- tus, 4	47	14 4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Poly- phides, 31	51	18 8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tentanes, 32	9 170	5	55	22 12

	Julian World, Exod.	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Sicyon	Myce- ne.	Athen.	Troy.
	3502 2820 307 1. Jap. 172, 6	2		10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313 1. 16- 24, 7	8		16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64 1. Mue- them 44		
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Agamem- non, 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	22 184	19	4	6	26
The War of Troy began this year.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 2. Thucis. 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330 1. 12 1. Ab don. 8	25		7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynasty called the Diopolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178. years. See Lib. 2. cap. 26. § 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynasty, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 1. Pelag- us, 20	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. years, before the beginning of the Olympiads. See Lib. 2. c. 14. § 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. Troy taken.
	Julian. World, Exod.	From Troy taken	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Sicyon	Myce- ne.	Athen. don of the Latiner.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. A- glaus, 6	21
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Sampson, 20	29 1. Teu- cher, 40	8	6	4	24 1. Aeneas, 3
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1. Demo- phon, 33
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore- stes, 70	3 1. Acanisus, 38
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zeno- ph, 32	13	15 13
	3553 2871 358	22	1. Eli, 40	21	28	6	18	20 18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxi- ter, 12
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Iby- nem, 30	48	26	38	7 38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8 1. Syl. Poph- humus, 29

	Julian World, Exod.	From Troy taken	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Sicyon	Myce- ne.	Athen. don of the Latiner.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zencippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aph- lus, 1
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Time- ter, 8
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melan- chus, 5
	3593 2911 398	64	1. Samuel, and after him Saul, 40	21	68		58	6 20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Lavi- m, 40	78		68	16 1. Syllus A- near, 31
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Tija- nchus, 2	19 4
The descent of the Heracleidae into Peloponnesus, gave end to the Kingdom of Mycena, and be- ginning to the Kingdom of Sparta, Corinth, and Mellene, the Kings whereof I forbear to insert into this Table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84		22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100		17 1. Co- drus, 2	23
	Julian. World, Exod.	From Troy taken	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Sicyon	Myce- ne.	Athen. don of the Latiner.
	3633 2951 438	104	1. David, 40	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2951 439	105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. Latiner, 50	
	3643 2961 448	114	11	32 Eupa- ter, 38	118	19	10	
The Medonidae succeed unto the Athenian Kings after the death of Codrus. See Lib. 2. c. 17. § 10.	3646 2964 451	117	14	4	121	1 1. Me- don, 20	13	
	3666 2984 471	137	34	24	141	2 1. Ag- am, 36	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt, See L. 2. c. 26. § 5.	3673 2991 478	144	1. Solomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
Solomon began to build the Temple 408. years complete after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	3	147	4	34	151	11	43
	3681 2999 486	6	152	9	33 1. Log- hus, 145	156	16	48
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	0 1. Syl. Alba.
	3692 3010 3702	17	163	20	12	167	27	9
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 1. Ar- cipus, 19	3	19

	Julian World.	Tem- ple.	From Troy taken	Israel.	Affryia.	Egypt.	Atheni Lati- nus.	
The 21. Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130. years.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3 21	
The Iwick migration after the taking of Troy, 180. years. See Lib. 2. c. 17. § 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8 26	
	Julian World. Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affryia.	Egypt.	Atheni Lati- nus.	
	3712 3031 38	148	1 1. Rehobam.	1 1. Jerobam.	33	22 10	12 30	
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	15 15	17 35	
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 38	
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	7 3	
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. Pyritbi- ader, 30	9 23	6 4	
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abijam, 3	18	5	13 27	10 8	
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Afd. 41	21	8	16 30	13 11	
	3734 3052 59	205	2 1. Nadab, 2	22	9	17 31	14 12	
	3735 3053 60	206	3 1. Baazha, 24	3	10	18 32	15 13	
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	8 29	
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. Ophratius 20	39 53	36 8	
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 1. Elai, 2	3	41 55	38 10	
Of these Israelitish Kings. See L. 2. c. 19. § 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 1. Zimri, 5, Tibni, 7 Omri, 12	4	42 56	39 11	
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	14 20	
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Che- opr, 56	7 20	
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 1. Abab, 22	15	3 67	9 22	
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Jehofaphat, 25	5	19	7 21	13 26	

	Julian World Temple.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affryia.	Egypt.	Atheni Lati- nus.	
	3776 3094 10	247	3	7	10 10 73	9 15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16 28	
Of Jehoram his sundry beginnings to reign. See L. 2. c. 20. § 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Jehoram.	21 9 1. Abazia, 2.	15	23 87	29	
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 10 1. Jehoram.	16	24 88	30	
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	4	
	3793 3113 120	266	22 1. Jehoram a- gain 8	5	20	28 92	3	
Jehofaphat dies, and Jehoram reigns alone.	3798 3116 123	269	25	8	23	31 95	6	
	3800 3120 127	273	6 1. Abazia, 1.	12	27	35 99	10	
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia.	11 1. Jehu 28.	28	36 100	11	
	3809 3125 134	280	8 1. Joas 40.	7	34	42 106	17	
Carthage built, L. 2. c. 22. § 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	65 120	26	
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	66 121	27	
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	51	68 123	29	
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Jehoabaz, 17	6	8 128	34	
The end of the 21. Dynasty. The Dynasties fol- lowing I omit.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	36	
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16 17	7	
Joas reigned with his Father. L. 2. c. 22. § 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Joas.	20	22 23	7	
Joas reigns alone.	3847 3165 172	318	39	16 1. Joas, 16.	22	24 25	9	
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amazia, 20.	2	23	25 26	10	

	<i>Julian World Temple</i>	<i>Troy.</i>	<i>Juda.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>	<i>Affria</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Atbens</i>	<i>Latius</i>	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 Phry- nia 19	13	
	3855 3166 183	329	11	12	33	35	8 1. Syl. Acemi- nia 37		
	3868 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 Jeroboam, 41	37	39	12	5	
	3862 3186 193	339	21	7 15 Sar- dapa- lus 20	38 45	18	11		
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47 1. Ari- phos 20	12		
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7 1. Mi- cerinus 6	5	16		
	<i>Julian World Temple</i>	<i>Troy.</i>	<i>Juda.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>	<i>Affria</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Atbens</i>	<i>Latius</i>	<i>Media</i>
L. 2. c. 22. § 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum 11. years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3195 205	351	4	19	13 2. Boc- chorus, 44	11	22		
L. 2. c. 22. § 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26 20. Sar- dapa- lus fluit	8	18	29		
	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Uzzi- as, 52 Azaria, 52	27	9	19	30 1. Arba- os, 28		
L. 2. c. 23. § 1. & 4.	3890 3208 215	361	3	29	11 10 1. The- sporus, 27	32	3		
	3892 3210 217	363	5	31 1. Bi- lusus or Phel, 41	13	3	34	5	
L. 2. c. 23. § 4.	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6 1. Syl. Procas 23	8	
	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23. years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1. So- formus, 30
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38 10 1. Adam- urcus, 50	23	2	
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1. Syl. Ama- nus, 44	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33 1. Aly- chus and Af- ter the Em- anysic	8	7	9	
Zacharia began at the very end of the year L. 2. c. 23. § 1.	3925 3143 250	396	38	23 15 Zacharias fir- matus,	34	2	9	8	10

	Julian World	Irty.	Juda.	Israel.	Affryia	Egypt.	Abenti	Latins	Media			
	3926 3244 151	397		39	35	3	10	9	11			
This year nearly concurs with the first of Me- nahem.	3927 3245 253	398		40	36	4	11	10	12			
	3930 3248 255	401		43	4	39	14	13	15			
	3937 3255 262	408	Ipbis, Olym- piads.	50	18 Peka- bis 2.	46	4	12 Medy- tus, 23	20	22		
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2. c.23. § 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23	
	3939 3257 264	410	2	2	52	19 Feky Rome- lia, 2	48	10	3	22	24	
L.2. c.23. § 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	3	11 Ifo- ham, 16	2	11	4	23	25		
	Julian World Temple	Ipbis.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel.	Affryia	Egypt.	Abenti	Latins	Media		
	3946 3264 271	9	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 Medi- tus, 42		
	3955 3273 208	18	5	16	12	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6	5	1 Inter- regnum 7 years.	20	30	23	42	14		
	3960 3278 285	23	6	6	2	21	31	13 Alco- menon 2	43	15		
	Julian World Temple	Rome. Nabon	Ipbis.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel.	Affryia	Egypt.	Abenti	Roman	Media	
Rome built, l.2. c.24. § 5. Carops the Pelys occurring in Athens for ten years: after which the great festival each after other for the like time; thence this offer became annual.	3962 3280 287	1	25	7	8	4	23	33	1 Car- rops, 10	1 Nabon- assar, 37	17	
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8	12	20 Hofea 9	27	37	5	5	21	
The Era of Nabonassar. L.2. c.25. § 1.	3967 3285 292	6	30	8	13	2	1 Soma- nass, r. r. Nabon- assar, 10	38	6	6	23	
Ezekiah began in the very end of this year. L.2. c.25. § 1.	3968 3286 293	7	31	8	14 Ezekiah 39	3	2	39	7	7	23	
This year concurs with the first of Ezekiah, l.2. c.26. § 1.	3969 3287 294	8	32	8	15	4	1	4	3	40	8	24
The beginning of the first Messianic War. Where of see L.2. c.27. § 4. It lasted 20 years.	3971 3289 296	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10	10	26	
Samaria is besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 4290 297	11	35	9	4	7	6	43	11	11	27	

	Julian, Rome, World, Nabon.	Ipbil.	Olymp.	Perfa.	Chal. dea.	Egypt.	Rome	Media	Lydia.	Jews.
Nabuchodonosor recovers his sense and kingdom.	4131 170	194	49	25	21	33	16	36		
L. 3. c. 1. § 6.	3449 165	2								
The 27. of Iseconia his captivity compleat, and he enlarged.	4133 172	196	49	27	23	35	18	38		
	3451 167		4							
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	22	42	
	3455									
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt pat. Amasis began his Reign: this being inclusively the 41. and therefore the next year seems concurrent with Amasis his 1.	4151 190	214	54	19	Amasis.	15	9	56		
	3469 185		2							
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5
	3471									
	Julian, Rome, World, Nabon.	Ipbil.	Olymp.	Perfa.	Chal. dea.	Egypt.	Rome	Media	Lydia.	Jews.
	4154 193	217	55	22	3	18	4	2	48	
	3472 188		1							
The seven Sages of Greece.	4159 195	222	56	6	8	23	9	7	53	
	3477 193		2							
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	4164 203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3482 198		3							
	4166 205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	19	60
	3484 200		1							
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175 214	238	60	22	17	24	39	25		69
	3493 209		2							
	4176 215	239	60	23	18	23	40	26		70
	3494 210		3							
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.	4177 216	240	60	1. Cyrus	2	26	41			
His Edict of liberty to the Jews.	3405 211		4							
	4181 220	244	61	5	30					
	3499 215		4							
	4184 223	247	62	2	33	4	8			
	3502 218		3							
The 2. first years of Darius, and part of the third may be added to the years of his Father, if it be true that Cambyses was Egypt presently in the death of Amasis, L. 3. c. 4. § 2.	4186 225	249	63	1. Darius	3	6	10			
	3504 220		1							
The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	4188 227	251	63	5	8	12				
	3506 222		3							
	Julian, Rome, World, Nabon.	Ipbil.	Olymp.	Perfa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews.	From Cyrus.	
Cambyses reigned seven years and five months, so as his 1st year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L. 3. c. 4. § 4.	4191 230	254	64	8	11				15	
	3509 225		2							
	4192 231	255	64	1. Darius	12				16	
	3510 226		3							

	Julian, Rome, World, Nabon.	Ipbil.	Olymp.	Perfa.	Egypt.	Rome	Greece.	Jews & from Cyrus.
	4197 236	260	65	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus tyrant and redoubtable	21
	3515 231		4					
	4204 243	267	67			42		28
	3522 238		3					
The Tarquins expelled Rome. L. 4. c. 1. § 1.	4205 245	268	68	14		25		29
	3523 239		4					
The Carthaginians first League with Rome. L. 5. c. 1. § 2.	4206 245	269	68	15				30
	3524 240		1					
	4211 250	274	69					35
L. 2. c. 5. § 2.	3529 245		2					
	4212 251	275	69	21				36
	3530 246		3					
	4222 261	285	72	31				46
	3540 256		1					
	4226 265	289	73	35				50
	3544 269		1					
	4228 267	291	73	4				50
	3546 260		3					
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of Lands: which bred great commotion.	4229 268	292	73	2				52
	3547 263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. c. 6. § 2.	4233 272	296	74	6				57
	3551 267		4					
L. 3. c. 6. § 3. & 6.	4234 273	297	75	7				58
	3552 268		1					
L. 3. c. 6. § 9, 10, & 11.	4235 274	298	75	8				59
	3553 269		2					
L. 2. c. 7. § 1 & 2.	4237 267	300	75	10				62
	3555 271		4					
	4244 283	307	77	17				68
	3562 278		3					
L. 2. c. 7. § 3.	4248 287	311	78	21				72
	3566 282		3					
	4249 288	312	78	22				73
	3567 283		4					
	4251 290	314	79	3				75
	3569 285		5					
L. 3. c. 7. § 5 & 7.	4255 294	318	80	7				79
	3573 289		2					
	4264 303	327	82	16				80
	3582 298		3					

The account from the solution of the Captivity, Julian, Rome, is the same with that from Cyrus.	World.	Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Perfia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265	304	328	82	17		The Decemviri are chosen for a second year, transact and wrap the place three years.	Simon's voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	3583	299	328	83				A league for 36 years between Athens and Sparta.	11
	4268	307	331	3	20				92
	3586	307	331	3					14
	4272	311		84					96
	3590	306	335	3	24				18
	4273	312		84					97
	3591	307	336	4	25				19
	4278	317		86					102
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	3596	312	341	1	30				24
	4280	319		86					104
Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	3598	314	343	3	32				26
	4283	322		87					107
L. 3. c. 8. § 1.	3601	317	346	2	25				29
	4289	328		88					113
L. 3. c. 9. § 1.	3607	323	352	4					35
	4290	329		89					114
L. 3. c. 9. § 1.	3608	324	353	1					36
	4292	331		89					116
L. 3. c. 8. § 5. & 6.	3610	326	355	3					38
	4301	340		92					125
L. 3. c. 9. § 1. & c. 8. § 8.	3619	335	364	4					48
	4302	341		92					128
Cap. 8. § 9.	3620	336	365	1					50
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. § 4. & 13.	4304	343	367	93					125
	3622	338		3	15				50
	4306	345		93					130
L. 3. c. 8. § 10.	3624	340	369	1	17				52
	4307	346		93					131
	3625	341		2	18				53
	4308	347		93					132
	3626	342		3	19				54
L. 3. c. 8. § 12.	4309	343		93					133
	3627	343		4					55
	4311	350		94					135
	3629	345		2	3				57
L. 3. c. 10. § 1.	4313	352		94					137
	3631	347		4					59

	Julian.	Rome.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Perfia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4318	357	381	96	10	6			142
L. 3. c. 11. § 4.	3636	352		1					64
	4320	359	383	96	12	8			144
L. 3. c. 11. § 7.	3638	354		3					64
	4321	360	384	96	13	9			145
	3639	355		4					67
	4325	364	388	97	17				149
	3643	359		4					71
	4320	365	389	98	18	2			150
L. 4. c. 7. § 1.	3644	360		1					72
L. 3. c. 11. § 9.	4327	367	390	98	19				151
	3645	361		2					73
	4332	371	395	99	24	6			156
	3650	366		3					78
L. 3. c. 11. § 11.	4336	375	399	100	28	10			160
	3654	370		3					82
	4340	379	403	101	32	14			164
	3658	374		3					86
	4343	382	406	102	35	17			167
L. 3. c. 12. § 1.	3661	377		2					89
	4345	384	408	102	37				169
L. 3. c. 12. § 4.	3663	379		4					91
	4351	380	414	104		7			175
	3669	385		2					97
	4352	391	414	104	10				176
L. 3. c. 12. § 8.	3670	386		3					98
	4354	393	417	105		3			178
	3672	388		1					100
	4359	398	422	2	8				183
L. 4. c. 1. § 4.	3677	393		2					105
	4364	403	427	107					188
	3682	398		3					110
	4368	407	431	108		17			192
L. 4. c. 1. § 6.	3686	402		3					114
	4369	408	434	108	18				193
L. 5. c. 1. § 4. & 4.	3687	403		4					115
	4370	409	433	109					194
	3688	404		4					116
	4375	414	438						199
After this the years from Cyrus and Daniel are too few by one.	3693	409							121

	Julian and Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus Daniel.
	415	110	2				23 The battle of Marathon. Philip slain by Pausanias.	2 199 121
3694	410	439	3	2			25 Philip slain by Pausanias.	4 201 123
3696	412	441	1	1 Darius 6 years, & 10 months.	Nabon. Novemb. 15		2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5 202 124
3697	413	442	2	2			3 Alexander passes into Asia.	6 203 125
3698	414	443	3	3			4 The Battle of Ilissus.	7 204 126
4381	420	444	4	4			5 The Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	8 205 127
3699	415	445	5	5			6 The battle of Arbela.	9 206 128
3700	416	446	6	6			7 Darius slain by Belshazzar.	10 207 129
3701	417	447	7	7			8 Alexander marches against the Persians.	11 208 130
3702	418	448	8	8			9 The battle of Issus.	12 209 131
3703	419	449	9	9			10 The battle of Gaugamela.	13 210 132
3704	420	450	10	10			11 The battle of the Hydaspes.	14 211 133
3705	421	451	11	11			12 The battle of the Indus.	15 212 134
3706	422	452	12	12			13 The battle of the Jhelum.	16 213 135
3707	423	453	13	13			14 The battle of the Ravi.	17 214 136
3708	424	454	14	14			15 The battle of the Beas.	18 215 137
3709	425	455	15	15			16 The battle of the Sutlej.	19 216 138
3710	426	456	16	16			17 The battle of the Ghaggar.	20 217 139
3711	427	457	17	17			18 The battle of the Hakra.	21 218 140
3712	428	458	18	18			19 The battle of the Ravi.	22 219 141
3713	429	459	19	19			20 The battle of the Beas.	23 220 142
3714	430	460	20	20			21 The battle of the Jhelum.	24 221 143
3715	431	461	21	21			22 The battle of the Ravi.	25 222 144
3716	432	462	22	22			23 The battle of the Beas.	26 223 145
3717	433	463	23	23			24 The battle of the Jhelum.	27 224 146
3718	434	464	24	24			25 The battle of the Ravi.	28 225 147
3719	435	465	25	25			26 The battle of the Beas.	29 226 148
3720	436	466	26	26			27 The battle of the Jhelum.	30 227 149
3721	437	467	27	27			28 The battle of the Ravi.	31 228 150
3722	438	468	28	28			29 The battle of the Beas.	32 229 151
3723	439	469	29	29			30 The battle of the Jhelum.	33 230 152
3724	440	470	30	30			31 The battle of the Ravi.	34 231 153
3725	441	471	31	31			32 The battle of the Beas.	35 232 154
3726	442	472	32	32			33 The battle of the Jhelum.	36 233 155
3727	443	473	33	33			34 The battle of the Ravi.	37 234 156
3728	444	474	34	34			35 The battle of the Beas.	38 235 157
3729	445	475	35	35			36 The battle of the Jhelum.	39 236 158
3730	446	476	36	36			37 The battle of the Ravi.	40 237 159
3731	447	477	37	37			38 The battle of the Beas.	41 238 160
3732	448	478	38	38			39 The battle of the Jhelum.	42 239 161
3733	449	479	39	39			40 The battle of the Ravi.	43 240 162
3734	450	480	40	40			41 The battle of the Beas.	44 241 163
3735	451	481	41	41			42 The battle of the Jhelum.	45 242 164
3736	452	482	42	42			43 The battle of the Ravi.	46 243 165
3737	453	483	43	43			44 The battle of the Beas.	47 244 166
3738	454	484	44	44			45 The battle of the Jhelum.	48 245 167
3739	455	485	45	45			46 The battle of the Ravi.	49 246 168
3740	456	486	46	46			47 The battle of the Beas.	50 247 169
3741	457	487	47	47			48 The battle of the Jhelum.	51 248 170
3742	458	488	48	48			49 The battle of the Ravi.	52 249 171
3743	459	489	49	49			50 The battle of the Beas.	53 250 172
3744	460	490	50	50			51 The battle of the Jhelum.	54 251 173
3745	461	491	51	51			52 The battle of the Ravi.	55 252 174
3746	462	492	52	52			53 The battle of the Beas.	56 253 175
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